

AN  
INSTITUTION  
OF  
General History:  
OR THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
WORLD.

The FOURTH PART.



CONTAINING

The Original and Kingdoms of the *Heruli, Goths, Lombards and Franks in Italy*; the Affairs of *Britain*; the Original of the *Saxons, Angles and Jutes*, their Heptarchy; the Monarchy of the *English Saxons, that of the Danes*, with its end in restoring of the *English Saxon* Line down to that of *William the Norman*, with the Polity, Customs, Laws and Language then in use.

AND ALSO

That of the *Constantinopolitan Roman Empire*, from the Promotion of *Nicephorus* to the Death of *Constantine Ducas XII. A. D. MLXVII.* being the Year after the Conquest of this Nation by Duke *William the Norman*.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for the Author's Widow by *Miles Fletcher.* MDCLXXXV.

T O

The High and Mighty P R I N C E

# J A M E S II.

K I N G of *Great Britain, France and Ireland,*  
Defender of the Faith, &c.

*G R E A T S I R,*

**A**MONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Address themselves unto Your M A J E S T Y, vouchsafe to permit a desolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Prefence to Congratulate Your Happy and most Just Possession of the Throne of these Kingdoms, by laying a small Present at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your M A J E S T Y by a double Title, both by right of Succession to our late Gracious Sovereign, by whose Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged; and also by designation of the Authour, who intended, had not his Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book *To His Royal Highness J A M E S the Duke of York*, which I now most humbly offer *To the Sacred Majesty of King J A M E S the Second.*

Whom I beseech the King of Kings long to preserve beloved of all his Subjects, dreaded by all his Enemies, and renowned to all Posterity in the History of Future Ages.

*So prayeth with due Reverence*

*Your Majesty's most Loyal Subject.*

Mary Howel.



THE  
P R E F A C E  
TO THE  
R E A D E R

Giving an Account of this VOLUME.

WHICH contains the History of the Kingdom of the Heruli in Italy to the Conquering thereof by the Goths, then their Original and Kingdom to the Destruction and Ruine thereof by Narfes the Roman General and the coming in of the Lombards, with the Original and Kingdom of them down to the Conquering of it by Charles King of the Franks, who Governed there, and was Crowned Emperour by Leo Bishop of Rome : Next the Affairs of Britain from the departure of the Romans out of the Island to the Destruction thereof, and forcing the Inhabitants into the Mountainous places by the Piets, Scots and Saxons : the Original of the Saxons, Angles and Jutes that seized on this Land, their Heptarchy, which was united in the Monarchy of the English Saxons, and carried on till Conquered by the Danes, their Original and Kingdom here to its end, in restoring of the English Saxon Line to the end thereof, being Conquered by Duke William the Norman, giving an Account of the Polity, Customs, Laws and Language then in use, taken from the Original Tongue, with other critical Remarks suitable to the nature and usefulness of such an Undertaking.

With the Constantinopolitan Roman Affairs from the Deposing of Irene and Promotion of Nicephorus (where the Third Part ends) to the Death of Constantine Ducas XII. Ann. Dom. MLXVII. being the year after the Conquest of Duke William the Norman, setting forth the several Actions, Polities, Laws and things of Moment during

## The Preface to the Reader.

ring the Reign of each Emperour, with such Kingdoms as fell off from the Roman power and protection, and those that started up to the terrour of it and all its Neighbours, all linked together in such manner and method as never was yet Extant, being the Labour and Study left under his own hand in Writing by the Authour, whereof we have been Eyewitnesses,

R

H. London.

Tho. Roffen.

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Rich. Ashfeild, Gent.

A N

# AN INSTITUTION OF General History: OR The History of the World,

The Fourth Part.

## BOOK I.

Of such Kingdoms and Principalities as were Founded by Barbarous Nations in the Late Roman Provinces now contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

## CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdoms of the Heruli, Goths, Lombards and Franks Erected in Italy.

## SECT. I.

The Kingdom of the Heruli in Italy,

The Space of Eighteen years.

Observe King I.  
of Italy and  
Rome.

OF DOACER King of the Heruli and Turcilingi having, as we have formerly shewn, Conquered and destroyed Orestes, and deposed Augustulus his Son, became Master of Italy, and of Rome, formerly the Mistress of the World, which hereby was also degraded, together with Augustulus, the Imperial Diadem being plucked from her Head, and the Robe torn from about her Shoulders. The Conquerour viewing the Remains of her Ancient Majesty, and contemplating the Lines of that Beauty wherein she had surpassed all Rivals, as much as the Light of the Moon doth that of the obscure and twinkling Stars, was confounded and amazed, could scarcely believe what he had done, or where he was; and conscious of the Extravagancy of his own Fortune, as well as of the vicissitude of humane Affairs in general,

Sect. I.

Sect. I.

neral, durst not, it seems, be so bold as to take up and assume the Imperial Ensigns which now lay at his Feet, but contented himself with an Inferiour Dignity. Thinking the Imperial Robe now to be threadbare or infected with some deleterious Quality, which of late had suffered none to wear it long, though he might have chosen another, which by its newness might have been both warm and safe, yet he only changed the Imperial for Royal, the Title of Emperour for the more modest and less envied one of *King of Italy*, refusing utterly all Ensigns of Royal Majesty. The Ancient Lady in her great affliction was pleased to see this humility in a barbarous Robber, comforted her self with the good Fortune of her Daughter, which still in the East retained her Imperial Dignity; she purposed to remove lower down towards the River, and quit those seven Hills on which she had been so much and so often exposed to Northern Blasts, and she had thoughts of taking another Courie, which should be honourable as well as the former, gain her more applause and more suitable to her Age, and the Gravity of her present Aspect, to change the Title of Prince for that of Priest, and the Imperial Diadem for a Pontifical Miter.

Takes Courie to secure his interest.

2. Our new King of *Italy* as he thought to establish a new Kingdom, which should call him Founder, so of fixing the Seat thereof at some new Place, and of building a new City which he intended to call after his own Name *Odoacer*. But either finding the Vanity of this Project, or being diverted from it by greater Cares, he took other Couries, for securing his Interest. The *Goths* *Vide Sigismund de Occident. the Hunnes*, he endeavoured to oblige by bestowing on them those Lands which formerly, but ineffectually, had been promised them. He granted to *Eurich*, King of the *Vijegoths*, that part of *Gall* lying betwixt the *Alpes* and the River *Rhodanus*, and onely remaining under the Authority of the *Romans*. With *Gundobade* King of the *Burgundians* he made a League and Alliance. On the *Italians* he laid Taxes and Impositions sufficient to maintain an Army against foreign Invasions. Then to prevent intestine broils, he deprived the *Roman* Senate of its ancient Authority, and took away at first the use of *Consuls*, that he might diminish the *Roman* Spirit and Courage, by abolishing such Rites as put them in mind of the great Performances of their Ancestours. As to other matters, he retained the old Names and Offices of Magistracy, and maintained the Church in its ancient Rights and Immunities. When he had done these things, and as he thought laid lasting Foundations of his new Dominion, he left *Rome* to the Government of *Basilius* the Prefect and *Patritian*, and removed his Court to *Ravenna*. There he had not been long settled, when *Zeno* the Emperour, hearing how his matters succeeded, envied his good Fortune, grudged him his new Possessions, and utterly refused to own, acknowledge or ratifie his Kingly Title to *Italy*. Such therefore was the Reverence as yet born to the Imperial Name; that this got him the Repute of an Usurper, a Tyrant and an unlawfull Prince; which made him enter into new Councils for strengthening himself, and add Fear and Awe to that Love which hitherto he had especially desired to gain from his Subjects. For an Example of terror he put to death at *Ravenna* *Brachilius a Comes*, who some say spurned against his Government. Hereby it was perceived that he knew his measures, and understood how to manage his Affairs, and thereupon he began both to be feared and respected at home and abroad; insomuch that *Genferich* King of the *Vándals* in *Africa* desired his Friendship, and to obtain it granted *Sicily* to him to be held in Tribute.

He fixes his Seat at Ravenna.

He puts to death Brachilius.

He makes Basilius Consul.

3. *Odoacer*, as we said, refused to name any *Consul* for the West, and it happened for several years that sometime one single one was created in the East, and sometime there was none at all. The *Italians* resented it, that by the willfulness of their present Master, they should be deprived of that highest Office of Magistracy and Honour, and therefore to please them, he preferred *Basilius* the Prefect to that Name and Dignity, which he also executed without a Colleague, in the year of our Lord CCCLXXX, in the seventh of the Emperour *Zeno*, and the fifth of *Odoacer*. Now was it five years since *Julius Nepos*, being deposed from the Empire of the West, lived quietly in *Dalmatia* by the knowledge and approbation of *Odoacer*, who wished him all repose and security imaginable. But at this time *Viator* and *Ovida*, who had the Title of *Comites*, bearing him malice, circumvented him at his Country-house, set upon him and murdered him. *Odoacer* whether acted by generosity of Nature, or by Jealousie, and apprehension of so evil an Example, took it in great Disdain, and the year following, for which he named *Placidius* Consul, sent some Forces against them, and having

Sect. I.

having easily overcome them put *Ovida* to death. This same year the Inhabitants of *Liguria* complained to him by *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Pavia*, that *Pelagius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* had doubled the Impositions upon the Country. By the Intercession of the said Bishop they obtained a Relaxation, and this Prelate having bestowed much cost and pains in repairing the Churches formerly ruined in his City by the Wars, obtained also of *Odoacer* a Remission of Tributes for five years, as an incouragement to the Citizens to rebuild their Private-Houses.

4. After this, *Odoacer* found an occasion for employing his Arms, and it was against the *Rugi* a Northern People. He did it with such success, as we are told, that he took Prisoner *Phæbas* their King, together with his Wife, and led them in triumph to *Rome*; but *Frederick* their Son made his Escape, and went to *Theodorich* King of the *Ostrogoths*, who then lay in *Mæssa*, and by this time had his thoughts so much upon *Odoacer* and *Italy*, that he presently shewed they were very serious and active. This *Theodorich* had been some time in *Zeno's* Court at *Constantinople*; and was, it's said, highly honoured by him, insomuch that he made him *Consul*, and not long after he took a resolution to invade *Italy*. But as to the inducement there are two different Assertions. The one is of those who affirm that *Zeno* had always a great Kindness for *Theodorich*, and freely granted *Italy* to him to reign there, after he should have driven out the *Heruli* with *Odoacer* their King. The other makes *Theodorich* to have been ingratefull towards the Emperour, from whom he endeavoured to wrest the Empire of the East; to have brought into danger the City of *Constantinople* by Fire, and burnt many other Places. Having missed of his Aims there, he turned himself upon *Italy*, envying the prosperous Estate of *Odoacer*, who had lately overthrown the *Rugi*. From what *Euagrius* writes, one may guess that *Zeno* was not always his friend; but what should be the occasion is uncertain. *Eusebius* an Historian it seems laid the blame upon the Emperour, and *Marcellinus* on *Theodorich*. The Writers that were his Countrymen will have him sent by the liking, well wishes, and incouragement of *Zeno*: we shall present the Reader with the Story clothed with such Circumstances as we find it.

Two several opinions as to the Inducement.

His Army mutinies.

5. Whilst *Theodorich* therefore solaced himself with the Pleasures of *Zeno's* Court, his *Ostrogoths* lived at a quite different Rate, being by a League tied up from making any Depredations in the *Roman* Dominions; and not sufficiently provided for by the pay which the Emperour had agreed to give them. They curse the League, cry out against their King's Alliance, and to *Constantinople* they send Messengers, who with tears in their Eyes complained to him of the Poverty and Necessities to which they were reduced; and desire him to quit those pleasures wherein he had intangled himself, and if he regarded his own Interest, and their Preservation, to return to them with speed; for else they must enter into some new Course, and seek out other Habitations. Now say the *Gothick* Historians, and those that follow them, *Theodorich* moved herewith betook himself presently to *Zeno*, to whom he laid open the sad Estate of his Countrymen, and told him that seeing *Italy* was overrun by the *Turcilingi* and *Rugi*, and *Rome* the late Mistress of the World, and ancient Seat of the Empire, was now inflavied to the *Heruli*; if he pleased to give him order to redeem and recover it out of their Hands, he would doe his utmost endeavour, and therein employ his idle and indigent *Ostrogoths*. If he should accomplish his Designs, the Honour and Renown would belong, as due, to his imperial Majesty; and if he miscarried, he would be rid of so many Stipendiaries, and save his money in his Coffers. This *Zeno* heard with Trouble, being very unwilling to part with him, but as well to give him content, as in Compliance with the publick Interest, he gave him leave, and dismissed him with great presents, to his designed Expedition.

6. Thus writes *Jordanus* the *Goth* from the relation of *Cassiodorus*, or out of respect to his Countrymen, and such as follow him. But *Sigonius*, all relations considered, closest with that of *Marcellinus*, that *Theodorich* now satiated with the Honours and Favours heaped upon him, consented to the Petition of his Countrymen, and returning into *Mæssa* made war upon the Emperour, whilst his men were fresh, and their appetites were sharpened by the prevalent Power of necessity, and expectation. He marched as far as *Constantinople* and *Melanthis*, and wasting the Country round about returned to *Novæ* a Town of *Mæssa*, from which he had set forth. At this time *Odoacer*, being told that *Frederick* the Son of *Phæbas*, or *Felesus*, King of the *Rugi*, was after his flight returned home into his own Country, sent *Omulus* his Brother with a strong party of men against him. Hereupon *Frederick* not able to endure the shock retired to *Novæ*, and made his

**Sect. 1.** application to *Theodorich*. *Omnifus* easily conquered the *Rugi*, whom he constrained to pass into *Italy*, and then the *Lombards* under Conduct of *Gudeach* their King seized on their Country. *Zeno* all this while, as *Sigonius* tells you, was highly sensible of the Affront done him by *Theodorich*, but prudently considered there was no dealing roughly with such a Spirit; and therefore in the year when *Dinamius* and *Siphodius* were *Consuls*, or the *CCCCXXXVIII* of Our Lord, he wrote to him most loving Letters, and kindly invited him to return to Court. *Theodorich*, if thou wilt look into it, Reader, notwithstanding all the Mischief he had done, closed with his invitation, went to *Constantinople*, and there excused his Misdemeanours by that necessity to which his *Goths* had been reduced. *Zeno* was as ready to give as he was to ask Pardon, and to grant him any other thing for the employment of his Men, and the raising of his own Fortunes. Animated by this Reception, he moved the Conquest of *Italy* to him, using such Arguments as we formerly mentioned, inculcating that it would be more seemly, that he his faithful Servant, and his Son, should possess that Country; than *Odoacer* keep the Senate and Common-wealth in slavery. *Zeno* to free *Illyricum* from the *Goths* was very willing he should try his Fortune, and by an Authentick Writing passed *Italy* over to him, bestowed on him a sacred Cap, and recommending to him the *Roman* Senate and People gave him leave to depart and begin his Journey.

*Theodorich* overthrows the *Gepidae* and *Bulgari*.

7. *Theodorich* and his *Goths* were ready for their march, when an unexpected Accident diverted them, and for some time retarded their Expedition. *Tranfilia* King of the *Gepidae*, and *Busa* of the *Bulgari* either jealous of his growing greatness, or solicited by *Odoacer*, who desired to remove the danger from his own Doors, endeavoured to crush his Design by falling upon him on a sudden, when he little expected such Treachery. Yet was he not at all daunted with the great danger which impended, but boldly attacking them when they were divided, in one engagement overthrew *Tranfilia*, and in another battle defeated the *Bulgari*, a sort of People newly come out of *Scythia*. Animated by his Success as an Omen of his future Grandeur, with greater vigour he prepared for his *Italian* voiage, and when all things were ready, set forth from *Mesha* in the middle of Winter, in the Consulship of *Probinus*, and *Eusebius* in the *CCCCXXXIX* year of Our Lord, as is evident from the *Chronicon* of *Cassiodorus* who lived at this time, though *Sigonius* casts this Expedition into the following year. From *Mesha* the whole Multitude of *Ostrogoths* removed with their Wives, Children and Baggage, and travelling through *Syrmiuum* and *Pannonia*, came by Land to the Borders of *Italy*, for they had no Ships to transport them in the nearest passage. Proceeding as far as the River *Sontius* which runs not far from *Aquileia*, they there made a halt and incamped, because of the convenience of pasture. Here *Odoacer* presented himself on the farther side, resolving to stop their progress, and for that purpose he secured the Bridge, where at this day is seen a Town called *Goritia*. But notwithstanding all he could do, *Theodorich* forced his way over, and presently giving him battle drove him back into his Camp, which to storm he made all Preparations. *Odoacer* perceiving his Intentions, and that he was unable to maintain it, quitted the place, and taking advantage retired to *Verona*, for there was no Fort nor Garrison near at hand; the Devastations made by *Attila* not being yet repaired. Whilst he was thus employed in defending his Borders against the *Goths*, *Gundobade* the King of the *Burgundians*, pretending he was circumvented in a League made with him, took the Advantage now offered, and invading *Liguria* and *Emilia*, wasted and plundered the Country; then hearing of *Theodorich* his Success and Progress, he hastily retreated with his Booty into *Burgundy*.

Invades Italy.

Beats back *Odoacer*.

8. *Theodorich* having taken order for securing the Borders, as he saw agreeable to his own Interest, followed *Odoacer*, and laid down before *Verona*. *Odoacer* had by this time rallied his dispersed Forces, and recruited them so with new Levies, that seeming to himself as able to grapple with him as before, he came out of the Town and gave him battle; wherein he was again overthrown with great slaughter of his Men, and forced to betake himself to his heels; and a great number of his Soldiers, which escaped the Fight, took the River *Albeigh* in desperation and haste, and were swallowed by the Floods. *Verona* was quickly delivered by the trembling Citizens to the Conquerour, who made no stay in the Town; but still pursued *Odoacer*, and near the River *Adna* forced him the third time to engage, with the same Success as formerly. *Odoacer* in so great Straits yet comforted himself a little in the City of *Rome*, of which if he continued Master, he hoped he might maintain his Reputation, and better endure the shock

Defeats him again, and takes *Verona*.

A third time.

*Odoacer* keeps out of *Rome*.

of Fortune, which he would fain believe could not be lasting, it was so violent and severe. He resolved therefore to hasten thither, but when he came he found the Gates fast locked and bolted, and the Walls manned against him, the Senate and People some think having intimation of the Emperor's pleasure concerning *Theodorich*. Inraged at this Repulse, he burnt and demolished as much of the Suburbs as the time would give him leave, and then made for *Ravenna* as his last Refuge. This City also one *Libitta* kept for *Theodorich*, and lay incamped before it for that purpose. But *Odoacer* acted by the indignation as well as extreme Necessity of his Affairs, resolved to drive him from his Post, and after a sharp conflict, wherein many perished on both sides, he slew *Libitta*, and took both his Camp and *Ravenna*, which he entered on the tenth of July. Here he labours to fortify himself, when in the mean time *Theodorich* marches to *Milan*, which having got into his hands without much trouble, a great part of the *Italian* Soldiers there came to wait on him as the true and rightful Lord of *Italy*. Amongst others was *Epiphanus* Bishop of *Pavia*, whom he received with great respect.

*Theodorich* takes *Milan*.

9. Here when he seemed to have conquered the greatest Difficulties, and to have arrived almost at the pitch of his good Fortune, an untowardly Accident plucked him by the sleeve, and put him in mind of the Inconstancy of humane Affairs. For his *Italians*, who so lately came to acknowledge him for their Prince and Sovereign, perfwaded by one *Tuffa* a man of *Consular* Dignity, revolted again to *Odoacer*; which struck him with great terror and amazement, and caused him to quit *Milan*, in the fidelity and strength whereof he could not so much rely, and go to *Pavia*, where he thought he could better secure himself and his Friends. *Odoacer* takes the opportunity, and sits down before the Town. *Epiphanus* the Bishop labours all he can to compose the Difference, and procure such Prisoners to be restored as were taken on both sides, without Ransome. Now whether by his Ghostly Counsel *Odoacer* was moved, or rather discouraged by the Valour and Success of the *Goths* whom Heaven seemed to favour, he raised his Siege and marched back to *Ravenna*. *Theodorich* spirited afresh by so unexpected a Retreat, resolved not to trifle in that manner with his Fortune, and slight his opportunities, but leaving the Women and Baggage at *Pavia* followed the Enemy to *Ravenna*, which he blocked up in three several Places, not being well able for the situation to get up and storm it. For the City lying two Furlongs distance from the Sea is hardly accessible on any part: the Haven full of Rocks and Shallows, the ground about it feney and waterish, as well by the flowing in of the Sea, as Rivers taking their Course thorough it. Therefore *Theodorich* took up one Post at *Pinetus* three Miles from the Town, placed another Party at *Palatiolum*, and had a third Guard at the Bridge of *Candidianus*, waiting for such opportunities as the Siege should produce. *Odoacer* perceiving he was over matched in Valour and Conduct, if not in numbers, was unwilling to make any Salles, yet constrained to do something for his Reputation, he issued out, and fell upon the Party lying at the Bridge, where he was so warmly received, that he found it expedient to make a quick retreat into the City. *Theodorich* foreseeing that the Siege was likely to be drawn out in length, would not spend all his time in so lazy an employment, but leaving sufficient Guards to maintain his Posts, marched to other Towns possessed by the Enemy, became Master of them, and having taken *Ariminum*, improved the Advantage offered him thereby of stopping all Provisions from being carried by Sea to *Ravenna*. These things got him such Reputation, that *Gundmund* King of *Africa*, (the Successour of *Huneric* that *Arian* Persecutour who was eaten up of worms) sent Ambassadors, made peace with him, and left off wasting *Sicily*, which he had invaded.

*Odoacer* besieges him in *Pavia*, but rises presently.

*Theodorich* besieges *Odoacer* in *Ravenna*.

Takes *Ariminum* and other Cities.

10. The Siege was carried on very gently; few considerable Acts of Hostility intervening, only light skirmishes which the Besieged made to exercise his men, and tire out the Enemy, till *Theodorich* returned from his Expedition against the other Cities. Having taken them all, *Cesarea* excepted, which *Odoacer* had furnished with a very strong Garrison, he returned to his former Post at *Palatiolum*, on the twenty ninth of August, and removing his Family thither from *Ticinum* or *Pavia* vigorously renewed the Siege. Hereby *Odoacer* was so straitened for want of Provisions, that having made many ineffectual Salles, at last, armed by Necessity and Desperation, in the silence of the Night he led out his whole Army, which *Theodorich* was not so negligent as not to perceive, and therefore drew his Forces together, and made himself ready to receive him. There evidently appeared what influence Necessity and Passions have upon humane Actions. Such as formerly were

**Sect. 1.**

## SECT. I.

Driven to his  
Camp by Odo-  
acer.

But he rein-  
forces the  
Siege.

An Agreement  
that they shall  
reign toge-  
ther.

Odoacer slain.

we were not able to receive a charge from the *Goths*, now bow them all down before them, and compelled him who had been wont to give them the chase to take him to his heels, and fly again towards his Camp. Hither when he came, his Mother presented her self in the Gate with intention to stop him, asked him whither he was going, and told him there was no place of safety for him, except the should take up her Clothes, and receive him into that part from whence he was brought forth into the World; with these words he was both ashamed and irritated to such a Degree, that rallying as many of his Men as he could get together, he charged the Enemy with such violence, that he drove him back into the Town, and reinforced the Siege as strong as ever.

II. Now were all the Difficulties and Hardships, which usually attend a tedious League, renewed both to those without and them within: in the City great sterility bordering upon extreme Famine, in the Camp weariness and Impatience contracted by so many fruitless labours and skirmishes. The Bishops fail not to interpose their Endeavours for an amicable composition; through their Intercession Messages are sent from both sides, and at length, at the desire of *Theodorich*, *Odoacer* consents that he shall reign with him in equal Authority and Power as King also of *Italy*. Hereupon on the twenty seventh of February the Siege is raised, and *Theodorich* entering *Ravenna* lived friendly and peaceably with *Odoacer* his Collegue for some little time. But then he grew weary of that Fellowship, of which the Throne is wont to be impatient, and having invited him to a Feast, when he demanded his share consigned to him by the League, pretending some Conspiracy against his own Person, he caused him to be slain together with his Son and the Principals of his Friends, about seventeen years after the Deposing of *Augustulus*, A. D. CCCXCIII. *Procopius* plainly writes that he was treacherously slain, but *Cassiodorus* and *Jordanus* seem to make it more than a pretence of *Theodorich*. \* *He Conf.* (i. e. *Albin*) *Theodorich* *Reverendissimus* *Gregorius* *Odo-* *crem* *malin-* *rem* *his* *inf-* *dis* *inter-* *remis* *has* *luc* *pro-* *vocat.* Nay the former says that *Odoacer* did really plot against his life, and the latter barely relates that he put him to death. But the one was in great favour with him, and executed the place of Secretary in his Court, though a sober and grave Writer; and the other being a *Goth*, and his Countryman might be cautious of saying any thing which might reflect upon his Nation. But *Odoacer* to died, and *Theodorich* easily made himself Master of *Italy*, whose Government we are now to relate. But so far as such things, made such Conquests and founded several Kingdoms, its highly requisite that we premise something concerning the Original and first Motions of this People, taking in also those of other Northern Nations in the way as they fitly pretend themselves. For out of the North they swarmed like so many *Vultures*, *Kites* and other *Birds of Prey*, fell upon the *Engle*, and after sore bickering, having spoiled him of his Western Plumes, at length outed him of the *Nest* it self, and so held it and the Regions about it, till a Cock of generous breed, though also of Northern extraction, cleared *Italy* and other Countries of them, and trimming himself with the Western Plumes, set up, and was owned, for a Western *Eagle*.

## SECT. II.

The Original of the Goths and other Barbarous Nations, that invaded and seized Italy.

From Scandinavia  
the Goths and  
other Nations  
issued.

Two King-  
doms therein  
of the *Sueones*  
and *Sittones*.

*Ostrogoths* and  
*Westgoths*.

Sect. II.

*Vide Grotii  
Prolegomena  
in Histor. Ge-  
lorum, Van-  
dalarum, &c.*

I. THE Northern Clime out of which these *Goths* and others derived their Descent, who invaded the Southwestern Parts of the Roman Empire, was that Tract of ground which the Ancients thought an Island, but since has been found to be a Peninsula, known by the Names of *Scandinavia*, *Scandia*, *Scanzia*, *Scanzia* and *Scantia*, because the Inhabitants made use of high and steep Rocks in the Room of Castles which they called *Scanzens*, to which the Word being added which signifies Land, thence came that of *Scandinavia*. The *Greeks* called it *Baltia* from the inward Sea, for an Irruption of the Sea it signifies; and *Procopius* thought it to be *Thule*. It's a great space of ground compassed on the North, and the East by the Sea; and the *Botnick* Bay and the *Baltick* Sea fence it on the West and South; as also by Rivers which pour themselves out into the *Botnick* Bay, and the *Russian* or *white* Sea.

2. *Tacitus* placeth two Kingdoms in this Tract, viz. of the *Sueones* and the *Sittones*. The former are also variously called *Suiones*, *Suethani* and *Suethidi*, by our English Writers *Suedi* and *Suethedi*, by others *Suithones*, *homines Sueticos*, and *Suoci* worst of all. The *Sueones* or *Suethi* were so called as laborious and getting their livings by the sweat of their brows; and the *Sittones*, on the contrary, from a sitting sedentary or idle Course of Life. The Kingdoms were divided by the Mountain *Seno* so named from the seven Hills; and the Countrey of the *Sittones* was called *Norwegia* or *Nordwege* because situate to the North. After *Tacitus* his time other Nations might peirce themselves into *Scanzia*, as did the *Heruli* and *Rugi*, and afterwards the *Dani* who had been a Colony of the *Suedi*, but retained and possessed themselves of part of the Countrey not long before *Justinian's* time, *Procopius* and *Jordanes* being the most ancient Writers that mention them, and the latter saying that they drove the *Heruli* out of the Seats which they had possessed in *Scanzia*. Now besides the *Sueones* and *Sittones*, several other People are found to have been Inhabitants of *Scanzia*, as the *Goths* which by their Habitations Eastward and Westward, carried the Names of *Ostrogoths* and *Westgoths*, by the Latines corruptly called *Visigothi*. They had the Name of *Guten* or *Guten*, which signifies *Good*, from Strangers for their great humanity to such as they entertained. That the *Goths* inhabited *Scanzia* is evident from all sorts of Writers and other Testimonies, and there had their Name, as other People for their inhumanity to Strangers received contrary appellations, as the *Zuadi* *Witri* and *Thaifali*. Of the *Goths* other Nations descended, or were the same with them, and from some Accidents received other Names as the *Longobards*, and *Wandals*. And these Names they took after the Migrations of those *Scandian* Nations which they made far and wide, and thereby made themselves so considerable as to be known both by their old and new Names, and much more by the Effects of their victorious Arms.

3. For their first Motion or Expedition we are in the dark, and as in the Originals of all Nations, some truth is involved in many and great Fictions and Poetick Romances, so we may probably conjecture in this of theirs. One story we are to mention, because a late learned and ingenious Writer hath taken much pains to make it probable. And it hangs upon this hinge of Truth, that the *Goths* or *Getes* in most ancient times out of *Scandia* made Inroads not only into the *Chersonesus*, the Islands of the *Baltick* Sea and the more Northern Parts of *Germany*, but into several Parts both of the *Asian* and *European Sarmatia* and *Scythia*, whence driving out the Inhabitants they there seated themselves, as well as in *Thrace* and several other Provinces. Upon this Foundation the Northern Writers raise particular stories, which we cannot tell how to call false as to the main of them, but are very Romantick in their Circumstances. As into other Regions, they say the *Goths* pierced (in very old time it must be) into that Part of the *Asian Scythia* where there was a City afterward called by them *Algard*, the

*Strabo* *in* *Discep.* *de* *Origine* *Germ.* *Angli.* *rum.*

## SECT. II.

A Colony out  
of Scandinavia  
to Asgardia.

the Inhabitants whereof *Asgardiani* are by some thought the same with those whom the *Greeks* knew by the Name of *Aspurgiani*, both sorts of Authors placing them near to the Lake *Mæotis*, where the River *Tanais* with great fury empties himself into it. Some think *Ptolemy* the Geographer called the City by the very Name of *Asgard* or *Asgard*. The Country in which it stood was in a peculiar way called *Asia* by *Strabo*, and the People *Asai* and *Asotæ* by other Writers, being also called *Turcæ* whom *Mela* makes the same with the *Tysfagætæ*, those whom at present we call *Turks*, having long time after entered into those quarters after they were deserted by the *Goths*, upon their return back into *Europe*. These *Aspurgiani* had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extended to the farther Mountains of *Scythia* within *Imaus*, where the *Aufones*, *Syebi* and *Iotæ* inhabited, whom *Strabo* comprehends under the very Name of *Aspurgiani*.

Woden.

Wonderfull  
things said of  
him.

4. Of this *Asgardia* or *Aspurgia* in process of time was King one *Orbin*, who had many other Names, according to the several *Gothick* Dialects, but that whereby he is commonly known is *Woden*, from which the third day of the week is called *Woden's day*. Now most wonderfull things are said of this *Woden*, no more famous and Romanick stories being told of any *Heroe*. What wonderfull Power he had in *Magick* in transforming himself and other things, is not fit here to be related; his ways of enchanting were peculiar. Of his Government fine things are told; as also his Acts and Conquests in the Eastern and Northern Parts are celebrated, he being said to be Lord of that part of *Scythia* lying toward the South. At what time the *Romans* grew terrible to the World, by his *Magick* knowing that he and his Posterity should for a long time Reign in the Northern Parts of the World, he committed to his two Brothers *Ve* and *Felir*, the Government of *Asgardia*, and went into *Russia*, whence he proceeded into *Saxony*, and thence into *Gothia Suetica* or *Suehland*. The Prince of this Country was one *Gylno*, by whose consent he and his followers planted there. Here, by his Incantments, Rhimes and Songs, he did such incredible things, that his Name became famous and reached all Countries, and afterward the *Suedi* and other Northern Nations sacrificed to him and his twelve Assistants, which he chose to keep him in Magical Rites and Government, and wickedly paid to him their Duty and Devotion which was due to the Lord of Heaven and Earth alone.

What Judgment is to be made of his Story.

5. Now to make a Judgment of this Story it is very probable that some famous Man or Men there was of this Name, which indeed became wonderfully revered by the Northern and other German Nations. These Countries, as is observed and is sufficiently evident, have been much given to *Magick* and Incantments, Charms and Tricks, many Monuments of their ancient Places of Burial, with their *Runic* Inscriptions sufficiently testifying enough of this matter at this very day. That some of the *Goths* were called *Turcæ* we hear, and it is not improbable, that in this return out of those *Scythian* Quarters some retained this Name, though the reason of it was in the dark. For in the County of *Lincoln* upon the River *Trent*, a few Miles from *Gainsborough*, there is a Town now called *Torksey*, which the *Saxons* in their Language knew by the Name of *Turkesfissa* or the Island of *Turks*. In the Northern Countries many places bear the Name of *Woden*. It is not utterly to be neglected, that the Removals and Travels of the *Goths*, out of the more Northern Parts into *Germany*, and the adjacent Islands are said farther to be made out, both by the Inscriptions in *Runic* Characters, which are extant both in the said Islands and in *Sweden*, as well as by the Annals of these Quarters. Moreover great Pillars were in *Sweden* not long since to be seen, which the Inscriptions upon them manifested to have been erected by them in Memory of their Worthies, which had lost their Lives in *Greece*, *Thrace* or other places. It's believed by some that from *Woden*, and his Companions who were *Scythians*, *Suedia* came to be called *Nova Scythia*, and the Inhabitants of the *Chersonesus* or the *Cimbri* to be termed by the *Greeks*, *Celsogethes*, being first known to them by the Name of *Cimmerii*, and why by this? but that because they were first in *Scythia* called *Cimmerii*, and into *Germany* and those parts travelled from the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*.

6. To be sure the People inhabiting *Scandia*, had those of the same Names with themselves, living in the *Scythian* Regions, and which must necessarily be deduced from the same Original. That those three severally denominated People which invaded and conquered this our Island were of *Scandian* Original, none can doubt, viz. the *Jutes*, *Gutes* or *Getae* (the same with the *Goths*) the *Angli* and *Saxons*; and from *Ptolemy* the Geographer it appears, that in *Scythia* or *Cimmeria* there were three several People which were known by these very Names. He speaks

Sect. 2.

speaks of *Iotæ* lying upon the Sea of the *Rhimini*. Of the *Safones* under the *Misfæan* and *Alan* Mountains. And though by name he mentions not the *Angles*, yet the *Suebi* he doth, or *Suevi*, part of which Nation the *Angli* are rationally thought to have been, being so called from the *Angle* or Corner on which they seized in *Germany*. This is accounted no small Argument, that these People came into the Northern Parts of *Germany* at no other time, nor under any other Conduct than that of *Woden*, that before the time of his Expedition no such Names as these do occur in Northern Writers, but after they became famous, especially the *Saxons*. In the *Sacogothick* Annals, those of *Norway* and *Denmark*, the memory of them flourishes; but amongst the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Writers the *Saxons* are known, as also the *Jutes* by the Name of *Cimbri*, though the *Suebi* by that of their own. In *Sarmatia*, and especially in *Livonia* are many Towns, the Names of which are *Saxon*. And for the Maritime Parts, they speak the Language there at this very day; the same which about *Pontus* and those Northern Quarters of *Asia*, was spoken even in the time of *Ovid*, the Poet, who being banished thither, became a Proficient in the Language of the *Getae*. Well, this might be when *Strabo* placeth the *Macropogones* or *Longbards* in *Cimmeria*, about *Syndica*, near to which *Woden* is said to have reigned in *Aspurgia*. In *Germany* there is *Triers*, in *Saxon* *Die Trier*, and such there were in *Scythia* also. The *Chatti* also lived in *Germany*, not far from the *Suevi*, *Angli* and *Chamani*, and *Ptolemy* placeth them also in *Scythia* next the *Mæssagetes*, without the Mountains *Imai*.

7. To these things might be added, that the Humours, Manners and Inclinations of the *Gothick* Nations or *Cimbri*, did much suit with those of the *Asiatick* *Scythians*. And all considered, that there were migrations there can be little doubt, the same People being found at so great distance. Now whether first these Nations passed from *Scandia* into *Scythia*, or out of *Scythia* into *Scandia*, may be some question; but it seems not difficult to be resolved, that setting aside the first planting of the World, they first went from *Scandia*, because the vast Tracts of that Country *Germany*, and the Islands speaking that Language, challenge the other sorts of People of the *Asiatick* *Scythia* to have been their Colonies, for they were but few in number in comparison of their Neighbours, who spake in Language and lived far differently from them. Admit it then as possible, that such a man as *Woden* there might be, it would be of consequence, if we had any light concerning his return into *Scandia*. A Tradition there was amongst the *Saxons*, that they came by Sea into *Germany*, but it is urged that no Footsteps of any other Invasion or Migration is to be found, but this of *Woden*. Some make it to have happened four and twenty Years before the Birth of Christ, about the time that *Pompey* wasted *Syria*; but if *Woden* delivered *Denmark* to his Son *Skjold*, whence the Kings of that Country were anciently called *Skjoldinger*, this *Skjold*, according to the *Danish* Chronology, lived almost a thousand Years before *Pompey*; and accordingly *Woden* with his *Asiaticks* must have preceded the *Danish* Kingdom, and to *Saxony*, *Suevia* and *Jutia* have given their proper Names. By this account *Woden* must have been antecedent than *Ham*; but how will this consist with the Genealogies of our own English *Saxon* Kings, the Founders of the seven Kingdoms here, all which are derived in descent from *Woden*? But *Hengist*, the first that came into *Britain*, arrived not till about CCCCL Years after Christ's Birth, and he is said to have been but the *Anepos*, or Great Grandchild of *Woden*, as *Cædric*, the Founder of the Kingdom of the *Wessexons*, the Tenth from him: Whereas by the former account, *Woden* must have preceded the Birth of our Saviour above a thousand Years.

8. To dispatch therefore this Story of him, let us close with the opinion of them, who think that as amongst the *Greeks*, there were several there bore the Name of *Hercules*, but were all confounded together, and what was done by all was ascribed to one. It fell out in the same manner as to the matter of *Woden*. It's thought that there were three which bore this Name, all deified by Idolaters. The first, descended from *Saturn* and the *Trojan* Kings, called *Afianus*, and *Odin* his gaint or *Woden* the Ancient, who never came into *Europe*, but his Name and Rites were hither brought by others. The second of *Yppall*, to whom in *Sweden* was a Temple dedicated shining with Gold, who was also called *Afianus*, but a stranger of the *Scythians*. The third was called *Mathodin* or *Middlewoden*, of whom *Saxo Grammaticus* maketh mention, who, the other *Woden* being abroad, play'd tricks, and took occasion to feign himself a God, but after his return fled into *Phaonia*, and there was slain by the Inhabitants. Some produce a fourth *Woden*, who being beaten by *Pompey* out of *Asia* into the Northern Parts, taught

Woden.

## Sect. 2.

the People the Arts and Laws of the *Astarchs*, and was therefore had in especial Honour. And yet this flight from the *Romans* is ascribed to him of *Uppall*, though they lived in far different Ages. Let us take then or leave this Story of *Wode*, with the Migrations into *Asha*, and back again out of that Country, and returning also to *Scandia*, take notice of these Motions of the *Gothick Nations*, which are warranted by unquestionable History, or probable at least.

The Migrations  
of the  
Goths.

9. It is not amiss to premise, that upon passing into other Countries, the same People got several Names; as either Strangers made terminations to their old ones, or as they observed something they thought most remarkable in them: According to the way of severally terminating words, and bringing them as near as can be to the *Genius* of a strange Language, the same *Goths* are in several Writers called *Gutæ*, *Gutones*, *Guthones*, *Guthones*, and *Gutnici*, as the same Country is termed *Gothia* and *Gudlandia*. And in like manner, the *Franci* and *Francones*, *Vaszi* and *Vascones*, *Frisci* and *Frifones*, *Suedi* and *Suæones* are the same. After the first migration of them North Eastward to the Lake of *Mæotis*, where even at this very day they retain both the Names, Manners and Language of *Goths*, as their Country that of *Gothia*, they seem to have sent out that Colony which planted it self between the Rivers *Albis* (by those *Goths* called *Gothelba*) and *Vistula*, where they preserved their Country Name. *Grotius* guesses that above three Hundred years before our Saviour, they first went out of *Scandia*, that above three Hundred years before our Saviour, they first went out of *Scandia*, the *Godonavia* or *Gothland*; and coming into the Continent of *Germany*, drove out the *Ulmirugi*, and there left a Colony which *Tacitus* calleth *Gutthones*. That the Islands adjoining them very anciently Peopled, there is no doubt, as also the Sea coasts, where the *Æstii* inhabited, who had this Name, and their Country that of *Æstia*, now, from lying Eastward from them. Hence he believes they made Incursions as far as *Mæotis*, and into *Dacia*, but when he cannot say; but that it was before the time of the *Antonini*. He saith he learns this from *Spartianus*, who in the Life of *Caracalla* writes that the *Goths* were called *Getes*, as many others also have hinted, because the nearness of the Name deceived the *Romans* (though *Gete* be a Name of *Thrace*, and *Goth* a German word) and the *Goths* held those places which anciently bore the Name of the *Getes*. Hence in the Reign of *Philip*, *Jornandes* brings them into *Mæsia* and *Thrace*, and it appears that from this time, Part of the *Goths* remained in *Mæsia*, who by *Jornandes* are called *Gothi Miores*, and who receiving Letters from the *Greeks*, delivered them to the other *Guthick Nations*.

Their Invasions.

10. Amongst the *Roman* Writers, after *Spartianus*, he observes, that the first mention of the *Goths* is made by *Aurelius Victor* (published by *Schottus*), in the Reign of *Decius*, at what time out of *Dacia*, they poured out themselves into the neighbouring *Thrace*, being by *Zosimus* and *Zonares* called *Scythians*, as by their Original they well might, and did pass for such. In the time of *Aurelian* and *Gallienus* they proceeded farther, and wasted *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Pontus* and *Asia*, several particulars being related by divers Authors. From others it appears that *Claudius* being Emperor they fell upon *Marcianopolis* in *Mæsia*, and then wasted both *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*, besieging *Cassandria* and *Thessalonica*. Both *Maximian* and *Constantine* the Great received them into friendship and society, and the latter made use of them against the *Sarmatæ*, and under *Theodosius* the younger, part of *Thrace* fell to their share. *Procopius* tells us that the *Goths*, called *Tetraxitæ*, lived near to the shore and straits of *Mæotis*, and farther from them, the *Goths* and *Visigoths*, and *Vandals*, and all the other *Guthick Nations* anciently named *Scythians*, as all the other Nations of those Parts with some difference, in some of *Sarmatians*, *Melanclanians* and other Names. On the other side of the Lake lived the *Cimmerians* or *Hunnes*, who it's said being perwaded by two young Men, that pursued a Stag, that the water was fordable (which they had not thought before) instantly took Arms and passed over. He adds that the *Vandals* were gone before and seated in *Africk*, and the *Visigoths* were in *Spain*. And so they fell upon the *Goths*, who dwelt in the Champaign, killed many and chased away the rest. Such as escaped passed the River *Ister*, with their Wives and Children into the *Roman* Territory, where they did much mischief. Afterward the Emperor planted them in a Country of *Thrace*, and sometimes they aided the *Romans* in quality of Confederates, receiving yearly Pensions, whereby it appears that the *Goths* (so *Procopius* observes) came not as Men conquered, but upon the Articles of a League. Sometimes also they made cauleless War upon the *Romans*, till under *Theodorich* they removed into *Italy*.

11. Great

## Sect. 2.

11. Great Mischief did the *Goths* bring to the *Roman* Provinces by their Invasions and Inroads; but the greatest mischief of all happened by the Empire, its opening it self to receive them. I mean when *Valens* received them into *Thrace*, as we have at large related in our second Part, in the year CCCLXXVI. Having by his leave passed the *Danube*, whither they were driven from their own Seats by the *Hunnes*, they presently turned head against their Entertainer, and afterward proved to many *Vipers* in the Bowels of the Provinces, still taking occasion to stir, and could not be quieted by any Seats or Entertainment given them, no though the greatest of them were preferred to the greatest place of Magistracy and Dignity, till they made themselves Leaders or Kings, and travelling Southward, at length seized upon the Provinces as Lords and Masters thereof. This the Reader may remember, from what hath been copiously related to him in this work, concerning their Motions in the time of *Honorius*, the Invasion of *Italy*, and taking of *Rome* by *Alarick*, their Actions in *Gall* and in *Spain*. It is to be observed that the Story told by *Procopius*, concerning the Deer being purified by the young men, and (what thereupon happened) the Invasion of the Seats of the *Goths* by the *Hunnes*, and their flying to the *Danube*, is by *Jornandes* made the same with their flight thither in the Reign of *Valens*, whom they petitioned to be received within the *Roman* Pale, what ever *Procopius* talks of the *Vandals* being now seated in *Africk*, and the *Visigoths* in *Spain*. It is also farther to be taken notice of, that the Migrations out of *Scandia* were in more ancient times, and that those irruptions which brought ruin to the *Roman* Provinces, and gave beginnings to the Principalities erected by these Barbarous Nations therein, were from the Eastern quarters. *Jornandes* distinguisheth thus of their Habitations: Those that abode in the first part of *Scythia* by *Mæotis*, are known to have had *Filimer* for their King; they that inhabited in the second Soil of *Dacia*, *Thracia* and *Mæsia* had *Zamolxes*, whom most Writers of Annals testify to have been a wonderfully learned Philosopher. Besides this he had formerly spoken of their planting in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the Sea of *Pontus*. But now at the time that they grew so terrible to the Empire, after that of *Valens*, they began to be known to the World, by the afterward terrible Names of *Visigoths* and *Ostrogoths*.

Whence came  
the Names of  
Ostrogoths and  
Visigoths.

12. They were known indeed more by these Names, after their parting into several Quarters of the Empire, but the Names were much ancienter. And that from their situation of West and East, they were first called *Westrogoths* and *Ostrogoths* in their own Country is most probable, and *Grotius* concludes it from *Jornandes* his Description of *Scandia* (who therein indeed mentions the *Ostrogoths* though not the other,) and from *Epiphanius*, who about the time of *Claudianus* makes mention of the *Austrogoths*, with whom the *Ostrogoths* are the same. They were joined together till the Reign of *Ermaurick*, and that of *Valens*, the Emperor; but then the *Visigoths* or *Western Goths* departed from the *Ostrogoths*, and frightened by the *Hunnes*, asked *Valens* leave to pass the *Danube*. And the *Western Goths* (corruptly called *Wiseigoths* and *Visigoths*) they were who being received, and treated ill as they pretended contrary to the Agreement, defeated and killed *Valens*. After this they seized on *Thrace* and *Dacia Ripensis*, not by a precarious Right, but by way of Dominion, and even in the time of *Gratian*. Afterward part of them under Conduct of *Fridigerus* invaded *Thessaly* and *Asia*, and another part led by *Alatheus*, and *Safrack* fell into *Pannonia*, and compelled *Theodosius* to make a Peace. This Peace being not lasting, *Alarick* their King having wasted *Thrace* and *Greece*, after *Radagaisus* invaded *Italy* through *Pannonia*, as we have shewn at large, and first after the *Galli Senones* took *Rome* in the time of *Honorius*. He that succeeded *Athabale* did the like, and presently invaded *Gall*, which was forsaken by the *Vandals*. There the *Western Goths* settled a Dominion, and afterward transferred it over the Mountains into *Spain*, where they also created a Kingdom. Of which Dominion and Kingdom we must treat particularly, and therefore here must leave the *Westrogoths* for a time.

The Kings and  
Progresses of  
the Westrogoths.

13. The *Ostrogoths* seem to have been the more considerable Party, the race of the ancient Kings, obeyed by both sorts till this Decection, proceeding from them, and namely the Family of the *Amali*, so much celebrated among them. *Amalarius* (to pass by some other Kings more ancient, the Names of whom are to be found in *Jornandes*) was the Son of *Angis*, and it seems so eminent as to give a Name to his Successors. He was the Father of *Harna*, and *Iarna* of *Ostrogotha*, who in the Reign of *Philip* the Emperor with his *Ostrogoths* (*Jornandes* yet knowing not, whether from him or their situation they received this Name,) yet

*Westrogothia*  
confinitur  
Provincia Da-  
norum que  
Scotia dicitur,  
à qua ferunt  
dicitur. *Scythi*  
ad Civitatem  
Gothorum  
magnum Sea-  
razum. *Deinde*  
*Ostrogothia*  
proceditur  
juxta mare  
quod *Baltici*  
cum dicitur  
usq; ad *By-*  
kam. *Adamas*  
Brenimiacum  
Grotium *Pro-*  
legemini.

*Amali* *Cælo-*  
*Ilar-nas*, *Ferro*  
propinqua,  
Ost. Angl.  
Egit. *Latini*  
hinc *Germani*  
*Austrini*.

that



Sect. 2.

The Gepide  
of Gothick  
Nation.

that being Confederates of the Empire their Stipends were not paid them, passed the Danube, wasted *Mæsa* and *Thrace*, and forced *Marcianopolis* to compound with him, and redeem it self. The Nation of the *Gepidae* seeing him thus victorious envied him this good Fortune, and made war upon their Kinmen, as *Jornandes*, calls them, though by the word *Patrules*, and how they came to be their Kinmen he tells you, he saith, in short if you ask the question. He puts his Reader in mind, that at the beginning of his Book, he shewed how the *Goths* proceeded out of the Island *Scanzia* with *Berick* their King, transported onely in three Ships to the Bank of the hither Ocean. Of these three Vessels, one, as often happens, failing slower than the rest, gave Name to the People; (which landed in an Island of the River *Vistula*, and afterward proceeded farther) for in their Language *Slow* is signified by *Gepanta*. Hence came it to pass that by little and little, and corruptly it came to stick to them by way of reproach. For the *Gepidae* with-  
*And thus the*  
*out doubt derive their Original from the Stock of the Goths; but because, as*  
*was said, Gepanta signifieth something slow and sluggish, the Nickname of the Geps-*  
*dae thence arose, which I dare not believe, saith he, to be the falsest thing that is.*  
*For they are of a slow humour and disposition, and more heavy as to motion*  
*of the Body. Such is the Relation of Jornandes concerning the Name and Ori-*  
*ginal of the Gepidae. He agrees with Procopius herein, who declaring which*  
*were the greatest and most famous of the Gothick Nations, reckons the Goths,*  
*Vandals, Visigoths and Gepades. He adds, that anciently they were called Sarm-*  
*tians and Melanchlenians; that they varied all in Names, and nothing else, being*  
*all fair bodied with yellow hair, tall and with good faces; that they had the*  
*same Laws, Customs and Religion, being all Arians, and all spake the Gothick Lan-*  
*guage. He supposes them to have been anciently one Nation, and their Names to*  
*have been distinguished afterward by their several Princes. Formerly, he saith, this*  
*People inhabited about the Danube; then the Gepades held the Places about Singedon*  
*and Sirmium on both sides the River, where they were when he wrote his History.*

14. There are other Testimonies sufficient to prove, that the *Gepidae* were a *Gothoscandian* Nation. They also as we have seen, invaded and wasted the *Roman* Empire. They were once Associates with the *Romans*, but joined with the *Lombards* and broke Truces, after which they made great stir in the World till they were overcome, and in a manner destroyed by the *Lombards*, in the time of *Alboin*, who married *Rafamunda* the Daughter of *Cunimund* their King. But to return to our former Story: *Fasfida* the King of the *Gepidae* being puffed up with the good Success he had against the *Burgundians*, whom he almost destroyed, broke the League with the *Goths* his Kinmen. He sent to *Ostrogotha*, to whom both the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths* were subject, to tell him, that he was too much straitned in room, and he must give the *Gepidae* Land, or prepare for War. He answered he should be sorry to make War upon his Kindred, but he would part with no Land, and thereupon a bloody Battel was fought, wherein the *Gepidae* were shamefully beaten, and the *Goths* contenting themselves with Victory, moved not during the Reign of *Ostrogotha*. After his death, *Cniva* divided them into two Armies, and sending one into *Mæsa*, with the other consisting of seventy thousand Men, he himself fell on *Eusefsum* or *Nona*; whence being removed by *Gallus*, a Captain, he went to *Nicopolis* a City *Trojan* had built upon overthrowing the *Sarmatae*, near the River *Jater*. But *Decius* the Emperour marching towards him, he removed into the Parts of *Hæmonia* near adjoining, purposing for *Philippolis*. *Decius* intended to pursue him, and resting his Men at *Berthæa*, *Cniva* with his *Goths*, fell like a Thunderbolt upon him, and forced him to fly into *Mæsa*. *Cniva* having long besieged *Philippolis*, at length got the Governour *Priscus* to join with him, and pursued *Decius*; where *Gallus* being Captain of the Limit had recruited his Army. And they came to an engagement, wherein first the Son of *Decius*, and afterward the Emperour himself was slain, and ended his Life and Reign together.

15. After this the *Goths* invaded *Asia*, where having burnt the Temple of *Di-ana* at *Ephesus*, and demolished *Chalcedon*; they retired into *Thrace*, and wasted that Countrey. They assisted *Maximian* the Emperour against the *Parthians*, and *Constantine* the Great against *Licinius*, forty thousand of them serving under him, who continued in the *Roman* Army by the Name of *Fœderati*. These things he did under the Conduct of their Kings *Ararick* and *Arick*, after whom came *Giberick* a notable Person. He overthrew the *Wandals* his Neighbours with *Vise-mar* their King, who was defended of the Race of the *Ardingi*, renowned amongst them. Such of the *Wandals* as remained after the Overthrow, begged *Pannonia*

Ararick,  
Arick,  
Giberick,Ararick, be-  
fore plim.  
Ararick, be-  
fore plim.  
High-Bin-  
gen, etc in

Hermanarick

The Original  
of the Heruli.

of *Constantine* the Emperour, to whose Succession they were obedient forty years, till being invited by *Stilicho* they fell upon *Gall*, but settled not therein. *Giberick* being dead, after some time *Hermanarick* was King, one descended of the most noble Family of the *Amali*. He conquered for many Northern Nations, that by some he was compared to *Alexander* the Great. Having subdued many (the Names of whom *Jornandes* gives us, but might have as well supplied them; so strange they are) he could not omit the *Heruli*, but needs must fall on them also. The Historian tells us from a far better Authour, *Ablaius* whose work hath miscarried, that this Nation of the *Heruli*, dwelling near the Fens of *Meotis* in waterish places, had its Name from them, which by the *Greeks* are called *Hebe*: a People, he adds, by how much more swift and agile, so much more abundantly proud; for there was then no Nation, which chose not its light armed Soldiers out of them. But formerly in the same work *Jornandes* writes, that they were driven out of their Seats by the *Dani*, which Seats were in *Scavzia*, for of the Inhabitants thereof he speaks in that Chapter. With him *Procopius* agrees, that they inhabited formerly beyond the River *Ister*, serving many Gods, and holding it no impiety to appease them with humane Sacrifices. He adds, that they had Laws different from other Men, when Men were grown aged or sick, they were not to live; but intreat their Kindred to put them out of the World. The Kindred made a Pile of wood and set the Man on the Top, and sent one who was a stranger to him in blood to dispatch him, then set they the Pile on fire, and the flame being done gathered up his bones and buried them. When one of the *Heruli* died, his Wife (if he would be thought virtuous) was to strangle her self over her Husband's Tomb; otherwise she was esteemed infamous, and an Enemy to her Husband's Kindred.

16. In time they over-topped the bordering Barbarians in Populoufness and Power, and vanquish them in fight one by one, foraged their Countreys, and kept them under. They subdued the *Lombards*, being Christians, and made them pay Tribute either out of Covetousness or Vainglory, it being a thing not used by the Barbarians in these Parts. In the Reign of *Anastafius*, having none left to subdue, they remained quiet for three years, but for that reviling and provoking their King *Rodolph*, he made an unjust War upon the *Lombards*, not charging them with the breach of Treaties or any other Pretence. The issue was that many of the *Heruli* were slain with their King, and the rest flying were almost all cut in pieces. Upon this they left their Countrey, and passing through all the Land beyond the River *Ister*, fate down in the Countrey of the *Rugi* who had left it, and were gone with the *Goths* into *Italy*. But the Land being waste they removed to the *Gepidae*, who at first permitted them to plant by them, but afterwards wronged and abused them, which moved them to pass *Ister*, to dwell by the *Romans* there. *Anastafius* received them, and afterward when they committed wicked Acts, he killed most of them, sending an Army, and would have destroyed them all, but their Leaders begged their Lives, and to be taken for Auxiliaries and Servants of the Empire, and so some escaped alive; yet neither aided nor served the *Romans*. *Justinian* coming to the Empire, gave them a fertile Countrey and Goods, made them also his Associates, and persuaded them to be Christians; upon which they grew civiler, and applying themselves to the Laws of Christianity, served the *Romans* as Auxiliaries. But still, saith *Procopius*, they are false to us and covetous, not thinking it any shame to wrong their Neighbours. They use impious Mixtures with Men and Beasts, being indeed the wickedest of all Men and Wretches, wretchedly to perish: Some of them continued the League with us, and the rest revolted upon this Occasion. To shew the savageness of their Nature, they killed *Ochen* their King suddenly; without alledging any thing, but that they would no more be under a King.

Their Wick-  
edness.

17. And indeed their King before had onely the Name, otherwise little advantage above a private Man. All sate at meat with him, and put licentious Affronts upon him, the *Heruli* being the most indifcreet and lightest Men alive. But this soul fact they instantly repented, finding no possibility to live without Governours and Generals. After much consultation they resolved to send for one of the Blood Royal, from the Island of *Thule*. For the *Heruli* being overthrown by the *Lombards*, and leaving their Native soil, some dwell in *Illyricum*, but others past not the River *Ister*, but thought it better to plant in the uttermost borders of the habitable World. These conducted by many of the Blood Royal, passed through the Nations of the *Slani*, a large desert Countrey, the *Varni*, and those of the *Danes* (the Barbarians using no violence against them) and coming to the

Sect. 2.

Judicio pub-  
lico. Giberick,  
Dania polenta.  
Hæres exercitus.  
Hæres, miles.  
Hermanarick,  
Multitibus  
polenta.

C. 3.

De Bellis Goth.  
lib. 2.







Sect. 2.

ty in the world; and not onely did he doe this, but erected also a Statue to the same of so great a Man before his Palace. *Theodorich* thus enjoyed plenty and all good things, but knowing his *Goths* in *Illyricum* to be ill at ease, he chose rather to get his Living by labour according to the custome of his Nation, than to enjoy the good things of the *Romans* in idleness, when in the mean time his Countreymen fared meanly. He applied himself therefore to the Emperour, and humbly desiring liberty to speak, demanded what reason there was why the Western Parts, which had been subject to his Predecessour, should now lie under the tyranny of the King of the *Turcilingi* and *Rugi*. He prayed him to send him and his Nation thither, and thereby to rid himself of so great charge; and if by God's assistance he should succeed in his Enterprize, the Glory would be his. He told him it was better that he being his Servant and his Son, if he overcame should hold that Kingdom as by his Gift, than that one whom he knew not should under the yoke of a Tyrant oppress his Senate and part of the Commonwealth with a slavish Captivity. If he overcame he would hold it as his Gift, and as by his Favour; and if he miscarried, the Emperour should lose nothing but be a gainer by the bargain, being delivered from such expence as he was at. The Emperour hearing this, though he was sorry to part with him, yet would not displease him but granted his Request, commending to him the *Roman* Senate and People. Hereupon *Theodorich* departed to his *Goths*, and led them into *Italy*, as we have formerly shewn; where besieging *Odoacer* in *Ravenna*, he so straitned him, as this same Authour writes, that he begged pardon, which first he granted him, and afterward deprived him of Life. And in the third year after his invasion of *Italy*, having privately advised with the Emperour *Zeno*, laying off the Habit of his Nation, he took Regal Ornaments, as one who reigned over both *Goths* and *Romans*.

*Theodorich* becomes Master of *Italy*.

28. Thus we have seen the Original of the *Goths*, and have drawn down their story to their coming to found Kingdoms in the *Roman* Empire. Concerning their Manners and Dispositions they had their Name from being Good as it imports, and *Grotius* hath taken some pains to prove that. They continued when in great power. Of this in the course of our History we have seen something, and more are to see e'er we have done with them. For their awkward Habit take it as *Sidonius Apollinaris* describes it. "They are red with Saffron, they are shod with high Shoes made of Hair which reach up to their Ankle-bones: Their Knees, Thighs and Legs are without any covering: Their Garment high and strait, of divers colours, scarcely reaching to the Hamms stretched out: Their Sleeves onely cover the tops of their Armes: Their Callocks green, with a red Welt: Their Belts hang on their Shoulders: Their Ears are covered with wreaths of Locks: they use hooked Lances and missile Hatchets. Here we cannot but take notice that the *Wandals* and *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, were of the same Original with the *Goths*. *Procopius* saith expressly that they were *Gothick* Nations as well as the *Gepidae*, and he had reason to be instructed in their descent, being acquainted with *Gelomir* their King, and the Nobles brought Prisoners to *Constantinople*. He tells us the Language of the *Wandals* was *Gothick*, and doubts not but that they were anciently one People, distinguished in Names, but agreeing in Original and Manners. He relates that together with the *Goths* they came out of their ancient Country to the Pen of *Mæotis*. *Jornandes* reckoning up the People of *Scandia* mentions the *Vinniloths*, which as *Grotius* observes, signifies the Possession of the *Vinnils*, for so they are also called; and *Vinnils*, and *Vinnili* by some Authours. *Wandal* signifies a Wanderer, who continues not in one place; and so they seem indeed for some reason to have had the Name: and not onely they, but other people in *Germany* and elsewhere might be so called also for the same reason: but no where means those *Wandals* who for some time held *Spain* and *Africk*, as we have largely seen, and were subdued by *Belisarius*.

The *Wandals* of the former signal with the *Goths*.

29. Of those that were originally of *Scandia*, part as was said in old time fate down with the *Goths* at the Pen of *Mæotis*. Of them who invaded *Spain* and *Africk* the Ancestours in the space of a year came from the Ocean where they inhabited, into *Dacia* so much vexed by Incomers. *Jornandes* saith these *Wandals* were called *Asdingi*. They came into *Dacia* in the Reign of *Aurelius Antoninus* the Emperour. In the time of *Aurelian* they inhabited at the *Danube*, and making a League with the *Romans*, promised them Succours. *Constantine* gave them part of *Pannonia*, and hence they poured out themselves into *Gall*, when *Honorius* was Emperour. Thence they proceeded into *Spain*, such of them as were called *Silingi* into *Bætica*, and the rest into *Gallaecia* and the neighbouring Regions, *Godigisclus* being their King. *Gontharis* succeeded him, who subdued the *Alani* that were potent in *Spain*. To *Gontharis* succeeded *Gowrick* commonly called *Genserick* the

Sect. 3.

the Conquerour of *Africk*, who confirmed his possession thereof by a League with *Valentinian* the Emperour. What things he did, and how far he reigned, the Reader may remember, as also what was done by, and happened to, his Successours out of that account we have given of them in our Second Part; for there being little of consequence concerning them, but what also involved the Affairs of the *Romans*, we thought it not fit to make a particular History of that their Kingdom in *Africk*, which was soon again reduced by *Justinian*. Now we shall onely add concerning them farther what *Grotius* hints, that some memory of the Dominion of the *Wandals* in *Spain* is still preserved in the Name of *Andalusia*, which anciently was *Wandalosia*, and in the *Wandalick* Tongue was *Wandaloth*.

And the *Longobards*.

30. As there might be several People which had the Name of *Wandals*, from their changing of Seats and Habitations, so also in *Germany* and elsewhere, others to whom that of *Longobards* was given, from the length of their Beards. But those who made such a noise in the Empire, and seated themselves in *Italy*, from whom *Lombardy* still is so called, were of *Scandia* also, descended from the *Gepidae*, of whom, if *Grotius* observe right, first mention is made in the time of *Theodosius*, by *Prosper Aquitanus*. From *Procopius* it appears, that with the *Gepidae* their Parents, they had Seats on this side the *Danube*. *Paulus Warnotridus* writes that they were called first *Vinnili* before they had the Name of *Longobardi*. In the sixth year of *Justin* the Emperour the *Gepidae* were utterly crushed by them, and their Kingdom came to an end. By these same *Longobards* was the Son-in-law of *Justin* and *Pandarus* overthrowen. After *Tiberius* had succeeded *Justin* they came into *Italy* and made *Antarick* King over them. What progress their Arms made there in the times of *Tiberius* and *Mauritius* we have seen already, and how they founded a Kingdom, and that they held all *Italy*, in a manner, except *Rome* and *Ravenna*, and continued their Dominion for two hundred years. God willing, we are to see in the particular History of their Kingdom. But the *Goths* were their Predecessours therein, and their Kingdom first is to have place; for we have brought already *Theodorich* into *Italy*, and there placed him on the Throne of *Odoacer*.

### SECT. III.

#### The Kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

The Space of Sixty years.

1. *O* *Odoacer* being dead, *Theodorich* easily made himself Master of *Italy*; which done, *Dalmatia* and *Rhetia*, formerly in the Hands of his Enemy, submitted also themselves to his Power. *Sicily* was something stubborn and unwilling to acknowledge her new Lord; but by the means of *Cassiodorus* his Lieutenant he brought her into subjection peaceably and without blood-shed. There remained now onely one Rub to be removed, and that had been laid in his way by the rashness and folly of his own Men, who being left in *Pavia*, upon notice of his Success at *Ravenna*, transported with the News, flew out of that City to congratulate with him; which the *Rugi*, who had served *Odoacer* perceiving, took the advantage, and seizing on the Town, plundered it with all the Country adjoining. But the Stars of *Theodorich* were too powerful to suffer him to miscarry in this adventure, and make shipwreck of his Fortunes in the very Haven; therefore leading his Army down to *Pavia*, within a few months he easily reduced it, used his Victory with moderation, and by the sequel of his Actions shewed, that though War seemed to be his Masterpiece, yet he delighted not in it for its self, but used it as a means to procure a firm and lasting Peace. Sheathing then his Sword and taking the Sceptre, he first endeavoured to confirm his Estate, by Leagues and Alliances with his Neighbour Princes. In the first place with the Emperour, who readily admitted of his Friendship and Society; then with *Clodovee* King of the *Franks*, whose Daughter *Amesleda* he desired and obtained in Marriage.

*Vide Sigismondo de Occidentali Imperio. l. 16.*

*Theodorich* reduces *Pavia*.

Sect. 3.  
Maketh Alliances.

age. His own two Daughters which he had by a Concubine he bestowed, the one on *Alarick King of the Westgoths in Gall*, and the other on *Sigismund Son of Gundobald King of the Burgundians*. When he had thus secured his Government, both within and without, he set about the modelling of his Polity, and herein he used the advice and diligence of *Aurelius Cassiodorus*, a most learned man, whom he had made a *Patritian*, and adorned with the greatest honours of *Comes, Consul, and Praefectus Praetorio*. Him he retained by him as his Counsellour, both for modelling the State, and governing it when he reduced it into form and order. By his advice he made new Laws, it's said, and reformed bad Customs, and by his direction, if not his Hand, were written his Letters and Commissions, the choicest of which he preserved and published in twelve Books still extant, being to many monuments, not onely of this new *Gothick Model*, but even of the ancient *Roman Polity* it self.

He made very little alteration on in the Government.

2. Indeed the greatest alteration which *Theodorich* made in *Italy* seems the waving of the Imperial Title, and settling and continuing that which *Odoacer* had begun and assumed before him. Otherwise the same form of Government, and the several sorts of Magistrates he left as he found them: viz. the *Senate, Consuls, Patritians, Praefecti Praetorio, Praefect of the City, Quaestor, Comes Largitionum, Comes Rerum privatarum, Domesticonum, the Magistri Militum, Equitum* and others, as is evident from the terms of their Commissions, wherein the Nature of their Offices is expressed, and fuller and better than any other Authour now extant, (as the Reader may perceive by what he hath already perused in our Second Part,) to be seen amongst the *variae Epistolae of Cassiodorus*. These Offices with others he ordinarily conferred on *Romans*. Suits and Controversies arising in the Provinces, if amongst *Goths* he would have determined by *Goths*, if amongst *Romans* by *Romans*, and if betwixt a *Goth* and a *Roman* by those of both Nations, sent down into the Countrey for that purpose; all which he overlaw himself, and administered Justice with all Severity and Impartiality. To such *Heruli* and other Barbarous People, as being brought in by *Odoacer*, desired to continue in the Countrey he assigned new Seats and Possessions, giving those they had formerly enjoyed to the *Goths* his Countrymen. Those *Italians* who had kept their Faith once given to *Odoacer* immutable he not onely pardoned, but some of them he promoted to the greatest Honours. Indeed such as broke Faith to himself by revolting he abhorred, and according to the *Roman Law* took from them the Power of making Testaments. What Tributes *Odoacer* had imposed he still required, and laid a new Imposition upon the People called *As publicus*, which yet he would remit to such as any Calamity had rendered insolvent, or as he saw occasion. Following the Example of the late Emperours, and *Odoacer*, he made *Ravenna* the Seat of his Kingdom, to which having now a Title not onely by Conquest, but by the Gift of the Emperour, as is said, and the Consent and Choice of the Senate, he laid aside his own Countrey Habit, and assumed the Purple with other Ensigns of Royalty; to accommodate himself to the Humour of the *Italians*, and remove that prejudice which different Habits and Fashions might beget in the fancies of the People. And though in his Opinion he was an *Arian*, he not onely not troubled but favoured the Orthodox, striving every way to gratifie them as he did indeed all his Subjects; as well by the former Methods of Conduct, as by releasing Prisoners, redeeming Captives, and other Acts of Clemency and Bounty; whereby all manner of ways he obliged his People, and obtained their Love and hearty affection.

His way of governing excellent.

He obliged all his Subjects.

3. But as humane Councils are imperfect and uncertain, even as all sublimary Affairs are subject to change and perpetual Inconstancy, that he was deficient in his Measures, appeared quickly in one or two particulars. The *Burgundians* having invaded *Liguria*, had thence led away Captive all the Inhabitants, and thereupon the Countrey lay altogether waste, and remained in a desolate Condition. He had taken, as formerly was the Benefit of the Law from such as had revolted from him, who being very considerable not onely for their Number, but Interest and Relations, it made a great disturbance, discomposed the Affairs as well of his Friends as others, and much discouraged the People in all Places. At the Solicitation of *Laurentius Bishop of Milan*, and *Epiphanius of Pavia*, he published a general Pardon, and thereby seasonably applied a Remedy to one of the Distempers, and because there was no Courte to be taken, for replanting of *Liguria* out of *Italy* it self, which the Wars had so much exhausted, he resolved rather to have empty Coffers than to suffer that Countrey to lye desolate, to be both an Eye-fore, and obnoxious to the Attempts of any Enemy. He sent *Epiphanius* whose Vertues he knew to be much admired by the King of the

Some Errors.

the *Burgundians* on an Embassy to him, furnished with money for redemption of the Captives, and he being very welcome improved the advantage afforded by his Reputation to such an height, that by his Christian Eloquence and Fatherly Exhortations, he persuaded *Gundobade* to release the Prisoners without Ranfome. The King alleged that it was quite contrary to his Interest, both as a Prince and as a Soldier, and granted his request with this restriction, that such as had been taken in Fight should pay their Ranfome to those that took them, lest he should disoblige and utterly discourage his Soldiers, by remitting what was their due and not his, and taking from them the price of their Lives and Fortunes. Upon publication of the King's pleasure, so great multitudes returned home, that the Towns of *Gall* seemed to be unpeopled. Out of the Territories of *Lugdunum* or *Lyon* alone in one day departed four hundred men, and out of those of *Saxony*, and the places adjacent, so many in all as made up the number six thousand. Toward the sum that was to be paid for the redemption of such as had been taken by private Soldiers, *Syagria* a Woman of great sanctity, and *Avitus Bishop of Vienna* contributed: how many these were could not be computed, because many of them fled away. Also in his way homeward, *Epiphanius* took the City of *Geneva*, whither *Godegisal*, imitating the King his Brother, dismissed such as were in his power; with which stream as it were, the former great current being enlarged, filled all the ways leading into *Italy*. *Epiphanius* returned in the Head of them as in a glorious Triumph, and coming to *Theodorich* obtained a relief of the necessities of his Captives, especially those of the better sort. All which *Eudius*, an eye witness and fellow Traveller, hath related in the Life of that Bishop.

4. But long is it since we heard any thing of *Rome*, formerly the Stage of the greatest Triumphs, as well as the Seat of Council, and the School of Policy. Now at length arriving at the D. year of our Lord, the Eighth of the Emperour *Anastasius*, and the Eighth of *Theodorich*, an Idea and Resemblance of the former Triumph presents it self unto us; an Image of its ancient splendour, and that infinite concourse of people which of old from every Nation flocked unto her, when yet all the received were but her own Citizens and Domesticks. The thing that draws us thither is a Journey of *Theodorich* himself, whom we cannot but follow in this kind of Pilgrimage undertaken to pay his Devours of Admiration to that Queen of Cities, of which he had often heard, read much, but had never had the contentment to see her. All *Italy* at the news of this Progress seemed to be moved, and ambitiously ready to encourage that zealous respect he bore to the ancient Seat of its Empire and Majesty. There seemed to be a contention betwixt those that inhabited in and about *Ravenna* and such as lived at *Rome*, whether they should bring, or these should fetch their King to the City. With a most splendid Train, and such an appearance as of a long time had not been seen, he made his Entry, and was received with incredible joy and applause of the Citizens, who omitted nothing wherein they could doe him honour. At the Court he was welcomed by an eloquent Oration, made by *Boetius* the most eloquent Scholar and Oratour of this Age, to which he answered in a very obliging Speech, protesting his study and endeavours for advancement of the Dignity and all possible advantages of the Senate. Thence proceeding into the *Circus*, as far as the place called *Palma Aurea*, he spake most lovingly to the People; which done, he entertained the Senatours at a triumphal kind of Feast, and gave a Largess of Corn to the Commoners. Several days he spent in viewing the Antiquities of the City, with which his eyes could not be satiated, professing that the *Forum of Trajan* alone, though to one that saw it every day, could appear no less than a miracle, and that when he had mounted the *Capitol*, he saw all humane wit and policy surmounted. He took especial notice of, and commended the admirable Fabrick of the Baths, and the wholesomeness of the Waters. He grieved to see the ruins of the Buildings, but chiefly of the Walls, to the repairing of which he contributed great sums of money. Neither did his care extend to *Rome* alone; to all the Cities of *Italy* his munificence reached, wherein he took order for building strong Castles, and stately Palaces; and to this end wrote his Letters to all his Subjects to suffer Stones to be gathered out of their Fields, and to preserve old Marbles which had formerly been used in decayed Houses. He seemed so far ravished with the remains of the Majesty of old *Rome*, that he said it was a peculiar crime, for any one who could fix his habitation there, to be long absent. Yet his Affairs calling him away he returned to *Ravenna*, having much quieted the stir raised about the election of a *Roman Bishop*, which, joyed with his great desire to see the place, had called him thither.

Theodorich goes to Rome.

## Sect. 3.

Anastasius the Emperor in Italy by Sea.

5. In the mean time *Anastasius* the Emperour, ordering his matters quite contrary to the Maxims of *Theodorich*, had the quite contrary fortune, being as much hated as the other was beloved by his Subjects. Whether out of envy to the King, or bearing him a grudge for holding from him *Pannonia*, which he claimed as belonging to the Eastern Empire, he took occasion to quarrel with him; and as *Marcellinus* hints, in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, sent out a Fleet to Sea, with orders to waste the coasts of *Italy*. To balance his power the better, he encouraged *Clodovee* King of the *Franks* in his Attempts against the *Goths*, and the more to court him deigned him Consul for the said year, of which honour it's said he would not accept. As for *Theodorich*, not onely his demeanour towards his Subjects, but his rules and methods of waging War were diametrically opposite to those of the Emperour. His custome was to be present himself in Expeditions, except some notable matter hindered; and to purchase Peace not with Gold and Silver, but with Steel and Wood, his Sword and Bow. The *Bulgari*, whom *Anastasius* had bought off from waisting his Dominions, having nothing else to do, passed out of *Thrace* into *Pannonia*, which waisting and harailling at their pleasure, they seized on the City *Sirmium*. *Theodorich* having notice could not goe in person against them, the Affairs of *Italy* and *Gall* requiring his stay at home, and his Eye to be upon the motions of the *Franks* and the *Burgundians*; but to preserve the place of his Nativity, and keep the War from his own doors, rather than out of any respect to the Emperour, whose hands were now full with the *Persian* War, he sent *Petza* a *Comes* with considerable Forces, who the year following very happily finished the War, recovering both *Sirmium* out of the hands of the *Bulgari*, and the whole Province. Having so happily dispatched this War he relieved *Mondai*, whom *Sabinianus* had besieged in a certain Castle in *Illyricum*. *Theodorich* gave the government of *Pannonia* to *Coleffus* a *Comes*, a Copy of whose Commission *Cassiodorus* preserved, and is still extant amongst his various Epistles; from which the Reader may perceive what the power was which those Governours exercised, extending both to matters of War and Peace, and that the girding with a Sword was the mark and badge of their Office. After this Commission follows a Letter directed to all Barbarians and *Romans* inhabiting *Pannonia*, acquainting them that he had made *Coleffus* their Governour, and requiring them to take notice of and obey him as such.

*Theodorich* reduces *Pannonia*.

Makes *Coleffus* his Governour.

6. There being a quarrel betwixt *Alarick* King of the *Visigoths* in *Gall*, and *Clodovee* King of the *Franks*, and both of them being his near Allies, he omitted no arguments to persuade them to take up the matter, denouncing War in a manner to the aggressour, and promising relief to the oppressed, as is to be seen in his Letters collected by *Cassiodorus*. As it usually happens in such a case, he who was least in fault, and most unfit to decide the controversy by force of Arms gladly accepted the mediation, but he who had more reason to be confident, rather upon the strength of his Sword than the goodness of his Cause, made Excuses, framed Delays, and in conclusion utterly refused to be concluded by Arbitration. *Theodorich* addresses himself to the *Burgundian* King, as also to those who commanded the *Heruli* and *Thuringi* then inhabiting near the *Alpes*, and invites them to join with him in the Mediation, using Arguments drawn from the Exigency of their own Affairs, which would not be a little endangered by such Success as the *Frank* promised to himself. But while these Neighbour Princes thus think of Mediation and Balancing, *Clodovee* resolves not to loose his opportunity but passing the *Loire* begins the War, and in a great and bloody Battel deprives *Alarick* both of Life and Kingdom, whose Son *Amalarick*, things being in so desperate a Condition, withdrew himself into *Spain*, there to expect when an opportunity of recovering his Estate should be presented by better Fortune. *Theodorich* pitying the Condition of the Youth sent *Theudas*, an Officer of his own, to take care of him, and resolved if he could not recover those Cities of *Gall*, which were already lost, to prevent the Progress of *Clodovee*, and secure the rest which still remained in the Power of the *Goths*.

Sends *Theudas* rich to protect *Spain*.

7. To this purpose he published his Proclamation, that the *Ostrogoths* his Subjects should be ready by the latter End of *June* to begin their Journey, clawing them with such Expressions as these, *There is no need of persuading Goths to fight, only of acquainting them with the thing, which is rather a Pleasure to a warlike People*. In the Consulship of *Venantius* and *Celer*, or the DVIII. Year of our Lord, his Army, under Command of *Flibba* a *Comes*, passing the *Alpes* raised the Siege before *Caracassum*, relieved *Arles*, and taking in *Tolose*, *Orange* and *Marzeilles*, left that Part of the Countrey lying upon the *Rhone* in the Hands of *Clodovee*, from whom *Theodorich* was not able

Lib. 3. Ep. 23. Commissionis tibi provinciæ an armi prærogative concessa. Puffendorf instituit assignat ad Sirmium Pannoniæ quondam 6. deum Gerson præferebat Illystrii Cingit Diapinias præcipit. Vid. Ep. I. c. 3. Ep. 4. 2, 3, 4.

able to recover it. Sending many Thousands of Prisoners to *Ravenna*, he seized on such as he recovered, to the use of *Amalarick* his Nephew, placing Governours where he saw occasion as well in *Gall* as in *Spain*, which was divided betwixt the said *Amalarick* and *Gisalarick*. But while he thus busied himself in *Gall*, *Romanus* the *Comes Domesticonum*, and *Ruflicus* a *Comes Scholæ*, with and hundred armed Ships and as many Flyboats, wherein were about Eight Thousand Soldiers, invaded the Coasts of *Italy*, as was formerly hinted, and having attacked *Tarentum* to no purpose, got good booty and so retired; whether sent on purpose, or on their own accord, *Signorius* accounts it uncertain, though *Marcellinus* wrote that they were sent by *Anastasius*, and it doth not seem probable that Robbers and Pirates should put to Sea with so great a Power without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Prince. *Theodorich* having little or no Diversion given him hereby, the Year following hired a great Number of *Gepidae* to reinforce his Garrisons in *Gall*, and took special care that in their Passage through *Liguria*, and the Countrey of the *Veneti*, they should do no injury to the Inhabitants. To this purpose he directed his Letters yet extant to *Veranus Saio* to see them keep good Order in their March, and wrote to the Army it self, acquainting them that he was once minded to give them Provisions for their Journey in *Specie*, but afterwards considering that Victuals either might not conveniently be had, or else spoiled by the way, he had now ordered them three *Solidi* in Gold by the week; a small Allowance one would think, or else his Forces were not very numerous.

Sends *Gepidae* into *Gall*.

8. *Theodorich* having allowed his *Gepidae* three *Solidi* a Week for their Passage, gravely, and like a Prince that was solicitous for the good of his People, admonished them by Letters to carry themselves moderately, and as became those that fought for the Safety of all *Italy*. But they measuring Decency by Convenience alone, and accustomed to Depredations, could not keep their Hands from pillaging the Inhabitants of the *Cottique Alpes* in their way, which Misdemeanour touched the King as near as if he in his own Person had been the Sufferer. And as a prudent Prince who ought to neglect his Profit for a time, rather than utterly to loose his Revenue, he cauteh his Letters to be written to *Faustus* the *Præpositus*, or *Præfatus Prætorio* (to whom he giveth the Title of *Illustri Magnificencia tua*) wherein he lets him know that he remitted to the said Inhabitants of the *Alpes Cottie* the publick Money payable in the third Indiction. He compares the Army to a River, which though it doe much good flowing in its own: peculiar Channel, yet enlargeth its Passage and doeth much Mischief, when it riseth beyond its due Proportion, bearing down all before it. By the third Indiction is meant the third Year in fifteen, according to which Number the Emperours computed the times, after that the reckoning by the *Olympiads* came to be obsolete. Who began this Computation is uncertain. It's commonly ascribed to *Constantine* the Great; but *Cedrenus* will have it invented by *Theodosius*. Of those who father it on *Constantine*, *Panninius* fetcheth the Original of the Indictions from his Victory over *Maxentius*, *Joseph Scaliger* from his Exhibition of his *Munera Quinquennialia* to the time of his *Quinquennialia*, thinks the Number of fifteen was invented. *Baronius* affirms that there is no reckoning of Years by the Indictions to be found before the seventh Year of *Constantine*, wherein he overcame *Maxentius*; that *Censorinus*, who writes of all manner of Supputations, saith nothing of them, nor do any Ecclesiastical Monuments till the sitting of the *Armenian* Council under *Julius*, the Successour of *Symeon*, but from the Greek. *Agli* it manifestly appears that from the said seventh Year of *Constantine*, and the Consulship of himself, and *Licinius*, the Indictions began to be reckoned in the Calendar.

Several Opinions about the Original and Number of Indictions.

9. Now for better understanding this matter it is to be considered, that the Indictions were famous for two things, viz. the Payment of Tribute or the Ordinary Tax, and the Supputation of Years or Distinction of times. In respect of the first, they seem of a much earlier Date than the times of *Constantine*, and introduced by *Augustus Cæsar*, who, as *Dion Cassius* witnesseth, a little before Our Saviour's Birth began a Recription or Tax; first of such as lived in *Italy*, and were worth *Ducentia Sesteria*, omitting then such as were not so rich or inhabited the Provinces, for fear of Inturbations. From which shortly after being delivered by the settlement of his Affairs, when his Treasury was now very low, he imposed the Tax upon all the World. Perceiving that Commotions might hereupon be raised, several Persons were sent away into several Provinces to look to the Peace, and amongst the rest *Sulpicius Cyrenius* was taken from his Attendance upon *Cajus Cæsar*, and dispatched into *Syria*, *M. Lollius* being appointed Governour to young *Cæsar* in his room. That in this sense, Indictions were not of a much later date, appears from

## Sect. 3.

Provinciæ illi Principis. Ep. 16. c. 4.

Quem vide ad An. 312.

1562 l. 10.

Sect. 3.

from *Julianus* and *Paulus* the Lawyers, from what they answer concerning Lands obnoxious to this Indiction or Payment. But what sort of Payment this was or how it was fessed, whether by Poll or a Tax upon the Estate, hath been doubted. It's most probably conjectur'd that it was levied both ways, at first, a certain Estate in Land and a certain Age (though various at several times) being required of those that paid it. For the Chief Collectour took notice of all Persons who were to pay and who not, and at what time they had already begun or were to begin to pay, registering their Names. The *Syrians*, as appears from *Ulpian*, were obliged to pay Tribute, the Males at fourteen and the Females at twelve Years of Age, or the time of Puberty. Afterward, the way of payment by Poll called *Capitatio*, came to be more distinguish'd from the Land Tax called *Jugatio*, and that in the time of *Ulpian*.

10. Granting then that the Indictions, as they noted or imposed Payment of Money, were before the time of *Constantine*, yet that so anciently they were made use of for Supputation of times doth not any where appear. But how should they come to comprize the Period of fifteen Years, or so many together to be called the first, second, third Indiction and so forward, till the fifteenth be reckoned, and then to begin again? Some with *Scaliger* guess the reason to have been, because *Constantine* reckoned from his *Quinquennialia* to his *Vicennialia*. Others, as *Paulus Petavius*, because Men being not fessed of old, till they were fourteen Years old complete, the Sels or Tax could not be laid or estimated but for fifteen Years at most, those who should be taxed at the next fifteenth Year being yet unborn. And *Baro-Vide-Baronius* cannot possibly (he saith) assign any other reason than this, that whereas fifteen Years were formerly required for a Soldier to serve before he could challenge a Milition, Freedom from the *Capitatio*, or the Privilege of the *Emeriti*, *Constantine*, who had much kindness as he himself professeth for the *Veterane* Soldiers, cut this term shorter by one Year, and appointed fifteen for their Service. That all these fifteen Years should be reckoned by so many Indictions thence probably came to pass, because of every of these Years *Annona indicibatur*, Provisions either in *Specie* or in Money were imposed and laid upon the Provinces by Rescript or Edict of the Prince, and so they were called Indictions *ab indicando*; care being taken by several Laws, that before the beginning of the Indiction, true and Authentick Breves should be made for prevention of Fraud and Cheating in the Collectours. Hence this Indiction came to be called *Distributio* and *Fusa*. *Baronius* farther conjectureth, that the Reason why the Indictions began on the twenty fourth of *September* was, because that then Harvest being every where got in, the Emperours were wont at that time to *indict, impose or lay the Taxes upon the several Provinces*. But *Petavius* affirms that the beginning of an Indiction was the same with that of a Year, and that thereupon the *Romans* computed their Indictions from after the Winter Solstice, but the *Greeks* from the first New Moon after the Autumnal *Aequinoctial*, who having not their Months fixed as had the *Romans* but moveable, and their first Month beginning with the first New Moon after the Autumnal *Aequinoctial*, which most commonly happened on the twenty fourth of *September*, it came to pass that the *Roman* Indiction had a divers Epoche from that of the *Greeks*. The Emperours that succeeded *Constantine* followed the *Greek* Account, as also did their Subjects; but the Bishops of *Rome* always observed their own, and still retain, we are told, their ancient Customs. The Indictions were so notable, and the Supputation by them, that it was very convenient to make this Digression upon them. But of their beginning diversly in divers Countries we have spoken in our second Part; Let us return to the Kingdom and Government of *Theodorich*.

Felix made Consul with Secundinus.

11. For the Year following or the DXI. of Our Lord, in the fourth Indiction, *Theodorich* to oblige the Countrey of *Gall*, and reward the Virtue of *Felix* a deserving Person of that Nation, joined him in the Consulship with *Secundinus*, who was named for the East. Concerning this Person he wrote an Epistle Commendatory to *Anastasius* the Emperour, still extant, for his approbation, together with another directed to *Felix* himself, both Communitary and in way of Commiffion. Herein he commends him for his frugality, which had inabled him to undergoe the Expences of the Dignity to which he doth also encourage him, they being great. For the same Year and the same fourth Indiction he made *Arbogastus* Prefect of the City, that he might, as he tells him in his Patent, succeed to his Father's Honours, bidding him consider how great a matter it was in the beginning of his Preferments to have gray-headed *Rome* committed to his Government, and charging him to carry himself so justly, modestly and generously, that he might no way disgrace his Employment, but maintain his Dignity amongst  
many

D. E. 4. de Civ. lib.

Sect. 3.

many grave and understanding Persons as the *Roman* Senate afforded. In another Epistle he commands him to give all furtherance to one *Jobu*, with whom he had agreed for cleansing the common Sewers of the City of *Rome*, concerning the prodigious Magnificence of which he spends many words, affirming that they exceeded even the Miracles of other Cities. In a third he orders him to give leave to *Paulinus* a Patritian to re-edifie the publick Store-houses, which were fallen down for Age and want of Care, that they might be preserved for the use of Posterity. About the same time he wrote to the Senate of *Rome*, and having assured the Fathers, that as he took care for redressing all grievances, especially such as concerned their City, so he could not but mind them of several Omissions, which by Information of divers well meaning Persons were come to his knowledge. As that the waters of the *Formæ* were now made use of to turn Mills and to water Gardens; that the slaves appointed by Princes to that service were seized and employed by private Men, and that Brads and Lead which had made *Eternal Jones* King of *Theffaly*, and *Midas* King of *Phrygia* their first Inventours, being employed by adorning the Walls, were pilfed away and imbezelled. He tells them therefore that he had sent one *John*, (probably the same with the other) to have information, concerning these matters, and bids them join with him, to promote that for which they of their own accord ought to have petitioned.

Theodorich represents the Senate at Rome.

Doeth several Acts of Charity.

12. Being now much intent upon Acts of Charity and Publick Works, as he had before been kind to the *Grævassiani* and *Pontonates*, he remitted the Tribute of this fourth Indiction to the Inhabitants of *Arles*, who endured the penury of that glorious siege as he expresth it, and with them to all in *Gall* under his Power, giving many reasons to *Gemellus* to whom the Order is directed, for his dealing so favourably with that People; but chiefly this, that rather the Equity of their Cause, than good Nature induced him so to doe. About this same time he sent one *Maradas* a *Comes*, to protect and defend those of *Marseilles* from all Acts of Violence and Oppression, commanding them to receive and obey him in such Capacity. The year following foreseeing in what danger *Italy* might be through the many Excurfions and Depredations made by the Northern Nations, and considering how he himself had shewn the way, to any that would invade these Quarters, he caused the Castle of *Vernca* situate upon the River *Arles* to be fortified. Moreover at this time, as *Sigovius* will have it, he married his Sister *Amalafreda* to *Trasamund* the *Vandal* King of *Africk*, as also his Neice to *Hermisfred* King of the *Thuringi*. And taking notice of *Symmachus* a Patritian, how excellent an Architect he was, and how industrious he had been in adorning the Suburbs of *Rome*, with private Buildings, he thence takes occasion to perswade him to imbrace a more Noble Subject of his Abilities, in repairing the Ancient Theatre, which through Age, the consumer of all things, was so much decayed. In the Letter the King, or rather *Cassiodorus*, fell into a Rapture, when he considers the force of time, which one would have thought, should sooner have worn out Mountains than so strong and admirable a Fabrick. Having admired its arched Roofs, he talks into a Discourse of the Original of Theatres, because he hath to doe with a Learned Man. He tells him that when of old, Countrymen in Festivals were wont to sacrifice in their Groves to several Deities, the *Athenians* first brought up this Country practice into the City, calling that a Theatre in the *Greek* Language, which may be exprest in *Latin* by the word *Vijorium*, as which at a distance, and without any impediment might be seen by the People. The Front hereof was called *Scona*, from the darke shade of the Grove, where, at the Spring, Shepherds were wont to sing their Songs to several tunes. In those times flourished Mufick and Sage Sentences of those most prudent Ages, but afterwards this honest Discipline, avoiding the Conversation of naughty Persons out of Modesty, retired.

The Original of Theatres.

13. Thence he comes to shew both whence the Tragedy and Comedy received their Names, to speak of the *Muses*, the *Mimus* and *Pantomimus*, wherein we must not follow him, and at length tells *Symmachus*, that whether it should be thought fit to underprop the Fabrick or repair it by new Buildings, the Expence should be out of his Chamber, both that the Architect might be renowned for so good a work, and Antiquity seem decently repaired in his own time. And this we thought fit to insert, that the Reader may see the generous Humour of *Theodorich*, and the Learning of *Cassiodorus* though a little affected, whose style is not so much barbarous as was the time, wherein *Latin* through long continuance, which altereth all things, and much more through the mixture of foreign and ex-

Ibid. Ep. 30.

Ibid. lib. 9. Ep. 32. & 40.

Ep. 34.

Cassiod. Var. l. 4. Ep. 51.



Sect. 3.

tick words, if we look at the true idiom and phrase, was quite changed from it self, and acknowledged its vassalage and subjection to the barbarous Northern Nations as well as the Cities and the Countrey it self. And hereof this learned and worthy person was so sensible, that in his Preface to his Epistles he both acknowledged it, and deprecates the disdain and indignation of his Reader. This same year so fruitfull in acts of Clemency and Magnificence, *Theodorich* did still more good in remitting to the Inhabitants of *Campania* the Tribute they were wont to pay, and this he did in consideration of the loss they had sustained by the eruption of the Hill *Vesuvius*. Concerning this there is a Letter or Order extant directed to *Ennius* the Prefect, wherein he tells him that the *Campanians* having received this damage had petitioned him to that effect. That he was ready to grant their request, if he could be rightly informed of the accident, and how to judge of the particular damages done thereby. He commands him to send some person of approved fidelity into the Territories of *Nola*, or *Naples*, to survey the Grounds, and take an estimate of the loss, that he might know how to make a proportionable allowance out of the Tribute.

*Theodorich* remits Tribute to the *Campanians* because of the Eruption of *Vesuvius*.

Cassell. l. 3. lib. 4. Ep. 30.

A Description of its Eruption.

14. Then doth he tell the History, and recount the sad circumstances and effects of the usual Eruptions. He premitteth that the Countrey, left it should enjoy perfect felicity, was continually alarmed with that calamity, yet was it not so terrible as else it would have been, because it gave fair warning of the impending and approaching mischief. For such strummings and motions there were within, that Vapours breaking out with a mighty noise terrified all round about the place. The Air, faith he, is all thickened and darkened with that sooty Exhalation, so that it gives notice of its rising to all *Italy*. Ashes thoroughly calcined fire through-out the great Sea, and terrene Clouds being gathered, it rains drops of Dust in the transmarine Provinces: it being then clearly discovered how much *Campania* it self suffers when the mischief is felt in another part of the World. You might there behold, as it were, Rivers of Dust to run along the ground, and dry Sand to flow with fervent violence, as if it had been liquid streams. You would be amazed to see the plain Fields swell as high as the tops of Trees, and those Meadows sadly wasted with hot Embers which lately by their pleasant greenness allured the Eye. That everlasting Furnace belcheth forth purple but barren Sand, which though adust with continual burning, yet causeth to take Root and fructify those several Seeds or Stalks it receiveth, and with great celerity repaireth what it had formerly wasted. What strange Exception is this to the general rule and course of Nature, that one Mountain should roar to such a degree, that so many parts of the World should be terrified by the change of the Air; and that so it should cast about its own substance that yet it should receive no loss nor diminution! It bedews the Regions far and near with Dust; vomits out heaps upon the Neighbourhood, and yet this Mountain, exhausted by so many and so great evacuations, continues to be an Hill for so many Ages. Who would believe so great pieces of Earth, lying in the plain, should have bubbled up out of so profound depths, and no otherwise than as light Chaff spit or blown out of the Mountain's mouth? Elsewhere great Mountains burn privately, and in their own place; here almost the whole World must know of the matter. Wherefore seeing that the Inhabitants are not to be credited in a thing which may be attested by the Universe, let your prudence make choice of a man who may both rehearse them, and prevent all fraudulent and surreptitious dealings. Thus doth *Cassiodorus* though in an odd sort of Latine elegantly describe and paint out to the life all the Accidents of this Eruption, which, and that deservedly, makes *Baronius* Ad Ann. 471. reprehend *John Bodin* for taxing *Procopius* of lightness and inconsideration, in that he writes how the Ashes of another Eruption flew as far as *Constantinople*.

A Description of *Vesuvius*.

15. This too famous *Vesuvius* takes its rise from a pleasant and open Champion (being made or nourished of Earthquakes and Burnings) where the pleasant *Selvetus* empties its Waters into the bolome of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and that in the lower part of *Campania* the Happy, a Countrey never sufficiently commended for its admirable fertility, in which respect *Pliny* calls it the place of perpetual contention betwixt *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, and by *Mervla* it is styled the Paradise of *Italy*. This Mountain, or Hill rather, elevates its self for about four miles, its highest top not being one mile perpendicular from the Sea, in compass about twenty four, so separated from all other Hills as if it scorned their conjunction and alliance, or rather they were afraid of it as a dangerous Neighbour. The skirts of it are beset with fruitfull Vines, beautiful Trees, pleasant Flowers, and wholesome Herbs, all over but where it looks upon the East, which side being either originally, or through

Vide Schell. Inter. Ital. lib. 3. Giovanni di Luca del Re cendio Cassell. et Vesuvius

Sect. 3.

through the accession of this new adventitious Earth, more steep than the other, bears only wild Trees and brushy matter. On the top it is divided, or rather inccompassed with another hollow Hill, shaped in the figure of an Half Moon, from which it is parted but with a small Valley or Plain called the *Atrium*, it being probable that anciently it was all united in its self, and plain and even, as both *Strabo* describes it and *Dion Cassius* witnesseth; in process of time this division being made by Stone and Ashes, which it vomited out of its own Bowels. From this Plain, as well the one as the other of those highest Ridges, is barren, naked, and all covered with Ashes and broken Stones, which continually rowl downward, which makes it very difficult to climb up, so high, as to come to the prospect of the ancient *Porago* or Hole, although there grows Broom, which affords some shelter against the Torrent, and here and there causeth better footing.

Of the Countrey about it.

16. At this day the Mountain is inccompassed with a well peopled Countrey, and noble and elegant Cities, adorned with rich and sumptuous Edifices, and in many places with large and stately Palaces, each whereof seems rather the Habitation of a King than the Pleasure-House of some private Nobleman; so rich are they in their Furniture, exquisite in their Fabrick and Workmanship, and deliciously seated amongst Gardens, Grotto's and Fountains. But as nothing is perfect in this World, but the best and most pleasant things subject to change and inconsistency, *Campania* the Happy is in this respect unfortunate, that it suffers for great a mischief in its own bosome, which Time, the finisher as well of miseries as pleasures, hath had no power to conquer and subdue. Whether this Fire find matter within the Bowels of the Mountain it self, or rather burning below in some inferior Valley makes only a passage through it, and a vent for discharging the Vapours and Ashes which arise from the bituminous matter, Sulphur and other Minerals lying in the Countrey round about, and by its hot Fountains and otherwise giving arguments of terrestrial Fires, as *Seneca* was of opinion, it's not our work here to enquire. If we could tell the Reader when either the Eruptions of this Mountain or *Aetna* began, it would be more proper to our Design; but here we are destitute of Intelligence; for the inward cause having been the same in all Ages, many such Accidents may have happened before these Monuments of Antiquity received their Being, which communicate to us the most ancient Observations about this Countrey. It's scarcely worth the while to take notice what the pretended *Perseus* of *Ammius* tells us, that in the last year but one of *Aratus* the Sixth, King of *Assyria*, *Italy* burnt for many days in three several places about the *Libri*, *Cyme* and *Vesuvius*, and that these places were by the *Janigeni* called *Palestina*, that is, the burned Region.

Ep. 70. de E. 30. na.

The several Eruptions when.

17. This is indeed agreeable to the Etymology of the word *Vesuvius*, signifying Fire or Spark, in the Greek Tongue, as a late Writer tells us, in which respect the *Volsi* in their ancient Speech called it *Vesbia*, which as those who are skilled in that Language affirm, is the same with Fire. Several others write of the Antiquity of these Fires proceeding from this Mountain, and whence the Countrey should be called *Campi Phlegrei*, but when they first began, they do not take upon them to tell us. *Dionorus Siculus* and *Strabo* seem to speak of them as having happened in times remote, such as they had heard and read of, and the Hole and Ashes only demonstrated to the eye, that formerly such things had been. This perhaps was also the reason, why *Pliny* who was so diligent in reckoning up the several places of this nature, yet makes no mention of this though it was so near him, and his curiosity at length, to pry into the mysteries of so great a wonder, brought him to his end. But he intended only to make mention of such as continually vomited forth their flames, which this *Vesuvius* doth not; and perhaps it might have smoked in his time, but because it did not much endanger the neighbouring Countrey he passed it over in silence. To be sure, *Tacitus*, describing the pleasantness of the Isle of *Capri*, the place of the sensual and voluptuous retirements of *Tiberius*, speaks of this Hill as not having formerly done that mischief, which it did afterward in the time of *Titus*. Hence Writers conclude, that before the time of *Tiberius* there happened no such burnings as to destroy the natural beauty of the Mountain, at least had not been so long a time as sufficed to the reparation of it. And this they enforce from a Verse of *Martial*, which seemeth to hint at some such thing.

Annal. l. 5. Prope ab antiquis pulcherrimus insulam, aequum montis ardens faciem, loci voraces. Hic est pamine viridis profectus umbræ. l. 1. epig. 105.

18. *John Boccace* speaking of *Vesuvius*, tells how it broke out into flames before the reign of *Titus* in the time of *Nero*, having first sent forth a thick smoke, which ended at last in a shower of Ashes that filled all *Campania*, and the Sea it self. *Seneca* speaking of this very time, which fell in the LXV. year of our Lord, in the Consulship

Lib. di Nemo.

Nat. l. 6. c. 27.

**Sect. 3.** Confulship of *Regulus* and *Virginus*, and on the fifth of February, makes no mention at all of the burning out of that portentous Earthquake which ruined a great part of *Pompeia*, and much endamaged all the Country. It's suppos'd therefore that *Boccace* mistakes the Name of the Emperour, although the experience of modern times assureth us, that such Earthquakes are ordinarily accompanied with Eruptions of *Vesuvius*. But to be sure sixteen years after, about the year of our Lord LXXXI. in the time of *Titus*, happened such an one as could not be concealed; its effect being so sharp, as made those that lived in that time both to feel and speak. Of this have written *Pliny junior*, *Suetonius*, *Zonaras*, *Orosius*, *Tacitus*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Statius*, *Silius Italicus*, *Martial*, *Aspionius*, *Eusebius*, and many others. So strange were the accidents, circumstances and effects of this Eruption, as cannot well be expressed. *Suetonius* gives an Abstract of them, but *Xiphilin* the Epitomizer of *Dio* is more express, who having first described the Mountain, and then the ordinary and common signs and effects of its conflagration, affirms that they were nothing in comparison of what happened at this time.

The dreadful one in the time of *Titus*.

19. Before the Eruption a great number of men of unusual bigness, such as Giants, its said, were seen to wander about the Hill, the Country and neighbouring Cities, both by day and night. After followed a very great drought, and presently so dreadful Earthquakes, that the tops of Mountains became level to the adjoining Grounds. Then were heard subterraneous sounds, like to Thunder and the bellowing of Beasts, the Sea roared, the Heavens made a noise, and great crackings and rullings were heard, as if the Mountains had all fallen together. Then first of all began mighty Stones to be cast up to the top of the Hill, which being removed out of the way, such vast quantities of Fire and Smoak burst out, that the Air was filled, and the Sun darkened no less than in the greatest Eclipse, the Day turning into Night, and Light into so prodigious Darkeness. Hereupon the people, according to the superstitious humour of those times, thought the Giants were fallen out amongst themselves, the rather because the Image and representation of them were to be seen in the Smoak, and a noise of Trumpets seemed to be heard. Some thought the World now returned into its ancient Chaos, or was to be consumed by Fire; yet unwilling to die, and covetous of Life, when the whole World seemed to perish with them. They ran out of their Houses into the High-ways, out of the Ways into their Houses; from Sea they hasted to the Land, and from the Land to the Sea, still imagining, according to the restless humour of mankind, that new things would be better than the present condition.

20. So vast a quantity of Ashes at length fell, that both Land and Sea, as well as formerly the Air, seemed therewith overwhelmed, which did great mischief, not only to Men, their Fields and Cattel, but destroyed in a manner all Fish and Fowl. Two Cities, *Herculanum* and *Pompei* it covered, and buried therein the Inhabitants alive, as they were sitting in their Theatres. Nay so incredible was the quantity, that it flew as far as *Aegypt*, and *Syria*, not to mention the nearer parts of *Africk*; as for *Rome* it so thickened and darkened the Air there, that the Sun was thought to be eclipsed, to the ordinary fort, and the more understanding were confounded at the accident, knowing nothing of what had happened in *Campania*: therefore they imagined that Nature was dissolved, and that Heaven and Earth would come together. And although at *Rome* they were more scared than hurt for the present, yet afterwards a grievous Pestilence followed, as the dreadful Effect of so dismal a Cause. The beginning of this Eruption fell on the first of November, about one a clock, in the first year of *Titus* his Reign, as appears from an Epistle of *Pliny junior*, wherein, setting down the occasion and manner of the death of his Uncle (who wrote the Natural History, and going too near to pry, was choaked with the Smoak and Dust) he resembles the first appearance of that huge and strange Cloud unto a Pine Tree, for to no other, he saith, he could fitly compare it, it seeming to have, as it were, a long Trunk, and Boughs spreading out above it. Sometimes it appeared white, otherwhiles dusky and spotted, according to the mixed proportions of Earth and Ashes. Reckoning up the several accidents which accompanied this Prodigy, amongst the rest he saith that the Pumice Stones flew about the Ears of men in the open Fields, yet having consulted together what to do, they held it safer during the Earthquake, when their Houses tottered and reeled as if they had been drunken, to be without than within doors, arming their Heads with Pillows and Bolsters against the blows they expected. In conclusion, so dreadful was this Conflagration, as well in its self as circumstances, that *Cicero* affirms the Hill ever since to have

have burned, and others that from this time it became forked or horned at the Top. Ecclesiastical Writers make use of it to express the Infernal Fire, and particularly our Learned Doctor *Jackson* upon the Creed affirms this burning of *Vesuvius* to have been as a Beacon to give warning to all Fleh, and from the admirable Conformity betwixt the Predictions of the Prophet *Joel* and the Narration of *Pliny*, he doubts not to say that now was fulfilled that Prophecy, *1 Joel. 2. 30.* *will shew Wonders in the Heavens, and on the Earth, Blood and Fire and Pillars of Smoak*, as also that this was the beginning of the terrible Day of the Lord foretold by the Prophet, wherewith the World was a long time shaken by fits, as it were by a deadly fever, as may appear from the like Calamities in *Trajan's* time, recited by *Diou Cassius*.

Another in the time of *Severus*.

Of *Dioclesian*.

Others.

21. The next Eruption of this subterraneous Fire that is taken notice of, happened in the time of *Severus*; and as *Lycophones* guessed in the Year CCIII. and the tenth of that Emperour. The Historian relates that now *Vesuvius* shined with mighty flames, and roared with so huge a Noise that the sound reached as far as *Capua*; this being possibly the time whereof *Galen* writes, that a great Quantity of Ashes was carried from it as far as the Sea. The next breaking forth of this combustible matter was in the time of *Dioclesian*, about the Year CCCV. when it flew over all *Europe*, if *Maiolus* be to be credited, who writes that the Fire was extinguished by the Prayers of St. *Jeanarius*, how truly, seeing no other Authors make mention of this Eruption, we shall not enquire. Of that which followed next after, and happened on the sixth of November in the Year CCCCLXXI. many Authors have written. We are told that adjoining Towns and Regions were laid waste by this burning, and that such a Fear and Conternation seized the People, that they betook themselves for many Years to Supplications and Processions, that they might avert the Wrath of Almighty God. Besides what happened in this Year two other Eruptions are spoken of in the CCCCLXXII. and CCCCLXXXIII. of Our Lord, which some conjecture to have been one and the same, and that it either continued or broke out at several times for so long together. However the matter stood in reference to time, most dreadful were the Accidents of this, or these Conflagrations. *Marcellinus* affirms the day to have been turned into Night, and that all *Europe* was covered with the small dust which flew about in the Air, and the Inhabitants of *Constantinople*, to prevent the like Judgment for the future, kept an Anniversary day of Prayer and Supplication the sixth of November. This confirms what *Procopius* relates of the flying of the Ashes as far as that City, for which he is rashly taxed by *Bodin*, though *Leo* the Emperour was struck with such Conternation, that he could not rest quiet in the Town, but went and sojourned at *Mamantis*, and these Ashes were blown into *Africk* as far as *Tripolis*, if not in the same Year, in that which followed. The next Conflagration was that which gave occasion to this Discourse, and happened in the Days of *Theodorich*, which ten others have followed in succeeding Ages. But the greatest by far as can be known was, that which fell out lately in the Year M. DCXXXI. on the sixteenth of December, the manner whereof and the direfull Effects, are described in the Italian Language by *Gioviano di Lucca*, a Doctor of the Laws and Apostolical Protontary as he is styled, who hath taken pains to collect out of History all the other Conflagrations mentioned. But we have made too long a Digression, which the remarkable-ness of the Subject extorted.

*Theudas* Victorious in Spain.

22. Spain being now at this time held, and governed by the two several Interests of *Gisalarick* and *Amalarick*, the two Gothic Kings, the former it seems not content with his share, resolved to have all or none, and for that purpose took Arms against his young Neighbour. But his Designs were not so deeply laid, nor his Preparations so quick and surprizing, but *Theudas* the Governour or Protector of *Amalarick* easily discovered them, and was so well provided, that he gave him Battel and a great Overthrow, and forced him to quit the Country. *Gisalarick* betook himself to *Trafamund* the Vandal King of *Africk*, who kindly entertained him, and jealous of the Power of *Theodorich* supplied him with Money. This *Theodorich* much stomached, and wrote a Letter to him, wherein he upbraided him with ingratitude; in that having been so obliged by him he requited him by entertaining his Enemy. He had honoured him, by bestowing his own Sister on him in Marriage; whereas he had given but his Daughters or Nieces to other Princes: which Sister he extolls not so much for her high Birth and Quality, though she was defended of the Stock of *Amalus*, as the Excellency of her Mind, being a Woman equal to him her Husband in Prudence, and not so considerable

Sect. 3.

Lih. 1. c. 24.

1 Joel. 2. 30.

De Prodigii. 1. 2.

L. 1. Col. 16. P. 234.

Doctor di Leg. gi. 2. Proven- tario Appo- lito In Napoli per Secondo Rencaglio.

Theudas, his Populus imperans.

Traff. Mand. Consilium ei.



sect. 3. considerable for her Royal Estate, as admirable for her rare Policy and Councils. He admonisheth him seriously to consider of the Injustice he had done; left the King of Italy should be provoked to do something, which might manifestly break that good understanding, and peace that had been formerly betwixt them, for as much as an unlooked-for Injury, and the finding of Treachery where one expected Friendship and good Offices cannot be endured. He desires him to give heed, to what he had ordered his Ambassadors to say to him by word of mouth. *Gislarick* (or *Geseleck*) it seems by this Letter, having got what supply of Money he desired, was gone into other Countries to find out some good Advantage for recovery of his former and better Fortunes. Yet *Trafamund* excused himself so plausibly, that he gave full and abundant satisfaction to *Theodorick*, which he expresseth in another Letter published by *Cassiodorus* next after the former, wherein is mentioned also a Present of Gold sent by the *Vandal* King. This *Theodorick* refuseth to accept, expressing what great delight he took in restoring it, and some Vanity, in setting forth his own Commendations for so doing, concluding with an Exhortation to his Brother-in-Law to be more cautious and exact for the time to come. In the mean time *Theudas*, by his order, governs all Spain in the Name of *Amalarick*.

23. The year of Our Lord DXV had M. *Aurelius Cassiodorus* Senatour for Consul, of whom we have already spoken, and by whose means and procurement we have discoursed so much other matters, especially of Italy, and the Western Provinces. To so high a Dignity he did not come *per saltum*, or leaping over the Heads of such as were far above him, through the wantonness of Fortune, but by degrees and as Vertues themselves are wont to increase, for so *Theodorick* his Master expresseth it in his Letter to the Senate. His first step in preferment was the *Comitua privatarum*, which Office having managed prudently, innocently and without Corruption, he was advanced to the *Comitua sacrarum Largitionum*. Having in this place also demeaned himself with such Moderation, that he shewed what was just and equal, both by his Example and Precepts under the former King, by *Theodorick* he was preferred to the Dignity of *Prætor*, in discharge of which Trust, having left a pattern of Modesty and Moderation to such as should come after, he came to be *Corrèctor* of the *Bruttii* and of *Lucania* his own Country. At length he arose to the Dignity of *Præfèctus Prætoris*, as also the supreme Honours of a *Patritian* and Consul discharging the Office of *Secretary* still as appears by the Letter lately mentioned, wherein as well as in that which precedes it he is commended, though truly, for the greatness of his Family, the honourable Actions of his Ancestours, and his own Personal Vertues. But it was the Custome for Princes to extoll their Candidates, and blazon their Vertues and great Achievements to the Senate, that they might seem not to have conferred Dignities and Preferments, upon unfit and undeserving Persons.

24. About this time, it's uncertain what Year, *Theodorick* subdued the *Allemani*, and forced them to pay Tribute, as *Agathias* hath written, and appeareth from the Kings Letters directed to the Inhabitants of *Suevia*, wherein he lets them know that he had made one *Fridelade* their Governour, for restraining thefts and robberies wherewith they were much disturbed. Within a year after the Consulship of *Cassiodorus*, while he still cherished the Fortunes and Hopes of *Amalarick* his Nephew in Spain, he was informed that *Eutharick*, the Son of *Viterick* and Grandson of *Beremund*, lived in that Countrey. For *Beremund* the Son of *Thurismund* defended of the Family of *Amalar*, leaving *Scythia*, as *Jornandes* writes, went and lived in Gall with *Theodorick* the Successeur of *Valia* King of the *Westgoths*, by whom being honourably entertained, he left a Son called *Viterick*, who was Father to this *Eutharick*, a Person excellently qualified both in Body and Mind. *Theodorick* hearing him much commended was very desirous to see him, and when he had the satisfaction, glad he had found out one who was both of his own line, and every way deserving his Alliance, he gave him in Marriage *Amalasuenta* his Daughter. Two or three Years after he made him Consul, and *Amastafus* the Emperour, to please and oblige the Old Man, presented him with the Robe called *Tunica palmata*, and adopted him as his honorary Son in the way of Arms. In the mean time *Hermisfrid*, King of the *Heruli*, put to death his Brother *Berthar*, and after that calling *Theodorick* King of Gall to his assistance made an end of *Belderick* his other Brother; but when he had done his work, and *Theodorick* demanded part of the Countrey conquered according to the Articles of their Alliance, he refused to make good what he had engaged, and thereupon mortal and irreconcilable differences arose betwixt them.

25. Betwixt

25. Betwixt the Emperour *Justin* and *Theodorick*, there was maintained from the first a good Intelligence and Correspondence, as appears from mutual Offices of Kindness and Amity. *Justin* himself bearing the Title of Consul in his second Year, took *Eutharick* the Son-in-Law of *Theodorick* for his Colleague, and farther graced him by a titular Adoption, as a Letter shews, which afterward was written to the Emperour by *Atthalarick* the Son of *Eutharick*, whom *Amalasuenta* his Wife bore the Year preceding his Consulship. Being designed Consul, *Eutharick* went to Rome, there to enter upon his Office, which before he approached he was met by all the Ranks and Degrees of the City, who flocked by all means to do him Honour, as one whom they expected to see shortly upon the Throne. He on the other side omitted nothing to gain their good Opinion, discharging his Office with all possible Liberality and Magnificence; for some way or other he gratified the Senatours both *Goths* and *Romans*, and pleased the People with Shews on the Theatre, particularly with such wild Beasts procured out of *Africk*, as Rome had never seen till that time. Having done this at Rome he returned to Ravenna to his Father-in-Law, and there also strove to exceed himself in Liberality and obliging Actions. Some time after *Theodorick* was vexed in his mind by News received out of *Africk*, where the *Wandals* had imprisoned his Sister *Amalfreda* after her Husband's Decease, and put all the *Goths* to death who went over with her upon the Account of the Alliance, under pretence of a Conspiracy. *Theodorick* having not sufficient strength at Sea for Invasion of *Africk*, could not revenge the Injury as he desired, and in the mean time *Hilderick* the King contracted a fast friendship with *Justinian*, Nephew to the Emperour, and who managed all Affairs in the Extreme Age of his Uncle.

26. Hitherto we have beheld *Theodorick* so to demean himself, that one might not fear to propound him as a pattern to other Princes, and his Actions as so many Copies for them to write after, such his prudent Conduct, his Valour, Magnificence, Bounty, and which Cemented all, his Justice, Equity and Moderation. Now we must see him degenerating from himself, and blurring those Lines of Government which he had so exactly drawn; so hard is it for Man that is placed on high, not to be giddy and intoxicated with Ease, and the Fumes of continual Pleasure. Yet had he shewn any discretion in the choice of a Subject, wherein to exercise the mutability of his humours, he had been the less unfortunate, because more excusable; but the hard Measure he made, falling upon one who deserved better than any of that Age wherein he lived, in this respect Fortune it seems ow'd, and paid him a very ill turn. This Person was *Boetius* a Patritian who had twice or thrice been Consul, and such a Man as one ought carefully to describe, lest we do him injury. Of so noble an Extract, that there-in he excelled all his Contemporaries, deriving his Pedigree from *Manius Torquatus*, which of later times had been enobled more by *Anicius* his Great Grandfather, and others of that most potent and noble House, to behold the Power and Interest of which most Eminent Persons came into Italy; an House which so abounded with Wealth, that *Zosimus* the Historian envying the Greatness thereof, writes that this Family of *Anicii* possessed in a manner the Riches of all the *Romans*. In his younger years he studied at *Athens*, where the Profession of Philosophy had been restored, which as he neglected not in general, but searched into the depths of all Sects and Opinions, so especially he addicted himself to that of *Aristotle*, and therein spent most of those Eighteen years which he passed away in that University. The Name of that Philosopher, was formerly scarcely known to those that were merely skilled in *Latin*, as he himself saith; but he translated his works, and illustrated them with Commentaries in that Language, hereby sufficiently evincing that of all *Roman* wits, he best understood the Scale, and could fathom the Depths of the Peripatetic.

27. For the Reader must not think that the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, which in these later Ages hath obtained the Principality in the Schools, was always of such Reputation as we have seen it in our time. At the beginning of Christianity the Sect of the *Stoicks* much prevailed, but especially, the Opinions of *Plato*, which in the primitive times were of such Repute, that the greatest Rulers, the true Religion met with, were laid by those Prejudices that were thence received. For although much furtherance it received from such Philosophers as were converted, in refusing the Vanities and Impieties of *Paganism*, yet the great Writers against it were of that Sect, and both *Tertullian* and *Origen* of old complained, all or most of the Heresies which crept into the Church, took their Original from the Tenets of (this) Philosophy. Long was it e'er the Schools became

Peri-

## Sect. 3.

The progress of Peripatetic Philosophy.

Peripatetic, and Philosophy had ceased to be Pagan, &er she forsook the Academy and the Porch. At length the courted *Aristotle* so much, that she made him ample amends for her former Neglects; and here, as formerly she had done much mischief as well as good in the School of *Plato*, so she endeavoured to obtrude the Opinions and Notions of *Aristotle* upon the Christian Faith, witness *Gilbert* or *Gillebert*, the Bishop of *Poitiers*, of whose Profession of Philosophy and the Heresie he thence sucked, let Ecclesiastical Writers speak. We shall only observe farther concerning this Subject, that the *Peripatetic* Philosophy was vehemently believed and promoted by the Schoolmen who found it most agreeable to their Quirks and Niceties, and possibly the real and essential Difference and Substantance it placeth betwixt Substances and their Qualities (upon which Doctrines some Novelities in the Church have been founded) was the great Reason it hath been advanced, not only above true Reason but the Holy Scriptures themselves. As much concerned are they to answer a text or place in the Philosopher, as in St. *Peter* or St. *Paul*; and Theology hath not only received its Model and Method but even Rules from him. So hath this Sect prevailed in later Ages, that from it Writers have received their Terms and Manners of Speech, which makes it necessary that young Students be therein first instructed and well grounded before they advance to other Exercises, and make any Attempts upon Experimental Philosophy, or Divinity it self.

28. But to return to *Boetius*, none draws his half fac'd Picture so much to the life, as he who afterward destroyed the Archetype, I mean *Theodorich* the King who gives him such Encomiums, and heaps such Commendations upon him, as the sense and apprehension thereof could only be obliterated by the Power of Jealousie. He not only commends him for his skill in the Precepts of *Aristotle*, but for his perfections in all manner of Learning, whereof he makes him to great a *Hellio*, that he useth a word applicable to such Creatures, as upon which the Nourishment they have received hath been very well bestowed. The knowledge he ascribes to him is as well practical as speculative, and herein appeared his worth, that he was not content to be Learned alone; but would have others partake of that which made him so considerable. Therefore he taught to speak *Latin*, whatsoever Author was considerable amongst the *Greeks*; for instance *Pythagoras* the Musician, *Ptolemy* the Astronomer, *Nicomachus* the Arithmetician, *Euclid* the Geometrician, *Plato* the Divine, *Aristotle* the Logician, and *Archimedes* the Mechanick, about whose Works the King, or *Cassiodorus* for him, spends many words, the effect of which is that *Boetius* perfectly skilled in his Doctrine of Motions should make two Clocks, whereof one should explicate the Motion of the Spheres, and the other the Diurnal Course of the Sun, both which were to be presented to the King of the *Burgi*. Such is the Testimony given by one that turned his deadly Enemy, but this as we formerly termed it is but an half fac'd Picture, representing only an *Idea* of his Intellectuals, what he was for his Morals we must also discover, to present him in all his Proportions. First then as a means to make him good as well as knowing, to the former secular Learning he added the Knowledge of Theology and the Holy Scriptures, as appears from his Books concerning the Blessed Trinity, and against the Errors of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*.

29. What Influence this Knowledge of Christianity and true Philosophy had into his Life and Actions is sufficiently evident from his Management of Matters during his last Consulship, and the great hatred he contracted by his Impartial Justice, and defending private Persons from the Injuries and Oppressions of unreasonable Men how powerfull soever. Such were *Conigallus* and *Triguilla* the Master of the Kings Household, and other greedy and ravenous *Goths*, from the Claws of whom he rescued many miserable *Italians*, and to the great Indignation of such Monsters, protected his innocent Countrymen, as well from publick as private Impositions and Rapines. When during the Rage of a most Cruel Famine, a great Summ of Money was required of the Inhabitants of *Campania* to their utter undoing, he opposed the Project of the *Præfatus Prætorio* with such Zeal and Contancy even before the King, that it was quite dashed and laid aside. When the greedy Courtiers had already devoured the Estate of *Paulinus*, a Man of Consular Dignity, in hope and expectation, he rescued it out of the Mouths of those greedy Leeches. *Albinus* a Person of the same Quality, he defended against the Accusations of *Cyprianus* the Informer, and by his Wit and Eloquence, protected him when the King accused him of High Treason, and referred his Trial to the whole Senate at *Verona*. Thus swimming against the stream he met with great opposition, both from King and Courtiers, and having irritated them by crossing their Designs,

## Sect. 3.

Designs, he was at length swallowed up in the Gulph of his Princes Jealousie and Indignation. Once out of his Office, in the succeeding Consulship of *Maximus*, he was accused by *Basilus*, *Opilio* and *Gaudentius*, of whom the first for no good deed had been dismissed the King's Service, and undertook this Employment to redeem himself from his Creditours, and the other two having been condemned to Banishment had taken Sanctuary, and thereupon were ordered by the King's Edict, if by a day prefixed they departed not from *Vienna*, to beigmatized in the Forehead and then driven away. Yet the very same day did these Villains accuse *Boetius*, and their Accusation was admitted; which tended to this effect, that he had endeavoured to advance the Power and Interest of the Senate above that of the King, having hindered an Informer from bringing in an Impeachment of Treason against the Fathers: and Letters were forged to make out his Intentions and Aims to be for the Recovery of the Roman Liberty. *Theodorich* either privy to this Villany, or lightly giving credit to those seditious Witnesses and feigned Crimes, rashly condemned this Innocent Man, and confiscating his Estate banished him to *Ticinum* or *Pavia*, where comforting himself as well as he could with his Philosophy, he made a Book concerning that Consolation, and committed to writing those passages for information of Posterity, as well as of the present Age.

30. Having imprisoned *Severinus Boetius* at *Pavia*, he caused *Symmachus* his Father-in-Law, and a Person of great Learning and other worth to be apprehended, committing them both to safe Custody, for they were not both committed at the same time, as some have thought, but *Symmachus* enjoyed his Liberty, whilst *Boetius* had too sad occasion to bewail his own Condition, and congratulate the Liberty of his Father-in-Law, as he doth in his Book de *Consolatione*. Not long after *Theodorich* caused them both to be beheaded, and if thou wilt believe, Reader, the Relation of *Martianus*, who wrote his Life, and received it as a Tradition from the Church of *Pavia*, *Boetius* after his Head was off, took it up with both his Hands, and being asked who it was that struck him, answered *The Ungodly*, and so walking into the Neighbouring Church and kneeling down before the Altar, when he had received the Sacred Mysteries, he expired, and after his Death was honoured for a Saint. And why may not this Story be as true as what we find concerning St. *Denis*, which whatsoever will not believe may goe and see, if he please, the Crosses erected in the several Places where he reitself himself with his Head in his Hand, betwixt *Paris* and the Town which now bears the Name of that Martyr. The very same is also told of our St. *Alban*, who was beheaded for his Religion as St. *Denis* was. But so fell this Noble Pair of Senators, surpassed by none other in any Indowment whatsoever, which renders Mortals both Excellent and Glorious. Concerning one of them we have already seen, what their great Enemy (as he proved) testifies, and for *Symmachus*, the same Hand gives him large Commendations, true no doubt, because *Procopius* faith in few words the same things and more, although the reason the King gives in one of his Epistles, be not so solid as were the Buildings for which he so much extolls him, when he desires him to take upon him the Care of repairing the Theatre formerly mentioned. That he was well skilled in Theology appears from *Boetius* his dedicating his writings to him concerning the Trinity, wherein he makes him Judge and Censor of his Books; and that he was well seen in all the Sciences, from *Prijsian* the Grammarian of *Cæsarea*, who taught about this time at *Constantinople*, and dedicated also to him the Book he wrote of Weights and Measures.

31. But concerning the Worth and Innocency of them both, there is one Testimony behind, and that is the too late Repentance of *Theodorich*, whose sorrow, as *Procopius* tells the story, was in its occasion and height full as remarkable as the Punishment had been unjust. Not many days after their Execution, when the King went to Supper, he had served up to his Table the Head of a Fish of an unusual bigness. This *Theodorich* (as he calls him, and by his right Name) fancies to be the Head of *Symmachus* lately put to death, who, as it were biting the nether Lip, seemed to threaten him in a gasty and cruel manner. Seized hereupon with Horror and Amazement, and falling into a Cold-sweat he hasted to his Chamber, and lying down upon his Bed commanded his Attendants to cover him with many Clothes. Then did he reveal the whole matter to *Elpidius* his Physician, lamenting the Sin he had committed against *Symmachus*, and soon after died, this being the first and last wrong he ever did his Subjects, in pronouncing sentence thus against men without Examination. Thus *Procopius* both excuses and commends, censuring him for the Rashness and Injustice of the Fact, and yet herein exceedingly praising him, that the Fact was single, the whole Course of his Life and Government having been regulated and poised by Justice and Moderation. Though his putting those

Vide Cassiodorus, Ver. lib. 1. Ep. penult. l. 2. Ep. 44.

Moltens. time signum.

Beheaded together with Symmachus his Father-in-Law.

The Character of Symmachus.

Vide Sigismund de Ovid. l. 16. Boetius de Consolatione.

Theodorich died of Melancholy for killing put them to death.

Antiquorum diligentissimus imitator, Martianum nobilissimum instituit, &amp;c. Cassiodorus lib. 4. Ep. 31. Ex Prijsiano Grammatico qui nostro tempore Constantinopoli Dilecti fuit, ista collata sunt. Cassiodorus de Orthographia. c. 12. pag. 101. Boetius spiritus immensus. Gennadius. Hist. Goth. lib. 1. ad initium.

**Sect. 3.** two Persons to death was inexorable, yet his sorrow and repentance was remarkable, though the thing favoured of Rashness and Cruelty, yet his after-thoughts were signs of Mercy and good Nature; besides, the Extravagance of his Fancy as to the Head of the Fish, seems to have been an Effect of the Fickleness or tenderness of his Conscience. This however must be said, that *Italy* never enjoyed more serene and happy Days, never more Splendour in the highest pitch of her Greatness, never more solid and lasting Peace with Ease, Pleasure and Security, than under his Government. That few which obtained a Kingdom by Force and Violence, preserved themselves and it by such Calmness and Sweetness of Councils and Actions: In conclusion, that few so beloved by their Subjects were so terrible to their Enemies, both which *Procopius* testifies of him. He died it's said on the Second of *September*, in the 34th. of his Reign, and the Seventy second of his Age. When he saw his end approaching, having sent for the chief of the *Gothick* Nobility, he declared for his Successour *Athalarick* the Son of his Daughter *Amalasuenta* by *Eutharick* lately deceased, commanding them to receive and obey him as such; to love and cherish the *Roman* Senate and People, and to maintain Amity, and good Correspondence with the Emperour. His death is reported to have been portended at *Naples*, by the fall of the Head from off his Statue.

*Athalarick* then a boy of Eight Years of Age, succeeded his Grandfather. His Mother was the Regent of the Kingdom, being a Woman adorned with all Beauties and Accomplishments both of Mind and Body. Of Countenance and Aspect composed to such Majesty, as would strike the beholder with Veneration. Of such fluency and sweetness of Speech, that being skilled both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, she ravished the Minds and Affections of her Hearers; in sum, for Wisdom and other Endowments which fit and qualify a Person for Government, far above her Sex. By her order, Ambassadors and Letters are dispatched, in the Name of the young King to the *Roman* Senate and People, and to the neighbouring Princes, in League and Amity with her Father, signifying his death, and how the Child succeeded by virtue of his last Will and Pleasure declared in the presence of the Nobility, whence the choice was so unanimously approved, that it seemed rather a manifestation of the Will and Pleasure of Almighty God. That this Example of the Nobility, was readily and cheerfully followed by both his *Gothick* and *Roman* Subjects, who had not only promised but sworn Obedience to him. The Senate therefore he desires to imitate so good a Pattern, telling them he had sent to them *Stigimer* a Comes with others, who in his Name should also make oath to preserve to them their Rights and Privileges, and he bids them ask boldly of him whatsoever they thought would increase the Security of their present Estate. The People he courts in like manner, requires also from them an Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance, and promises under no less an obligation all Offices of Justice, Equity and Clemency; to cherish the *Goths* and *Romans* alike, and maintain them in Equal Rights and Privileges, making no other distinction, than that the *Goths* undergoing the Travails and Dangers of War for the Publick good, the *Romans* should enjoy quiet and security within the Walls of their own City. He puts them in mind, how by the mutual Oath of Prince and People, the Memory of *Trajan's* Government was renewed, who as appears from the Panegyrick of *Pliny*, at his Entrance upon the Consulship, both swore himself and received the Oaths of the Magistrates, Senate and People. To *Tiberius* the *Præfatus Prætorius* of *Gall*, and the Provincials, as they are called, under his Jurisdiction, he prometh by Oath the like good Government, having exhorted them to Fidelity and Obedience, and written his Letters to *Viliorinus* their Bishop, to stir them up, and provoke them to be good Subjects, both by his Precepts and Example. He begs also his Prayers, that the Heavenly King would be pleased to confirm to him his Earthly Kingdoms, that he would suppress his Adversaries, forgive him his Sins, and mercifully consolidate and preserve what he had so bountifully and gloriously conferred upon his Parents.

33. Such was the beginning of *Athalarick*, or rather *Amalasuenta* (or *Amalasuenta*, as she is commonly called) his Mother; who, either as pious and humble Penitents are wont to do, conscious of the Frailty of Humane Nature, imposed upon her self and Son the strong Bonds of an Oath, to check and pull them back when they should exceed the Bounds of Equity and Moderation; or, not ignorant what Disorder and Difficulties fall upon Kingdoms in the Minority of Princes, provided for his Security and Establishment as prudently as she could, courting thus his Subjects into the strongest bonds and ties which could be laid upon their Consciences, by this plausible Stipulation and Exchange of Oaths. That

the latter Consideration effectually moved her, the Dictates of Nature may sufficiently testify, and that the former did not want its effects also, the Course of her Actions doth sufficiently manifest. For her principal care seemed to be for his good Education, and the seasoning of his tender Years with good Learning and religious Precepts; committing him to the exact Discipline of most grave and sober Masters, who should instruct him according to the *Roman* Customs, and their manner of the Institution of Youth, though the *Goths* were therewith offended. That such there were at this time who could very well do it, we cannot doubt, because of that Publick School which had lately flourished at *Rome*, wherein were professed Law, Eloquence, and the Liberal Arts by most Learned Men, maintained at the publick Charge. But of late their Stipends had either been denied or very badly paid, which coming to the Knowledge of the Regent, she directed Letters in the King's Name to the Senate of that City, expostulating the neglect of so considerable a matter, and requiring the punctual payment of these Salaries for the time to come. Forasmuch as Arts are nourished and maintained by Rewards, she tells them it is Wickedness to defraud the Teachers of Youth of any thing due to them, who ought rather to be farther excited by an Augmentation of their Encouragements. She commands for a greater certainty of their Allowance, that they be paid every half year, and that if any Officers retain the Money longer than that time, they be responsible both for Principal and Interest. Her Reasons are, that Learned Men are not to depend upon the proud and disdainful Humour of others, that it is a shame that Players should be provided for, who serve only for pleasure and recreation, and they be neglected who are the Formers of good manners, and breeders up of Eloquent Wits for the Service of the Court. But especially that they may not be distracted by solicitous thoughts, and necessary Cares for a Livelihood, which must render their pains more ineffectual.

34. Having sufficiently provided for her Son's Instruction by way of Precept, she herself became his Mistress in the other more significant and effectual part of Example. She not only kept off her Hands from invading the Lives, Rights, Privileges and Estates of the Subject, but restored to the Children of *Symmachus* and *Boetius*, what had been so unjustly taken from them, and in general protected and secured the *Roman* and *Italian* People from the Rapacious practices of the *Goths*; who as Strangers that have their Fortunes to make in a conquered Country, sought to build their Families upon the Ruines and Desolation of the Natives. To *Amalarick* the King of *Spain*, and her Nephew by her Sister, who stood in need of some Encouragement and Assistance, (*Theodas* his Guardian having, by his Marriage with a great Lady of the Country, made himself in effect more King than his Pupil,) she gave part of *Gall* lying beyond *Rhodanus*, and retained that on the nearest side for her Son; what her father had taken away from the Inhabitants of *Carcaffon*, she restored, and remitted the Impositions he had laid upon them. Foreseeing also that by retaining that Part of *Gall* now mentioned, she should draw an heavy War upon the Kingdom, and the *Franks* into the Bowels of *Italy*, she yielded to their King's pretensions, and delivered it up into his Hands. Shortly after *Justinian* came to the Government in the East, being assumed as Colleague in the Empire by his Uncle *Justin*. As soon as his promotion was heard of in the West, *Amalasuenta* dispatched Ambassadors to him, to congratulate his good Fortune, and to desire a Continuance of that Friendship and Alliance which had been betwixt their Predecessours; if the Epistle be rightly directed as now we have it in *Cassiodorus*. And what she desired on her Son's behalf was readily granted, as we may conclude from that good Correspondence, that was betwixt them as long as *Athalarick* lived, and the Coins which were stamped at this time, wherein on one side to be seen the Image of *Justinian*, and on the other the Name of King *Athalarick*.

35. We have already shewn how the *Goths* mistook of the breeding of their young King, and desiring to wrong the Subjects, would have him brought up after the Barbarian way. How hereupon he was debauched by ill Company. How *Amalasuenta* his Mother was brought into great Difficulties, and purposed to deliver up *Italy* into the Hands of *Justinian*. How *Athalarick* her Son died of a Consumption, and thereupon she procured *Theodatus* the Nephew of *Theodorick* to be King, and how in way of requital he basely caused her to be murdered. We shewed in its proper place, that *Justinian* upon this occasion resolved to make war upon the *Goths*, having lately subdued the *Vandals* in *Africk*; that Messages passed betwixt him and *Theodatus*, who put a Guard upon the Emperour's Ambassadors,

That set aside a most Excellent Prince.

*Athalarick* succeeds his Grandfather.

Letters written by the Regent to Senate and People.

*Athalarick*, *Amalasuenta* p. 100.

*Adi. G. conf. p. 100. l. 8. Ep. 1, 2, 3. usque ad 9.*

She makes Requisition.

*Theodatus* King.

**Sect. 3.**

*Vide Cassiodorus. l. 9. Ep. 1.*

*Vide Baron. ad Ann. 527.*

*Hujus vol. lib. 1. c. 2.*

Sect. 3.

Vitigis.

Ildebald.

Erarick.

Totilas.

Teias.

The Kingdom  
of the Goths  
in Italy wholly  
destroyed.

and in conclusion that *Belisarius* by order passed from *Sicily* into *Italy*. The Reader must also remember that he pressing upon the *Goths*, they chose for King one *Vitigis*, who caused *Theodatus* to be murdered. *Vitigis* drew the *Franks* to his Party, but made war, though valiant enough, unsuccessfully against *Belisarius*, who at length carried him and his Wife along with him to *Constantinople*. Into his Room was *Ildebald* the Nephew of *Theodas* King of the *Westgoths*, and Governor of *Verona* preferred, who killed *Uraes* the Sisters Son of *Vitigis*, and was himself killed by *Vitis* a *Gepida*. After him was made King one *Erarick*, by Birth a *Rugian*, and consequently of a *Gothick* Nation, a Man of good reputation amongst the *Barbarians*. He would for a good Reward have delivered up *Italy* to the Emperor, but after a short Reign of five Months was killed by the *Goths*, who chose *Totilas* to be their King. He proved a severe Scourge against the *Greeks*, then warring in *Italy*. He was the Brothers Son of *Ildebald*, a Man very Warlike and Active, as we have described his Actions at large. He carried himself with much Gallantry and Justice. He took *Rome* more than once, wasted *Sicily*, and at length died of his wounds, after the Battle fought with *Narjes*, received by one *Asbades* a *Gepida*. He Reigned eleven Years, and in him fortune shewed Fickleness and Inconstancy. The next and last King was *Teias* the Son of *Fridigern*, who did wonders in Battle against *Narjes*, but was killed, and the Kingdom of the *Goths* in *Italy* received its period with him.

36. So was the Kingdom of the *Ostrogoths*, overturned in *Italy* by the Vigilancy and Conduct of *Narjes*, that famous Eunuch, after it had continued some fifty nine Years. How this was done, hath been discoursed at large in our Account of the Wars of *Justinian*, to which here we have nothing to add, little occurring concerning the later *Gothick* Kings, but in reference to the Wars of *Italy*, managed against them, chiefly by *Belisarius* and *Narjes* the Officers of that Emperor. The *Goths* after the Death of *Teias* were headed by *Aligern* his Brother, but without the Title of King, and they strugled some time to no purpose, though they called in the *Franks* to their Assistance. Their Kingdom being destroyed, the Sovereignty and Command of *Italy* returned to *Justinian* the Emperor, who governed it by *Narjes*, as a Province of the Eastern Empire. *Narjes* having suppressed the *Goths* and driven out the *Franks*, set himself as to Actions of Piety and Religion, so to repairing Towns which had been demolished in War, to the restoring of Buildings both sacred and profane in *Rome*, and other places. But as of other things, so of these we have no particular Account, for the following Years are so barren of any History, that as *Sigonius* witnesseth, in all the Antiquities of *Italy* and the West, nothing is more rude and uncertain, our best guides *Procopius* and *Agathias* having taken their leave. But, from the overthrow of the *Gothick* Kingdom in *Italy*, which happened in the Year DLIII. to the coming in of the *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, which fell out in the DLXVIII. passed fourteen Years, all which time *Narjes* seemst to have governed, and spent it well, as we are told, in mending what had been marred by the former Wars. In these Wars that great mischiefs happened both to Places and Persons cannot be doubted. That those that were faithful to the Emperor suffered much may easily be conceived, and particularly we are told of the Family of the *Titianes*. This Family flying their Country, lost all they had, leaving a great Estate, and when the *Goths* were driven out, it seems made their Application to *Justinian* to be restored to their Lands and Possessions. Now it was a Rule in Law, that a Prescription of thirty years was a sufficient Bar against any pretender, let the Estate be come by how it would, and this it seems was pleaded by such as had got into possession. But the Emperor taking the case into consideration, granted a Rescript of Privilege to the said *Titianes*, which broke the Prescription; and this Rescript, being the only Monument of that dark time, *Cujacius* hath communicated to us, who received it as he tells us, from the most Learned and acute *P. Galesius* a *Spaniard*. It being a Rarity in several respects, we shall not conceal it from the Reader. To *Narjes* it is directed thus.

37. *Flavius Justinian, Cæsar, Imp. Alanicus, Gothicus, Wandalicus, Africanus, ever Augustus* to *Narjes* the Patritian in *Italy*. With great anguish of mind we perceive, that our City of *Rome* having been in former times much emptied, hath continued long desert, and in a manner desolate, and that from it almost an infinite Number of Illustrious Families, have betaken themselves to divers Climates of the World, to shun the direfull Cruelty and savage madness of the *Goths* and *Wandals*, amongst which the most Eminent and most Noble Family of the *Titianes*, leaving the City in which it had happily flourished before for many Ages, in the glo-

Sect. 3.

ous Equeſtrian Order, was forced to fly to foreign Nations. Namely out of that Family, above an hundred and twenty Persons passed over to the *Pindelici* and *Retii*, chusing rather valiantly to undergoe hard Exile, than enjoying at home with the Enemy of the *Roman* Empire their own goods, to live in filthy and dishonest slavery. Now we being desirous to obviate such Calamities and Miseries dispatched away the most glorious *Belisarius* the Patritian into *Italy* against the *Goths*, that by him we might free the City, and *Italy* it self, from so great Slavery, Captivity and Slaughter. And so it fell out, that in that Engagement which *Belisarius* had with *Vitigis* King of the *Goths*, and wherein he remained Victor, the King being taken Prisoner, the Strenuous, Valiant and Noble *L. Galbinus Titio*, valiantly discharging the Duty of a Tribune of Soldiers, died gloriously fighting, leaving three Sons, *Aulus Anduatus*, *C. Tubero*, and *L. Reucardus*, who all under thy Command in *Italy*, fought for us and the *Roman* Empire with the greatest Fidelity against our Enemies. Wherefore seeing that in a Prince there can be nothing more Clement, nothing more Decent, nothing more glorious to be wished for, than to have a respect for, and confer just and gratefull Favours on such, whose Parents, by fighting manfully for the Empire and their Country, most religiously died; and whereas those Brothers and their Progenitours were spoiled of their large Estate, by the wicked Enemies of the *Roman* Empire, which they enjoyed in the City, amongst the *Cemomani*, especially the *Insulbes*, *Vercellenſes*, *Taurini* and *Lugures*, for long spaces of time, We will, Command and require, as thou esteemeſt our favour, and art zealous for our Honour, that having made a diligent search, thou put them again into possession of their Estates, and goods of their Ancestours, having no regard at all to those by whom they are seized, and restore these Brothers to the City, their Honours and Dignities; and especially the Equeſtrian, in which they have flourished with great Commendation from their Great and Great great Grandfathers, and to place them again in their Houses, removing any that may detain them. For all those who from the beginning take Possession by force, and thereby lay unjust Foundations, do not acquire just Possession by the use of time, neither they who derive action from them; and we will not that such Occupiers be assisted by any Prescription, although of the longest time, from which we derogate, and by our fullness of Power will have Derogation made, that the said Brothers may serve us with the same Fidelity and Valour, which they have derived from their Parents. We will have therefore this our Pleasure, or rather just and deserved Restitution, inviolably observed under Penalty of an hundred pounds of Gold, and have commanded it to be strengthened by our Imperial Seal. From the City of *Constantinople* on the Ides of February, in the six and thirtieth Year of our Reign, in the Year of our Lord DLXV, signed *Justinian*, and underneath, *Procopius*. This is very remarkable, and little or nothing is there farther of *Italian* matters, till the coming of the *Lombards* into *Italy*; of the occasion thereof, and their progress till their settling therein a Kingdom, we have already discoursed amongst matters relating to the *Constantinopolitan* Empire.

A Rescript of  
Restitution  
granted to the  
Titianes by  
Justinian.

SECT. IV.

## S E C T. IV.

The Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, from the Expiring of the Command of Duces, and the Promotion of Authari to be King, to the End of this Kingdom.

The Space of 206 Years.

Sect. 4.

Authari made a King.

1. THE Lombards having fetled their Domination in Italy, were ten Years, as we have said in the History of the Empire, without a King and under Duces or Captains. But these ten Years expired, into the Dignity and Title of King they advanced Authari the Son of Clepho formerly mentioned, whom they surnamed Flavius, for the more grace of the matter, as Paul their Historian tells us, or to mollify the found of his barbarous Name, with a surname familiar and easy, as others conjecture; for this of Flavius became afterward common to all their Kings. Now all the Great Men contributed half they had to the maintenance of his Port and Dignity. And this is to be admired in the Government of the Lombards, that there was no such thing amongst them as Violence and Oppression. No Treachery, no Compulsion was practised. No Man was deprived of what he had by Thefts or Robberies, but every one went about his business securely, without the least fear or apprehension of Danger. So Paul writes; but we remember that he himself was a Lombard, and speaks possibly in favour of his own Nation, so he doth when he commends and applauds, for their Valour and Deportment, the Party which fought under Narfes, whereas Procopius tells us, that they were sent back in disgrace for their unreliness. And however he conceals their Faults, and commends them for their great Justice and Moderation, it appears from Ecclesiastical Persons, that after they were become Masters of Italy, they did many horrid Acts; and upon this account Gregory the Great calleth them a most wicked Nation. But possibly the truth lies betwixt both Extremes.

Childebert being hired against the Lombards, he hath Money on both sides.

2. Mauricius the Emperour, not being in a Condition himself, hired Childebert King of the Franks for fifty thousand Solidi, to dispose of them. The King with a vast Army breaks into Italy, but Paul saith, that the Lombards dealt with him by Messengers, and persuaded him to take Money and be gone. He promised to return the Solidi to Childebert, with whom the Lombards made a League, but had work enough cut out for them by Droctulf, who being a Suebian or Alaman by Birth, for his Goodlines of his Stature had got the Honour of a Duke; but to revenge his Captivity had lately revolted to the Emperour, and carried over to his Party a considerable Number of their Men. Lying now at Broxillus a Town situate upon the Poë, thither Authari removed with his Army, and traitly besieged him. The siege continued long, and he held them to it; but at last he was compelled to quit his Quarters and betake himself to Ravenna; which having done, Authari took Broxillus and dismantled it, and made truce with Smaragdus the Patriarch the then Exarch of Ravenna, for three Years. This notwithstanding, Mauricius sent the second Time his Ambassadors to Childebert, and persuaded him to break the League and fall upon the Lombards. He invaded Italy, but as they were on their march toward him, the Alemans that were in his Army fell out with the Franks, and the Diffention grew so great, that they parted and returned back without having any thing done.

Another fruitless expedition of Childebert.

Dreadfull Inundations.

3. At this time happened such Inundations in several Parts of Italy, as the like had never been heard of since the Universal Deluge. Multitudes of Men, besides other living Creatures, were destroyed. The River Athesis flowed as high as the Windows of St. Zenos Church near Verona, part of the Wall of which City was also broken down; and after two Months it perished almost all by Fire. The River Tiber was so overcharged, that it rose higher than the very Walls of Rome, defaced ancient Buildings, and overturned the Granaries belonging to the Church, wherein great Quantities of Wheat were lost. A Multitude of Serpents

Sect. 4.

The Pestis Inguararia follows.

pests together with a Dragon of a vast Bigness, swom down the River (Paulus Diaconus saith through the City) into the Sea, where killed with the Salt-water, they were cast upon the shore. This happened in the Month of November, and in January following a dreadfull Plague called Pestis Inguararia, from the Privy parts which it invaded, fell upon Italy, especially Rome, and destroyed an infinite Number of People, on whom Arrows were seen to be darted from Heaven, if credit may be given to no less a Man than Pope Gregory. This was the Plague, as some would have it, wherewith Men being seized fell into great fits of sneezing, and so suddenly died, whence the Custom proceeded of praying, as still we do, for such a sneeze. But that this was in use long before amongst the Pagans, who invocated their Gods upon the same occasion, is attested by Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. 23. not to speak of more ancient Writers, and therefore it could not take its rise from Vide Bar. the Mortality whereof we now speak.

France destroyed.

Authari Marries.

4. Much about this time Authari King of the Lombards, sent Ewin the Duke of Trent to waste Histria, whence he brought very rich Plunder. Others of his subjects were then employed in besieging Franco, one of Narfes his Captains, in the Island Amacina, where he had continued twenty Years, but after a siege of six Months, was forced to yield it up, and to depart with his Wife and Baggage to Ravenna. Authari aswell as his People being much enriched began to look high, and asked the Sister of Childebert King of the Franks to be given him in Marriage. Childebert receiving his Presents, promised he would send her, but failed of his word being sued to by the Gothick King of Spain, to bestow her on him; and sensible it seems of the Injury, and how good Cause he had given Authari to be angry with him, he sent to the Emperour, and promised now he would do his utmost for removing the Lombards out of Italy. And he sent an Army to make good his promise, but the Lombards, concerned now more than ordinary to shew their Valour, made greater slaughter of them, than ever was heard to have befallen that Nation and very few returned home. Flavius Authari now encouraged by this Success sends his Ambassadors into Baioaria, to ask in Marriage Theudelinda the Daughter of King Garibald, who readily granted their suit, and after their return Authari himself makes a Journey thither Incognito to see her. Not long after his return, troubles arising betwixt Garibald and the Franks, Theudelinda with her Brother Gundwald retired into Italy, where Authari met her with Royal Pomp, and consummated his Marriage at a Place called Sardis above Verona, on the Ides of May.

Theude-Linda, Papius multi.

Gundwald, Benivolentia potest.

Another fruitless Expedition of the Franks.

The Conquests of Authari.

5. At this time, for what Cause is uncertain, Asul the King's Kinsman was slain at Verona, and not long after Childebert, to gratify the Emperour Mauricius, sent another Army of twenty thousand Men to subdue the Lombards. Of these Men Anduald, Olo and Cedinus were the chief Captains, whereof Olo laying siege to the Castle of Bilitio, was shot with an Arrow under his Pap and died, many of his Countreymen in their Excursions being met with and slain. Anduald with six inferior Officers came before Milan, where he met with the Emperour's Ambassadors, who promised him relief after three days; but three and three they expected them to no purpose. Cedinus going the way toward the left hand took five Castles from the Inhabitants of which he exacted an Oath. They pierced by Placentia as far as Verona, and many Towns they demolished contrary to Articles, leading away the Townsmen Prisoners. But the Summer now grew very hot, and the Franks not accustomed to the Italian Air, were much afflicted with the Dysentery whereof many of them died, and having been three Months in the Country to little purpose, the Lombards securing themselves in their strong holds, and their King particularly in Pavia, they were necessitated to return home, which they did with so great Difficulty, that they were first constrained to sell their Cloaths off from their backs, and then their Arms to purchase Victuals in their passage. About this time it is that Paul thinks the famed Conquests of King Authari happened, as that through Spoletum he proceeded as far as Beneventum, and having made himself Master of all that Country, kept on his Progress as far as Rhegium, the last City of Italy, and nearest to the Sicilian Island. There, as the story went, stood a certain Pillar within the water, to which he rode so near as to touch it with the Point of his Lance, and said, Thus far shall extend the Borders of the Lombards. The Pillar was reported to be standing in the days of the Historian, and to be known by the Name of Authari his Column.

Zotto, Suscitavit, nunc, fulcrum beneventi, dicit, a Sore murda in pons signi-

6. The first Duke of the Lombards which settled in Beneventum, was Zotto, who held the Government for twenty years. Authari sent to make a League with Gundram King of the Franks, who referring them to Childebert his Nephew, as they could





## Sect. 4.

Padua demolished by them.

began to wear Hose, over which when they rode they drew a sort of Breaches called *Talbergi birrei*, but this fashion they received from the *Romans*. Hitherto the City of *Padua* had valiantly stood out against them, but now it was all burnt, and by order of King *Agilulf*, levelled with the ground, the Garrison Soldiers being permitted to go to *Ravenna*. *Agilulf* his Ambassadors returning from *Cacanus* brought the ratification of a perpetual Peace and Amity made with the *Avars*, who sent theirs also to the Kings of the *Franks*, requiring them in the League made betwixt the two Nations, to comprize also the *Lombards*. Now did the *Lombards*, *Avars* and *Sclavi* invade *Histria*, which they wasted with fire and sword, at what time *Theodelinda* bare a Son to *Agilulf*, whom being born in the Palace of *Modicia*, they named *Adaloald*. After this the *Lombards* took the Caitle of Mount *Silex*, and much about the same time *Gallicinus* being beaten from *Ravenna*, *Smaragdus* returned, who had formerly been Patritian, as *Paul* calls him, or Exarch of that City for the Emperour.

Cremona levelled.

Mantua destroyed.

A Truce betwixt *Agilulf* and the Exarch.

11. That sort of Peace which we find was made betwixt *Agilulf*, *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, and the *Exarch*, was openly broken by the latter, who took *Parma*, and therein *Godecalc* and his Wife, the Son-in-law and Daughter of the King; at which time also he sent some Troops and seized on *Bresillum*, which had been forsaken of the *Lombards*. *Agilulf*, as he had reason, was very much concern'd, and resolv'd to set upon the *Romans* with greater fury than ever, and take from them those Towns which the Arms of force *Alboin* had left unconquered. From *Milan* then in the month of *July* he set forward and laid siege to *Cremona*, being assist'd by the *Sclavi*, which *Cacanus* King of the *Avars* had sent him, and took it on the nineteenth of *August*. He levelled it with the ground as he had done *Padua* before, and then turned upon *Mantua*, the Walls of which he so long battered also, that he took it about the middle of *September*, sack'd it and defac'd it in a lamentable manner. Afrighted hereat, they that held the Caitle of *Vulturina* yielded it up, and those that had seized on *Bresillum* set fire to it and departed. Matters thus proceeding, the King's Daughter was set at liberty by *Smaragdus* the Exarch, who by command of *Mauricius* the Emperour, had succeeded *Calvincus*, together with her Husband, and all that belonged to her; and a Truce was made from the month of *September* till the *April* following. The King's Daughter from *Ravenna* went to *Parma*, and falling into Travail, thereof died, to the no small discontentment as well of her Father as her Husband.

12. So great were the Troubles in *Italy* betwixt the Exarchs of the Emperour and the *Lombards*, that the people were miserably harass'd betwixt them, and little or no rest could they have by virtue of any Treaty or Truce that could be made. *Gregory* the Bishop of *Rome* having a deep sense of these miseries, and having often in vain expected aid from *Constantinople*, when he heard of the death of *Mauricius* rejoiced, and sent away speedily a Messenger with Letters to claw *Phocas* the Murderer and his Wife, that he might obtain some effectual means for reducing the *Lombards* into order, and quieting the Countrey; and on the twenty fourth of *April* the Images of *Phocas* and his Wife were solemnly brought to *Rome*, and after the Senate and Clergy had made their Prayers for their prosperity with great joy, the Bishop caused them to be placed in the Palace, in the Oratory of *St. Casarius* the Martyr. About this time *Theodelind* bare a Son to *Agilulf*, whom he called by the name of *Adaloald*, being Christened upon *Easter-day*. Now the Truce was at an end, and an heavy war seem'd to threaten the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, when yet *Agilulf* considering how hard the enterprise of taking that City would be, still gave his consent that the Truce should be renewed. And there was great need of it both in respect of the present season, and the state and condition to which *Italy* had been before that reduced. The Summer was so excessive hot and dry that all the Corn was burnt up and spoil'd, and such a dreadful cold Winter followed, as in a manner destroyed all their Vines.

The Truce renewed.

13. But such had been the lamentable Estate of poor *Italy* for several Years before, that this might seem to give the last blow to it already in a dying condition. So *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, who died this very year, in his Exposition of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, describes it to us. "We every where see nothing but mourning, hear nothing but groans, Cities are destroyed, Castles demolished; the Countrey depopulated; the whole Land reduced into a Desert. In the fields there are no Husbandmen, in the Cities no Inhabitant, and yet the small Remainers of Mankind, are even now struck at without Intermission; some led into Captivity, some maimed, and others slain. And in what plight *Rome* is, though once the Mistress of the World, we see, even spent with great and mani-

Peccatus  
negligentia  
oppressionis  
longue  
lucis  
miseriam  
l. 4. c. 23.

Adalwald  
nobilis  
filius  
Agilulfi  
l. 4. c. 23.

Prudentius  
de Gesta  
Longobard.  
l. 4. c. 29.

Exordium  
de Gesta  
Longobard.  
l. 4. c. 29.

Vide Brev.

## Sect. 4.

"fold mischiefs, by loss of Citizens, Incurfion of Enemies and frequency of Threats. "All potent Persons are taken away from her. Where is now the Senate? Where is the People? All order of Dignity in her is extinct, and yet as that remains "every day the Sword, daily innumerable Tribulations do press her, and after "that men fail the very Walls do fall. So dreadful a face of things was in *Italy*, the effect of the late Conquest, for when the Victory is obtained, and the Countrey won, the miseries of the conquered People are not then ended but begun, more grievous are the courses which Conquerours take to preserve, than those whereby they first obtained. But now *Agilulf* by means and pervasion of his Wife especially, seems to be well inclined for peace, and applies himself to other Methods, tending to settle and secure that in his Family by love, which hitherto had been kept by terror.

Agilulf makes his Son a Child King.

Tribute to the Franks bought off.

Agilulf enlarges Ferrara.

Truce with the Exarch renewed.

14. He began to think of his own Mortality, and how he might provide for the security of his young Son *Aldonald*, which at length he concluded would be best effected, by setting the Crown upon his Head in his own life time. For this purpose he assembled the Estates together at *Milan*, where in the open Cirque the Infant was saluted King by the People, in the Presence of the Ambassadors of *Theodebert* King of the *Franks*, and invested with Royal Ornaments. With the *Franks* the Peace was renewed, and a perpetual League sworn on both sides, a more joyfull day was never seen in *Italy*, so bright and pleasant a Sun-shine, after so great and terrible a Tempelt. But though a League, as we said, was made with the *Franks*, it was upon very uneven Terms. For the *Lombards* paid to the *Franks*, and so had long done a yearly Tribute, which *Agilulf* disdaining, as much below him who had made himself famous by so many Victories, sent three Ambassadors with abundance of money into *Gall*, wherewith the Principal Courtiers were so bribed, that *Clothair* the King was perfwaded for thirty thousand *Solidi* to sell it, and release the Nation for the time to come. There was much about this time some Action betwixt the King's and the Exarch's Forces, for the *Lombards* as soon as the Truce was out, suddenly surprized *Orbitum* and *Balneoregium* belonging to the *Romans*. But *Smaragdus* the Exarch got them restor'd, and for twelve thousand *Solidi*, the Truce to be renewed for another year. Being now secure and at his ease he began a worthy work, for whereas hitherto *Ferrara* had been but an inconsiderable Village, but very conveniently seated upon the River *Padus*, or *Poe*, he compass'd it about with walls, and brought it into such Reputation, that it daily increas'd as well in bigness as fame, and afterward became the seat of most potent Princes, and so hath a long time continued. This same year, which was the six hundred and sixth of our Lord, died *Boniface* the Third, Bishop of *Rome* (the Successour of *Sabinian*, as he of *Gregory* the Great) and *Boniface* the Fourth of that Name succeeded him. He was consecrated in the Month of *August*, and in *November* following the Truce betwixt the King and the Exarch was renewed for three years longer.

15. For two years following though *Italy* rested from war, yet was it sorely afflicted by Famine and Sicknels; the Effects of too excessive moisture by reason of abundance of Rain. In that following, a Peace and Confederacy was made betwixt *Agilulf* and the Emperour *Phocas*, which continued for about two years, so long as the Tyrant lived. He being slain by *Heraclius*, *John Lenugius* a Patritian, was sent to succeed *Smaragdus* at *Ravenna*, who being a Man of a peaceable disposition, and finding *Italy* in quiet, laboured earnestly so to keep it, by the same means his Predecessour had done, constantly renewing the Truce with the *Lombards*, as there was occasion. By this means *Italy* continued in good repose for four or five years more, till it was disturbed again upon a foreign Account, after this manner. *Cacanus* the young King of the *Hunnes*, impatient of rest and greedy of booty, with a select Party of Soldiers, came out of *Pannonia*, and fell on a sudden into the Dukedom of *Forum Julii*. The news thereof being brought to *Gisulf* the Duke, he was not at all wanting to himself, but gathering an Army, as he could, met the *Hunnes*, and adventur'd to give them battel, wherein his Fortune answered not his Courage, for being incompanied by the Multitude of the Enemy, he was slain in the Place with almost all his Men. This being known, *Romilda* the Duke's Wife with his Sons, and the choice of the Nobility shut up themselves in *Forum Julii*, and the other Towns were reinforced by others, that fled out of the Countrey. The *Hunnes* having waited all at their pleasure, at last came before *Forum Julii*, and laid siege to it. Here it happened that *Romilda* the Dutchess getting a sight of *Cacanus* from the Walls, was so taken with the beauty of the young man, that falling desperately in love with him, he offered to him by a Messenger in case he would

Paulo Bal-  
un Regis  
Orbi veni-  
Pauker ad-  
supra, c. 33.

Giselulf, Cor-  
mittum adju-  
tor.

Vide Paulum  
Diaconum lu-  
na Ecclia  
qua rem suam  
narrat. lib. 4.  
c. 33.

Sect. 4.

Reminds the  
Duchess de-  
fectively put  
to death.

would marry her, to deliver the Town into his hands. He promised her Marriage, and accordingly got into the Town, but then breaking his word he murdered and burnt the place, made the Lombards prisoners, and giving her the satisfaction of enjoying him for one Night, then delivered her up to twelve Hunnes to be satisfied with what she had desired, and at last, thinking her not fit to live, cauled her to be hanged upon a Gibbet. Her Daughters fared better for their Chastity, being spared by the Hunnes, who thought they stunk, because out of design they had bound purrified Chickens betwixt their Breasts.

16. The Sons of the Duke, *Tato*, *Caco*, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, when they perceived the King's treachery privately withdrew themselves and resolved to fly. *Grimoald* the Child being notable, as they concluded, to fit his Horse, one of them was about to kill him lest he should alive fall into the Enemies hands. But he crying out, and promising to ride as fast as the best of them, he set him upon his Horse without any Saddle and bade him follow. But he could not ride so fast, but the rest escaping he was overtaken by an Hunne, and being by him carried back toward the Camp did a thing which one would not have expected from a Man, much less from him. For as the Trooper went before him with the Child's Horse in his hand, he gave him with his Sword such a blow on the Head that he lein him for dead upon the spot, and turning his Horse he put him to his full speed, and so at length reached his Brothers. The Hunnes departing out of the Dutchy, led away Captives many Men, Women and Children, promising to sellow them in convenient places in *Pannonia*, but when they came upon the Borders, perfidiously put all the Men of ripe age to death, and led away the Women and Children. After their Retreat, the Sons of *Gisulf* returned, and *Tato* and *Caco* the eldest ordered the matters relating to Government. While this disaster happened to the

The Exarch  
killed.

Lombards they at *Ravenna* were not in quiet, where *John* the Exarch bearing himself very haughty, and laying on the people heavier burthens than formerly they underwent, was by the Multitude killed in the Palace with such Judges as he had called together for deciding Causes. Neither were the Affairs of *Campania* more settled, where *John Confusus* the Duke of *Naples*, contrary to his Faith formerly given to the Emperour, seized that City, and with a strong Garrison held it out against him. The News hereof being carried to *Constantinople*, *Heraclius* sent as Exarch into *Italy*, one *Eleutherius* a Patritian, and his Chamberlain, a man of great wisdom and virtue. This same year was too remarkable for several other accidents. In *August* there was a great Earthquake, and this was followed by a great Plague, a kind of Scab called *Elephatia*, which so disfigured the Faces of the diseased, that they could not be known from dead Bodies. Three eminent persons also died, the Bishop of *Trent*, Duke *Gundald* the Brother of *Theodelind*, and King *Agilulf* himself, after he had reigned twenty five years: a person famous for his Wars, and as acceptable upon the account of his Orthodox Religion. This

Agilulf dies.

was the DCXV. year of our Lord.

17. *Agilulf* (or *Ago*) being dead, the Kingdom was confirmed to *Adalulf* his Son, who reigned under the Government of *Theodelind* his Mother. No Wars now are heard of, the as became her sex applying her self more to the works of Religion than those of *Mars*, for which she is deservedly celebrated by Church-men. But her Neighbour could not be quiet. There was one *Gregory* a Patritian who governed those parts for the Emperour which lay near the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*. He pretended great kindness to *Tato* the Son of the deceased *Gisulf*, made him believe he would adopt him for his Son, and enticed him to *Opitergium*, the place where he lay to perform the Ceremony by cutting his Beard according to the Lombard custome. But having got the poor young man into the Town, with *Caco* his Brother and others of their followers, he cauled the Gates to be shut, and then sent Souldiers to fall upon them, whom they repulled and so long defended themselves, till being pursued from Street to Street they killed many they had to doe with, and at last were themselves slain; which great achievement being performed, *Gregory* sent for *Tato* his Head, and then cut off his Beard to perform his godly promise. The report of this villany being spread abroad, *Grafulf* their Uncle hailed and seized on the Dutchy, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald* being yet so young as not to be fit for the management of matters, who within a while, for that their Uncle was, or they so thought or pretended, very severe to them, fled to *Archie* the Duke of *Beneventum*, with whom they had been brought up in their Infancy, who kindly entertained them. The same year, which was next to the death of *Agilulf*, *Eleutherius* the Exarch came to *Ravenna*, where he made inquisition after the death of *John*, and punished with death such as were found guilty of the Murder.

Thence

A base Act of  
Gregory the  
Emperours  
Officer.Grafulf,  
Grande Alexi-  
um Red-  
gall, Quitti  
comp.  
Grimoald,  
Ira pueri.  
Archie,  
Hun-  
re ferri.

Sect. 4.

Thence by the way of *Rome*, where he was honourably received, he went to *Naples*, where not being received, he besieged the other *John Confusus* in the City, which being at last constrained to surrender, he was put to death, and pardon was granted to the Citizens, who were forced to receive a new Governour.

Eleutherius  
the Exarch  
thinks to  
usurp.Is slain by his  
Soldiers.Adaluald de-  
posed, and A-  
riuald made  
King.

18. With this Success *Eleutherius* was so puffed up as to forget that Virtue and Moderation once supposed to be prevalent in him, and to approve that Vice in his own Person, which he had so declaimed against, and punished in other Men. Having opportunity, the great Corrupter of Mankind, by reason of the great distance betwixt these Countries and the Emperour, he resolved to make for the Sovereignty of *Italy*, and knowing he must have the Soldiers at his beck to ayme at this, he paid them their full wages, a thing they had not been much used to, and by all other means possible endeavoured to oblige them. While he mused and contrived how to accomplish this great Design, the death of *Desjdedit* the Bishop, presented him as he thought with a fit occasion to begin the Work. In the interval, before the Election of another he resolved to seize on that City, and led his Men thitherward to get him possession, but in the way met with the News of *Boniface* the Fifth his Promotion, which made him alter his Councils, and make a flattering Speech to the Army, by which and great promises for this time he inveigled them, and assumed the Title of King, which to have farther confirmed, by investing himself with Royal Ensigns of Majesty, he would go on to *Rome*, the fittest place he said of all others to receive them. But when they were come as far as *Luceoli*, the Soldiers had better considered of the matter, and upon better thoughts detelling the Treachery fell into a Mutiny, which grew to that height, that they slew him as a Traitor on the twenty fourth of *December*, and returning to *Ravenna*, sent his Head to the Emperour. The Emperour *Heraclius*, named *Ipsacius* a Patritian, his Exarch in his Room for the Government of *Italy*; and now being resolved of a War with *Persia*, made peace with *Cacanus* the Hunnish King. Some four years after, one *Eusebius* came or pretended to come Ambassador from the Emperour, about some weighty affairs to King *Adalulf*. He getting intimacy with him one day when the King came out of the Bath, either following the Directions of *Heraclius*, or on his own Head gave him something to drink, which drove him into a Melancholy or Dotage. Perceiving this Plot to have taken, he made use of his Youth and Madnes, and feeding his Extravagant fancy, persuaded him to kill all his Nobles for his own security. He followed his Advice, and twelve he procured to be slain, which gave such an Alarm, that the Lombards fearing the mischief would increase, accused him as one that acted the part not of a King but of a Tyrant, and the year following growing more tumultuous, removed him and his Mother from the Government; which done they put into his place *Ariuald* the Duke of *Taurinum*, who had married *Gundeberg* the Sister of *Adalulf*. A.D. DCXXXIII.

Ar-mali, Ho-  
moris tenax.

19. This Revolution cast the whole Kingdom of the Lombards into very great Troubles, all that were concerned not concurring with those that did the Fact. The Bishops beyond the *Poe* were earnest for *Ariuald*, and laboured to draw the rest to their side. But *Honorius* the Bishop of *Rome*, and *Ipsacius* the Exarch, either by his procurement, or the Insinuations of *Theodelind* were for restoring *Adaluald*, and the rather induced, because the New King was of the *Arian* persuasion. *Ipsacius* with an Army endeavoured his Restitution, and *Honorius* wrote to him, that as soon as he had done his work he should send the Dissenting Bishops to answer their Rebellion at *Rome*. But *Ipsacius* failed of his Design, and *Ariuald* kept his possession, governing himself with that prudence and temper, that notwithstanding the Attempts of the Exarch, yet he was so true to the Interest of his Kingdom, as not to break the Peace with the *Romans*. The ill Success cast *Theodelind* into so great a Fit of Melancholy, that, not able to bear up against it, it brought her into a Consumption of Spirits, and this to her Grave the year following. She was much lamented by all good Men, for her Excellent qualifications both of body and mind, and above all the great respect she bare to all things Sacred. Several years did *Ariuald* Reign with great Peace both at home and abroad, till something happened in his own Court, which gave him and his Family great disturbance. One *Adalulf* a Nobleman solicited his Queen *Gundeberg* for unlawful pleasures, and was with much Scorn and Indignation rejected. He fearing she would accuse him, to prevent her, got to the King, and tells him a formal story, how *Tato* the Duke of *Eruria*, had conspired to take away his Life, and marry the Queen. *Ariuald*, burning with rage and jealousy, shut up his Wife close

Gundeberg,  
Benevola ho-  
pitia.



40 The History of the  
Sect. 4. clofe prisoner in the Caſtle of *Amellum*, where he continued three years, till he was releaſed and reſtored to her former reputation. For *Cleair* King of the *Franks* taking pity of her, ſent and expulſated with her Husband for condemning a Lady deſcended of the Royal Blood of the *Franks*, and deſpoiling her of her dignity without any cauſe or crime committed. *Ariald* anſwered it was not without cauſe, to whom *Anſald* one of the Ambaſſadours replied, that they would agree, to whom *Anſald* one of the Ambaſſadours replied, that they would agree with him if he would but permit one of her Friends to try it with her Accuſer in a ſingle Combat. The cuſtome of the *Lombards* was, as indeed of all theſe Northern Nations, to decide Controverſies concerning Accuſations in that manner; therefore he not being able to refute the offer, *Aripert* her Kinſman produced one *Pithe*, *Pantus Diaconus* calls him *Carell*, as her Champion, who got the better of *Adiſell*, and ſo the Queen's innocency being clear'd, ſhe was reſtored to her former Eſtate and Honour. And this added to her Fame, that ſhe out-lived her Husband, who died ſome four years after, and had the honour to make another choice both for her ſelf and the Kingdom.

choice both for her self and the Kingdom.

*Arctand dies.* 25. For *Arinold* dying without Issue, the Estates assembled about an Election, and giving her the same respect as they had done to *Theodelind* of chusing her self an Husband, and the same a King for them, the pitch'd upon one *Rothari*, fit every way for so great an Employment, but tainted also with the *Arian* Heresie. There lay at this time within *Italy* and some Territories of the *Lombards* two Provinces, as yet subject to the Emperour; viz. the *Alpes Cottiae* and *Opitergium*, with all the Towns adjoining as far as *Tarinsium*. *Rothari* or *Rothari*, as *Paul* the Historian calls him, with a great Army invaded the *Alpes Cottiae*, and wrested this rich patrimony out of the Emperours hands, whence bending his Forces into *L'eneri*, he took *Opitergium*, and the other Towns by surrender. The *Emperour* being surprized, and not able so soon to get his Troops together as to doe any thing effectual for preservation of these places, yet thought himself in honour oblig'd to fall with all violence he could upon the Dominions of the *Lombards*. *Rothar* was sufficiently aware thereof, and having taken *Perusia*, with greater number of Men hasten'd to *Amilia*, and so homeward to give him battel, and found

*Ret-hari cho-ten King.*

*Wrests the Alpes Cottiae out of the Emperour's hands.*

*Ret-hari, qui etis dominus.*

*Engaged in Battel*

him out upon the borders at the River Scythian. Here they engaged in a battle with this success that eight thousand of the Romans were slain and all the rest fled: Defeat of such consequence that it put an end to all Wars betwixt the Kings of

Town also which they named *Eggnium*. About this time *Flavius* the Exarch dies. *Mauritius* a Chaturlangy happily suppressed a Sedition raised at *Rome* by one *Mauritius* a Chaturlangy against him, died suddenly. The year following, his Death being known at *Constantinople*, *Constantin* the Nephew of *Heraculus*, who having driven away *Heracleonas*, was owned Emperor by the Senate, sent *Theodoros Calliopa* his Exarch into *Italy*.

to Italy. 21. Now arrived the seventy sixth year from the Entrance of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, who all this while being more intent upon matters relating to War than Peace, and so concerned in securing their publick Estate from their Neighbours without, that they scarcely had time to contend amongst themselves about private Interests, had never been governed by any written Laws but only by Custom and such Rules as were kept in memory and defended by Tradition. But now having Peace abroad, as it ever happens, they became the more contentious at home, and ease and plenty made them quarrel and begot so many Suits that the former Customary Laws seeming insufficient, *Rothar* applied himself to collect them in Writing, and adding to them many other Decrees to answer such Cases as they could not reach, he published them under the name of an Edict at *Pavia*, in the six hundred and forty third year of our Lord, with this Preface. "Here begins the Edict which I have renewed with my principal Judges, I in the name of God, "King *Rotharis*, the most Excellent Man, the Seventeenth King of the Nation of "the *Lombards*, by the goodness of God, in the Eighth year of my Reign, and "the thirty eighth of mine Age, the second Indiction, and after the coming of "the *Lombards* into the Province of *Italy*, since *Alboin* King at that time by Divine Clemency came, the seventy sixth, happily, given at *Pavia* in the Palace. "How great our care and anxiety is and hath been for our Subjects, that hitherto

The Edict of  
*Rotharis.*

CHAP. I. *with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire.* Aribert.

“annexed doth declare. Then he tells how he was moved to make theſe Laws  
“by the daily oppreſſions of the poor, and the inſolence of thoſe that had power  
“to afflict their Neighbours, that every one might live in peace and keep what  
“was his own without intrenching upon others. He concludes with a Sanction  
“that theſe Laws and no others ſhould be in force, always ſaved and referred a  
“power to himſelf to add thereto ſuch as by himſelf, or by anient Men could  
“be called to mind. He commands that ſuch Cauſes as were already ended  
“ſhould not be called again in queſtion; but ſuch as were not yet decided, or  
“from that preſent twenty ſecond day of *November* ſhould take their riſe, ſhould  
“be ordered and determined according to this Ediſt. And this he commands in  
“general, that no advantage be taken by reaſon of any fault of the Writer, and to  
“prevent all inconveniences of that nature, credit ſhould not be given to any o-  
“ther Copies but ſuch as ſhould be written, approved or reſiſed by *juſtified* his  
“Notary, who had ſufficient licence and authority in that behalf.

124. Some fifty years after the publication of this Edict *Arichis* the Duke of Benevento, who had held the Dukedom fifty years, who left a Son, *Aio* by name, but he being a Man of a crazy Brain (*Paul* tells us by reason of a Potion given him by the *Romans at Pavia*) he commended to his *Lombards, Risdold and Grimoald* the Sons of the Duke of *Forum Julii*, who, as we said, had led to him, and now were in the flower of their Age, affirming it were better for them that they governed than *Aio*. Yet *Aio* succeeded his Father in the Government of the *Sammieges*, as *Paul* calls them, and the other two obeyed him in all things as their

The Saracens  
invade Italy.  
And the Sclaves  
vi.

**Olympius the Exarch drives the Saracens out of Sicily and dies.**

King *Rothari*  
dies, and *Ro-*  
*doald* his Son  
succeeds.

And *Aribert*  
him.

Who divides  
his Kingdom  
betwixt his  
two Sons.

and now were in the power of their Age, annihilating it were better for them that they governed than *Aio*. Yet *Aio* succeeded his Father in the Government of the *Sammies*, as *Paul* calls them, and the other two obeyed him in all things as their elder Brother and their Lord. The following year the *Saracens* and the *Scelavi* invaded *Italy*. The *Saracens* came from *Africk*, who having much harried the *Island of Sicily* led away multitudes of Captives. The *Scelavi* from *Dalmatia*, on which they had seized, passed over to *Sypontus* and wasted *Apulia*, where they encamped themselves; and about their Camp digged Ditches, which they covered over with light Earth as if it had been firm Ground. *Aio* hearing of their Invasion, with a party of Men, but without the knowledge of *Radoald* or *Grimoald* his Governours went out against them, and thinking to fall upon their Camp, he fell into one of the Ditches, and therein was overpowered and slain, after he had been Duke a year and five months. *Radoald* within a little time, hearing what had happened, gathers together a sufficient power, and coming upon them more warily than the other had done, kills of them a great number, revenges the Death of *Aio*, and drives the rest out of all the Dominions of the Dukedom, of which now he took the Title and the Protection. But he did not long enjoy the Honour, dying within less than two years, and left his Brother *Grimoald* his Successor. The same year *Olympius* the Exarch having beaten the *Saracens* out of *Sicily* died of sickness he had contracted by too much pains he had taken; which *Confrans* the Emperour having under stood, sent for *Theodoros Callipus* and ordered him once more to go Exarch into *Italy*. This was the same year that the *Saracens* took *Rhodes*, and cast down the famous *Colosse* which was dedicated to the Sun, whereof we have already spoken: The fix hundred and fiftv first year of our Lord.

23. In that which followed King *Rothari* died, after he had obtained much honor both for the Wars he had managed, and the Laws he had made; and left *Radoaldus* his Son his Successor, a Man of a peaceable disposition, making no Wars, but some religious Contests with the Orthodox Bishops, being tainted, as his Father had been, with the *Arian* Heretic. There is little or nothing memorable of him, but that after he had been King five years and seven days he was killed by a *Lombard* whose Wife he had debauched. He having left no Children, though *Paul* tells us he married *Gundiberg* the Daughter of *Agilulf* and *Theudelind*, the Estates met about a new Election, and the choice fell upon *Aribert* (or *Arripert*) the Son of *Gunduald*, who was Brother to *Theudelind*. Neither is there any thing memorable of him, but that he built at *Pavia* the Oratory of St. *Saviour*, and died after he had reigned nine years, faith *Paul*, although *Sigonius* allows him not above five at most. He most imprudently divided his Kingdom betwixt his Sons, two young Men, *Bertarid* (or *Pertharist*) and *Godebert*, or *Gundebert*, which gave occasion to very great Commotions. *Bertarid* was to reign at *Milan*, and *Godebert* at *Pavia*. But the latter not content with the Part allotted him quarrelled with his Brother, and as in all such ambitious practices is common from self to come to more, and at length nothing would satisfy him but the whole Kingdom; which though he himself by plain strength could not compels, yet by the means of Friends he doubted not but at length to be possessed of the whole. He sent *Garibald* the Duke of *Taurinum* to *Grimald* the Duke of *Beneventum* to desire

Sect. 4.

*Lib. 4. c. 45.*

*Ay, infidamus.  
Ai, Ei, infult  
ab eci simili-  
tudine. Sic  
Grotius. Et  
autem est A-  
qua Saxoniæ,  
atque Infula  
est Eiland no-  
bis Island, ad  
Ec Franci-  
con Eau. c. 46.*

A. D. 651.

Red wald, qui-  
tis compas.

Ar-prehe, la-  
coris capiosus.  
Paulus Dia-  
conus, l. 4. c. 55.  
Brebt-vid, l. 1.  
è equitans.  
Berd, Bred,  
Breed & no-  
trum Broad  
dem. Rere  
st equitans  
in Legibus.  
Bred-vid,  
anorum capi-  
tus.  
Bred-vid,  
anorum capi-  
tus.

**Sect. 4.** his help, and in case he would give him his utmost assistance, to offer him his own Sister to Wife. But the Ambassador acted quite besides his Instructions, advising *Grimoald* to come himself, and to decide the Controversie betwixt the two Brothers, by making himself Monarch of the *Lombards*, being as to Age more ripe, as to Counsel more prudent, and as to Strength, of greater Interest than either of them.

24. *Grimoald* being a man of an active and ambitious temper could not but listen to him, and at length his ambition quite conquered other passions, so that he became a Competitor for the Kingdom, and to make himself a Title, with a very powerful Army marched toward *Pavia*, having appointed his Son *Romuald* to be Duke of *Beneventum* in his stead. When he came to *Placentia* he sent *Garibald* before to declare his coming to *Godebert*, who consulting with *Garibald* about a fit place wherein to lodge *Grimoald*, he answered none was so fit as his own Palace for him, to whom he had promised his Sister. Accordingly *Grimoald* came and was received into the Court, but *Garibald* that was the evil Instrument betwixt them, perwaded the King that he should not admit him to his presence without having put on privy Armour, and then *Grimoald* he told on the other side, that except he came well prepared *Godebert* had a design and would kill him, wearing privy Armour for that purpose. Accordingly the next day when they came to meet, *Grimoald* found the King armed, and thinking it was upon design, as he had been informed, drew his Sword and slew him in the place, which done he made himself Master of his whole Dominion and all his Treasures, though he left a young Son named *Reginbert*, whom his faithful Friends concealed and reserved, if it might be, to another time, *Grimoald* making no great inquisition after him because an Infant. *Bertarid* the other Brother, hearing how matters went, despaired of withstanding such an Adversary as *Grimoald*, and ran away from *Milan* to *Cacanus* the King of the *Auvers*, leaving his Wife *Rodelind* and *Cunibert* his young Son behind him, whom *Grimoald* banished to *Beneventum*. As for *Garibald* the Author of all these mischiefs such an end he had as he deserved. For there was one of the Family of *Godebert*, little in stature but a Man of extraordinary courage and resolution, who living in *Taurinum*, and hearing that he would come to Church on *Easter* Day, placed himself near the Font with a naked Sword under his Clothes, and as he came near the place, with all his might laid at him and slew him. He himself by the followers of *Garibald* was encompassed quickly and slain; but so he revenged the Death of *Godebert* his Lord. And with their two Lives *Paul* the Deacon concludes his fourth Book of the Gifts or Actions of the *Lombards*, to whom, as his Countrymen, he bears no small affection.

25. *Grimoald* having killed the one Brother, and driven the other with his Wife and Son into banishment married their Sister, and with great applause of the *Lombards* declared himself King; which done, he sent back his fortunate Army to *Beneventum*, retaining only the principal Officers to doe them honour. He did not doubt now to secure his Estate if he could but destroy *Bertarid* (or *Pertharid*) the other Brother, for which purpose he sent to *Cacanus*, or the King of the *Hunnes*, requiring him upon pain of his displeasure, and an absolute rupture betwixt the two Kingdoms, to banish him his Dominions. *Cacanus* not thinking fit to be at difference at this time with his Neighbour, commanded the poor Prince to quit his Territories, which he perceiving he must out of necessity doe, and that he could not promise himself wherever he should go any constant maintenance or effectual assistance, thought it most fit to goe to him who had the most reason of all to supply him, and sent before him one *Unulf* his Friend to give him notice of his coming. *Grimoald* was very joyful to hear of it, and commanded an House to be furnished at *Pavia* every way fit for his Reception. But his Friends were too friendly, flocking in great numbers to him night and day and shewing so much kindness as cast the Usurper into a very great fit of jealousy, which wrought so far that he appointed him a Guard, and the next night intended to make an end of him. Now it wonderfully happened that *Bertarid* had notice of the Design, and such a sagacious Wit as that of *Unulf* to assist him, by whose advice he changed his Cloaths, and passing by the Sentinels, got over the River, and so taking in the Pastures such Horses as he could come by, with such Companions as *Unulf* had provided him, escaped to *Hasta*, thence to *Taurinum*, and at last into *France*; where when *Grimoald* heard that he was arrived, he fretted much, as at a thing which had happened quite contrary to his expectations. Yet was he so generous and incomparably merciful withal, that he did not only not blame or quarrel with *Unulf*, but commended him highly for his constant fidelity to his Master, and

*Grimoald* kills *Godebert* and seizes on the Kingdom.

*Garibald* de- servedly slain.

*Romuald* set  
himself  
in the  
place of  
his father.

*Reginbert*  
and *Regin-  
bert*, *Peris-  
is capiti-  
Regin* & *Re-  
gin* *quid  
Regin* *pari-*

*Paulus* *Diat.*  
*Lib. 5. c. 2.*

*Idem* *ibid.*  
*Idem* *ibid.*

gave

him and another of his Servants leave, either to stay or go to him as he should think convenient. The King of the *Franks*, to whom *Bertarid* made his application, was so touched with a sense of his affliction, that the Year following he sent a strong Army, to replace him in his former condition. *Grimoald* buckled himself to resistance, but perceiving he was too weak to grapple with such a Power, when strength would not doe, he used Craft, and thereby became Superior to his Enemies. He himself made as if he fled out of fear, but left his Camp well furnished with all Necessaries, especially Wine in great Quantity, by which bait he hoped to catch the inconsiderate *Franks*. And so he did, for they coming and finding no body there but so good cheer ready for them, instead of pursuing the Enemy fell on it, and when their Bellies and Heads were full, betook themselves to their rest. *Grimoald* having notice hereof, after the second Watch, when they were in a dead sleep, came upon them and made so great a slaughter, that he left very few of them alive, to carry home the News of the defeat.

26. The year following, *Constantine* the Emperour came into *Italy*, upon what account Opinions are various. Some, as we have already said, thought him by terrible Dreams and a frightfull Conscience, about his Brother whom he had murdered, driven from *Constantinople* to seek Diversion. Others believed he departed from that City out of hatred to the Inhabitants, who bore him no good will upon the account of Religion. And some, as *Anastasi* and *Paul*, were of opinion, that he came to drive the *Lombards* out of *Italy*. With a Fleet exceedingly well furnished he arrived at *Tarentum*, and thence led his Army to *Beneventum*, taking *Luceria* and several other Towns belonging to the *Lombards* in his way, and safe down before it, resolving to use all force and art imaginable, for storming of it. *Romuald* the Son of *Grimoald* the King was now Duke thereof, who as soon as the Emperour approached, sent away to his Father *Sejwald* who had been his Governour, to let him know the great danger he was in; and now refusing to venture for the main chance, diverted the Beggiers, as he could, by frequent Salles, and obviating their Stratagems and Designs. *Grimoald* receiving the News with all speed he could got an Army together, and with as much haste marched toward *Beneventum*, tending the Messenger back with News of his coming, who being near his Journeys end, fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, who brought him to the Emperour's presence. *Constantine* demanding what he was and whence he came, without concealing his business told him he was sent by the King to give his Son notice of his coming, which cast the Emperour into a mighty fear, and caused him to treat about Peace with *Romuald*, that before his Father's coming, he might get safe to *Naples*, for performing the conditions of which he received, *Gisa* the Sister of *Romuald* as an Hostage. But to deceive him he commanded *Sejwald* to goe to the walls, and tell him nothing of his Father's approach, but on the contrary to affirm that he could not possibly give him any relief. He promised he would doe so, but coming to the walls and asking for *Romuald*, he bad him be of good comfort, for his Father would shortly be with him, being that Night to encamp at the River *Sangius*, desiring him to be good to his Wife and Children, for these perfidious People would not suffer him to live. Accordingly the Emperour commanded his Head to be cut off, and with an Engine to be cast into the Town, where *Romuald* caused it to be brought to him, and, having with Tears and Lamentations killed it, to be decently buried.

27. *Constantine* having done this great feat, for fear of *Grimoald* his coming departed for *Naples*, and in his way received some loss by *Transmund* the Count of *Capua*, his falling on his Men, and taking them in a disadvantageous Posture. Whether to be revenged for this or for other reasons, *Saburris* one of his Nobility desired he might have but twenty thousand Men, engaging with them to defeat *Grimoald*, of which the whole Court had so great apprehension. *Grimoald* being come to *Beneventum*, and having notice of this his undertaking, though he thought at first to have gone against him in Person, yet at his earnest desire sent *Romuald* his Son, who met him at *Formia*, and gave him battle. For a long time the Success was doubtful, till one *Amelingus* a *Lombard*, that carried the King's Spear, struck down a certain *Greek* from his Horse, and afterward taking him up on the Point of his Spear, held him aloft over his Head to the great Admiration of all the Beholders, and the Confirmation of the *Greeks*, who presently began to run, and left an undoubted Victory to *Romuald*. *Constantine* perceiving it labour in vain to meddle any more with the *Lombards*, that he might not seem to have come into *Italy* for nothing, resolved to goe and visit *Rome*. Both the Bishop and all the Citizens were glad to hear the News, it having been a long time

*Constantine* the Emperour comes into Italy.

His men de- feated.

**Sect. 4.**  
Cap. 5.

C. 6. & 7.

*Sejwald* *Si-  
gnis*, *Sejwald*  
dus antea  
*Paulus*, *Siz-  
mald*, *Sedum*  
*potens*. *Siz-  
mald* cum *effe-  
Lingua* *Teu-  
conica* *igna-  
rus*, in *pro-  
priet* *nomi-  
bus* *sepe* *er-  
ras*.

*Idem*, c. 8.  
*Gisa* *contra-*  
*rum* *ex* *Gif-*  
*bro* *(unde*  
*Gilbert*) *co-*  
*minum* *cap-*  
*itul*.

*Paulus*, *lib. 1.*  
*cap. 9.*  
*Transmundus*  
*Sanguis*, *Paul-*  
*us* *autem* *eum*  
*ex* *causa*, *Adri-*  
*anum* *Capua-*  
*num* *Comitem*,  
*dictis* *enim*  
*justa* *fluenta*  
*Caloris* *flumi-*  
*nis* *in* *loco* *qui*  
*ad* *sum* *visi*  
*dem* *Pugna*  
*vocabatur* *ex-*  
*tenner* *ex-*  
*ercitum* *Con-*  
*stantis* *atri-*  
*visse*.  
*Idem*, *ibid.*  
*cap. 10.*  
*Amelingus*,  
*calo* *urn*.  
*Cap. 11.*

H

since

**Sect. 4.** since an Emperour had therein set his foot, and they resolved to receive him with extraordinary Honour. *Vitalianus* the Bishop with all his Clergy, and the Roman People met him at five Miles distance from the City, on the third day before the Nones of July in the sixth Indiction, and the six hundred and sixty third year of Our Lord. Having done his Devotions at the Churches, and visited all the places worthy of his Notice, after twelve days stay in the City; he departed and carried along with him all the brags he could find, defacing many great Monuments of Antiquity, and the Majesty of Rome, and not abstaining from the very Coverings of Churches. From Rome by Land he went to Naples, and thence by Sea passed into Sicily. *Grimoald* to reward the service done by *Trajanemund* the Duke of Capua, gave him his Daughter to Wife, and *Zotbo* the Duke of Spoletum dying, that Dukedom as a Portion, which done he returned back to his House at Pavia.

28. During his Absence *Lupus* the Duke of *Forum Julii*, had plaid many pranks which were not to be passed over in silence. Into the Territories of the *Veneti*, he marched with a Party of Horse, and plundered the Church of *Aquileia*, with the wealth of which not contenting himself, being left by *Grimoald* in Pavia, he committed there many outrageous Enormities, verily believing that the King would never return alive from the Expedition. But hearing that he returned with a kind of triumph, he durst not abide his coming, but flying to *Forum Julii*, there he revolted and renounced his Allegiance to *Grimoald*, who being highly incensed against him resolved to reduce by force, and punish him, but unwilling in the least to bring his Lombards acquainted with Civil wars, he hired *Cacanus* the Hunn to come upon him, who accordingly the following year with an infinite Multitude invaded his Territories, and wasted all far and wide with an hostile Courage. *Lupus* was not yet backward to defend his People, but with such Forces as he could make opposed himself, and that with such strange Success, that fighting four days together, *Cacanus* at first received more loss, than he brought damage to the Lombards. But at this incensed, as at the greatest Infamy, with all Violence and better Conduct he set upon them again, and not only defeated them, but killed *Lupus* in the Battle. Accounting now all his own he overran the Countrey, and wasted all parts of it at his pleasure, till *Grimoald* being made to understand it sent to him, and putting him in mind of their former Covenant, admonished him, his work being now done, to draw his Forces out of the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*: *Cacanus* answered plainly, that he would not so quit a Countrey, which he had obtained by Arms, and with so much blood of his followers, with which *anfer* *Grimoald* was highly offended, and got together as good an Army as he could, but nothing to be compared for Numbers to that of his Adversary. Being therefore so inferior in Numbers, he invented a way how to have his Forces represented to the Hunnish King far more numerous than they were. The Ambassadors of *Cacanus*, being present when he mulstered his Souldiers, he caused them the next day to change their Cloaths, and so he did twice or thrice, which made the Ambassadors fully believe they were thrice as many as indeed they were, and they reporting it to their Master out of fear, he retreated into his own Kingdom. *Lupus* being slain, *Warnefrid* his Son by the assistance of the *Scelavi*, fought to obtain the Possession of his Fathers Dukedom, but by the procurement of *Grimoald* was overpowered and slain. He then made one *Weclari* Duke of *Forum Julii*, and married *Theodorata* the Daughter of *Lupus* to his Son *Romald*.

29. *Grimoald* being now at his ease, thought it time to animadvert upon those who in Expectation of a Change, had forsaken him in his march against the Emperour *Conflans*. A Town called *Forum Populii* belonging to the Romans, he depopulated because the Inhabitants had been very troublesome to his Men, during the War in their passing, and passing to *Beneventum*. Pretending an Expedition another way in the time of Lent he passed over the Hill *Bardo* into *Trescia*, and a sudden, when none expected it from the *Apennine*, fell down upon it on Easter Eve; at such time as they were busy in baptizing Children, and filled the City with such slaughter, that the very Deacons, that ministered at the Sacrament, were not spared. After this remembering how his two Brothers *Tato* and *Caco* had been circumvented and basely killed at *Opitergium*, he destroyed it also for Company. Two Years after *Alzeo* the Duke of the *Bulgari* came with many Followers, but peaceably into Italy, and desired of *Grimoald* some grounds to inhabit, which request the King granted, assigning them the Towns *Sepia*, *Bonianum* and *Aferina*, which at this time were not inhabited in the Dutchy of *Beneventum*, and commanded his Son to admit him as *Gosfald*, or the Count of them. The year following

ing *Grimoald* kept himself at home, and applied his mind to the fitting of Laws to the wants and temper of the People, to which purpose he revised the Edict of *Rotbari* formerly mentioned, repealing some things, and adding many, which his Judges suggested to him to be both wanting, and necessary for the Administration of Justice. The Year that followed was *Constantine* the Emperour slain in the Month of July, and *Constantine* his Son continued his Reign as he had begun. *Grimoald* lived some three years after him, and then died after this manner. He had been let blood, and nine days after going to bend a bow to shoot at a Pigeon, three Veins in his Arm broke, and, as was reported, his Physicians applied some poisonous Plaster to the Sore, and so made an end of him; after he had reigned nine Years, as *Paul* the Deacon writes, but *Sigonius* begins his Reign in the six hundred and sixty first Year of Our Lord, and ends it not till the seventy second. He was a Man of very strong Constitution of Body, and had an Head as well furnished.

30. He left a Son by the Daughter of *Aribert*, named *Garibald*, who was very young. At the same time *Bertarid* was making a Journey from France into Britain, to visit the *Saxon* Kings. He had scarcely put off to Sea, when a Voice was heard from Land which asked for him, and advised him to return home, for *Grimoald* had been dead three days. Returning with speed to the shore, the Person that spake it could not be found; he therefore interpreted it as a Voice from Heaven, and presently put himself upon his Journey. And his Expectation deceived him not, for when he came to the *Alpes*, he found there the Guards, and all the Officers of the Court ready to receive him, whither he halted with a cheerful mind, and deposing the Boy *Garibald*, in the third Month after the death of his Father, with the great Joy and Expectation of the Lombards, he reassumed his Royal Estate, and called back his Wife *Rodelinde*, and his Son *Cunipert* from *Beneventum*, where they lay in Exile. Having reigned above seven Years, in his eighth he made *Cunipert* his Partner in the Kingdom, and with him reigned ten more, if *Paul* our Historian be in the right. Many years they lived in great tranquillity, and the State prospered; till at length their Quiet was interrupted by *Alachis* the Duke of *Tridentum* or *Trent*, who having overmastered the Count of the *Baiariti*, was so puffed up with his Success, that deposing the King he fortified his City all manner of ways against him. *Bertarid* hereupon, with what forces he could get together, besieged him in *Trent*, but he made so violent a fallly out against him, as obliged him to break up his siege, and after great loss of Men to fly away for his Life. Notwithstanding this yet *Cunipert*, having had great Friendship and Familiarity with him from his youth, perswaded his Father to pardon and receive him into favour, and so true was he to the sacred Rights of Friendship, that when *Bertarid* several times contrived his Ruine, yet still he diverted the Execution, nay hoping still he would at last be faithful, and with intention to conquer him by kindness, he perswaded him to make him Duke of *Brixia*; though the old King bid him still take heed what he did, and told him he did not so much by these good Offices oblige to him a Friend, as strengthen an Enemy to his own destruction, for he would by the fresh help and assistance of the *Brixians* (who made a powerful Interest among the Lombards) at length push for the Kingdom itself. About this time one *John* was sent to succeed *Theodore* in the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and some three years after *Bertarid*, the old King of the Lombards, died, a Prince to be commended for his Piety towards God, his Justice towards his Subjects, and his Charity to the Poor.

31. *Cunibert* his Son then continued his Reign, having married *Hermelinda* a Lady of the Stock of the *Anglo-Saxons*. No sooner almost was his Father dead, but he found how true a Prophet he had been in the Case of *Alachis*, who in return to all his kindness, and more than Brotherly-love, plotted how to deprive him of his Kingdom, and get the Crown upon his own Head. Having drawn into the Conspiracy two Brothers *Aldo* and *Grafno*, the most considerable Citizens of *Brixia*, and several other Lombards, he watched his time when the King was absent, and contrary to his Oath of Fidelity seized on his Palace in Pavia, which done he took upon him the Royal Title. *Cunibert* having notice of this Treason, and altogether unprovided, as having never expected any such thing, went and fortified himself as well as he could in the Island *Comacina*, in the Lake *Larum*. In the mean time the Tyrant carries himself as he had begun, and hurried by his own Inclinations, never considered how it behaved him by a fair demeanour, to keep what he had already obtained. To the Churchmen he carried himself with great pride and severity, and could not conceal his Tyrannical and Ingrateful Humour,

Sect. 4. Humour, toward those that had been the Authors of his Advancement. On a time as he was telling Money in his Palace, the Son of *Aldo* happened to bethere, and a piece falling down upon the Table, took it up and officiously gave it to him. He imagining the Child could not understand his meanings, said to him, thy Father hath many such as this, which if it please God, he shall e'er long give to me. But the Boy at his Return home told this, and other passages to his Father, from which *Aldo* concluded he had been grossly mistaken in his measures, and that if he did not by some speedy Act prevent it, death and the Ruine of his Family should be the Reward of all his Services to the Tyrant. Having communicated his thoughts with *Granso* his Brother, and others of his Friends, they thought fit to persuade *Alachis* to go out to hunt, and take his pleasure in the Forest, promising they would keep the City of *Pavia* for him, and moreover at his Return, present him with the Head of *Cunibert* that drunken Sor.

32. He was persuaded, and out he went to recreate himself in the Forest, while he did, *Aldo* and his Brother repaired to *Cunibert* in the Island. Falling at his Feet they bewailed their Crime and Misfortune together, and begging his pardon, agreed on a day whereon to put *Pavia* again into his Hands. This they performed to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, the Clergy especially, and to the as great dissatisfaction of *Alachis*, who after he had spent the heat of his Rage against *Aldo*, went into *Isiria* to raise Forces. Several Cities, some by persuasions, and others by force, he brought to join with him and the Army of *Forum Julii*, which was marching to the Assistance of *Cunibert*, by a strange way he diverted from their purpose, for, standing at a Bridge they were to pass, lying over the River *Liquentia*, as they marched stragling one from another, he forced them to swear Fidelity to him, and then kept every one from returning to his Companions to tell them the cheats, and give them notice of whom to beware. Not long after having got together a considerable Power, he moved against *Cunibert*, and they incamped the one against the other in the Fields of *Coronata*, where *Cunibert* sent and challenged *Alachis* to a single Combat, to save the Lives of so many which else of necessity must be destroyed. But *Alachis* remembering his Strength and Courage, when they were young together refused the offer, though he was also solicited to it by one of his followers, who upon his refusal disdainingly to serve such a Master, forsook him, and went over to his Enemy. The two Armies then being to decide the Controverfise, when *Cunibert* was about to charge, *Zeno* a Deacon of the Church at *Pavia*, bearing him great affection, and afraid he should miscarry, came to him, told him all their Safety consisted in his, and that if he perished in the Battel, the Tyrant would by divers ways of Torment put them to death, therefore he prayed him to give him leave to put on his Armour to counterfeite his Person, and to goe for him: if so be he perished the loss would not be great, and if he lived the thing would redound unto his Honour, having by his Servant obtained the Victory.

33. The King very earnestly refused, but overcome by the Prayers and Tears of several of the By-standers, at length yielded, and *Zeno* being much of his height and shape, when he had put on his Armour, he could not be known from *Cunibert* himself. The Battel was fought with great Animosity on both sides, and *Alachis* bending all his malice, and the utmost force he could make toward the Wing, where, as he imagined, *Cunibert* stood, came up with and engaged his disguised Adversary, whom but little skilled in such affairs he slew, and in great jollity and triumph commanded his Head to be cut off, and set upon the Point of a Spear, that the Soldiers on both sides might perceive it. But when he came to take off his Head, the Head of a Clerk not that of a King appeared, wherewith he was much amazed, and from his amazement fell into a great passion against all Churchmen vowing in case he got the Victory, he would fill a Pit with their Telicicles. In the mean time *Cunibert*, perceiving his Men much dejected at the Report of his death, and that they began to fly, shewed himself to them, and revived their Spirits to such a measure, that they were ready and cheerful for a second engagement; when *Cunibert* again sent to *Alachis*, and to avoid the Effusion of Blood, once more offered to decide the Quarrel by a Duel. But he refused, joynd battel the second time, and therein was slain, and with him most of his followers; such of them as escaped, being swallowed up by the floods of the River *Adna*. The Army of the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*, was not at the Battel, for having sworn to *Alachis*, and yet it being against their Consciences to fight for him, they neither assisted the one nor the other, but when they came to engage, departed home. *Alachis* being thus slain, King *Cunibert* in triumph returned to *Pavia*, and having

A Monastery built to St. George.

having made a sumptuous Funeral for *Zeno* the Deacon, reigned with all Prosperity, Justice and Moderation. In the Field of *Coronata* where the Battel was fought, he built a Monastery to St. George.

34. About two years after *Romald* the Duke of *Beneventum*, for what cause is uncertain, invaded *Calabria* belonging to the Emperour, and being without any considerable Fortification or Defence he took *Tarentum*, *Brundisium* and the whole Country round about, and not long after died, when he had Governed sixteen years, and left his Dukedom much enlarged to his Son *Grimoald*, who held it for three years longer, having married *Wigilinda* the Sister of *Cunibert*, and Daughter of King *Bertarid*. After the Death of *Grimoald*, *Gisulf* his Brother was Duke, and held the place seventeen years, whose Wife was *Winiberta* the Mother of *Romald* his Son. But much about the same time that *Romald* invaded the Territories of the Emperour great stirrs happened in the Dukedom of *Forum Julii*; where *Rodoald* had succeeded *Landar*, as he did *Weclari*, who was made Duke by King *Grimoald* as we said before. In the absence of *Rodoald* from the City one *Ansfred*, from a certain Castle called *Remia*, seized on the Government and Title of Duke without any Warrant or Authority from the King. *Rodoald* in much trouble at the Report, departed into *Isiria*, and thence sailing to *Ravenna*, he so came to *Pavia* to *Cunibert*, who shortly had Intelligence that *Ansfred* intended to be his Rival also for the Kingdom; but as he was making preparations for so great an Enterprize, he was taken at *Verona*, and being brought before the King, was deprived of his sight, and so banished. Then was *Aldo* the Brother of *Rodoald* made Duke of *Forum Julii*, and held it seven years, as *Signinus* gathers from some other circumstances, though *Paul* the Historian writes that he Governed by the Name of Preservator or Protector of the place but for one year and seven months. Such prosperity had *Cunibert* during his Life, which lasted twelve years after that of his Father. He was a man very eminent for his neatness and goodness, and no less remarkable for his courage and dexterity in War.

Cunibert dies.

Ragnabert gets to be King.

Aribert his Son succeeds him.

35. His Successour he appointed his Son *Liutbert*, and because he was young, left one *Asprand* a man of great Nobility and Wisdom to be his Governour, who held the place and managed it with great sincerity for the space of eight months. Then did *Godebert*'s Son, *Ragnabert* by Name, whom when *Grimoald* slew him he left young, and who now was Duke of *Taurinum*, thinking he had good opportunity presented by the Infancy of *Liutbert*, set up for himself, and defeating *Asprand* and his Associates in battel, obtained the Sovereignty. During his administration of affairs, *Gisulf* the Duke of *Beneventum* with a strong Army invaded *Campania*; which waisting with Fire and Sword, he took thence great numbers both of Cattel and Captives, and proceeded so far that *John* the Bishop of *Rome* Cap. 18. was sorely frightened, and knowing the City was not strong enough to make any resistance, betook himself to intreaties, and he and his Clergy going out to meet him, prevailed with him to return back and dismiss his Prisoners. *Ragnabert* died within the year, and was succeeded by his Son *Aribert*, who more effectually profecuted his Interest, than did his Father. He renewed the War with *Liutbert*, who had by this time got a very strong Parry, for not only *Asprand* but *Otto*, *Tazo*, *Faro*, and *Rotbarit* Duke of *Bergomum* joyned with him. But all these he defeated in one battel at *Pavia*, *Liutbert* he took Prisoner, *Asprand* and *Rotbarit* fled, the one to the Island *Comacina*, and the other to his City of *Bergomum*, whither *Aribert* pursued him, and having taken *Landis* a Town in the Territories, laid Siege to the City, and using all violent courses, at last took it by storm, and therein *Rotbarit*, who by this time had assumed the Title of King. Having caused his Head and Beard to be shaven, he sent him away to *Taurinum*, where not long after he was killed by the King's command, who also presently after caused *Liutbert* his young Competitour to be stifled in a Bath. Then sent he his Army to *Comacina* against *Asprand*, who having timely notice, got him thence to *Ravenna*, and escaped to *Theudebert* the Duke of the *Baidarij*, with whom he continued nine years. But the Army of *Aribert* took the Island, and *Asprand* being escaped he raged cruelly against his Relations; he pulled out the Eyes of his Son *Sigibrand*. His Wife *Theuderada* by name, who in her womanish tattle had given out the should one day be a Queen, he disgrud by cutting off her Nose and her Ears, and dealt with *Aurora* her Daughter in like manner. Only *Liutprand* his youngest Son, because he was a child, he spared and suffered him to go to his Father, Providence, as *Paul* the Historian observes, preserving him for great things in time to come.

Sect. 4.

36. Aldo being dead, who, as we were told by Paul, was Preservator of the place of Forum Julij, Ferdulf obtained to be Duke, a man proud and inconstant, desiring to get renown by some notable action against the *Slavi*, he ruined himself and almost the whole Dukedom. He hired some of that Nation underhand to bring an Army of their Country-men into his Province. But before this was brought about, some of the *Slavi* came on pilfing into the Territories of Forum Julij, and made prey of some sheep and the Shepherds that kept them. The Governor of that place, Argaid by name, but by reason of his Office in their Language called *Schuld-bais*, a man of Noble Extract, and otherwise very eminent, pursued after them, but to no purpose. In his return he was met by Ferdulf, who demanding what was become of the Thieves, upon his answer that they were fled, replied: How canst thou doe any thing gallantly, who bearest the Name of Argaid, which is derived from *Arga*? The other exceedingly vexed, and being a man of great courage, hereupon pray'd that they might live so long till the world by some eminent token might see which of the two was most *Arga*. Not long after came an Army of *Slavi*, procured as we said by Ferdulf, which incamped on the top of an high mountain, most difficult of access on all sides. Ferdulf came with his Army and compassed the Hill, considering on what place he might most conveniently attack them; to whom Argaid then spake and bade him remember how he had called him a lazy and unprofitable man, and by the vulgar word of *Arga*; but now faith he, let God's curse fall on him who last of us two comes up to the *Slavi*; with that he turns his horse and up he rides, where it was most steep and craggy, toward the Enemies Camp; and Ferdulf for very shame followed him, which his Army perceiving, up also it marches, esteeming it an heinous thing not to follow their Captain whithersoever he led them. The *Slavi* seeing them climb up such steep and almost impassible places, wondering at their resolution, prepare to receive them with Stows and Axes, rather than any thing else, and thus they struck them off from their Horses, and flew them all in a manner, getting a Victory, not by their Valour, but such a strange Adventure. There fell Ferdulf, Argaid his Adversary, and all the Nobility of Forum Julij, and so many valiant men besides, upon the occasion of their foolish Emulation, as under fair Conduct would have put to the rout many thousands. Onely one Lombard of note, *Manichis* by Name, the Father of *Peter*, afterward Duke of Forum Julij, and of *Vitus* the Duke of *Cesetum* escaped home. For though he was struck from his Horse, and one of the *Slavi* had seized on him and tied his hands, yet bound as he was, he snatched a Lance from the man's right hand, and therewith striking him down, got away through the precipitous places with his hands still tied together.

37. Ferdulf being thus dead, one *Corvulus* was made Duke, but continued so but a short space; for having offended the King, his eyes were pulled out, and he lived afterwards in disgrace. Then was one *Pemmo* preferred to the place, to which being an ingenious man he was very serviceable. He was born at *Bellunum*, whence for raising a Sedition he was driven away, and coming to Forum Julij, there peaceably lived. He had a Wife named *Rathberga*, whose face being nothing comely, the often desired him that he would dismiss her, and marry some other that might be a Wife fit for so great a Duke. But he being a wife man, answered that her good qualities, her humility and modesty more pleased him than any external bounty of the Body. By her he had three Sons, *Rathis*, *Rathchis*, and *Abisulf*, men of renown, the Nativity of whom, as Paul expresseth it, advanced their Mothers humility unto glory. This Duke *Pemmo* seeking for the Sons of all the Nobility that had been slain, educated them with, and not otherwise than as if they had been his own Children. As for *Aribert* though he was cruel at first, yet afterward he is said to have governed with much Prudence and Justice, besides his Liberality to Churches, the *Roman* especially, to which he restored, as their Writers tell us, many Lands, and particularly the Patrimony of the *Alpes Cottie*, taken from them formerly by *Rothari*, the instrument of which donation he sent written with golden letters. But however he carried it now to Churchmen, *Ansprand* could not be reconciled to him, who still lying in Exile, longed to return to his own Country, which to effect, the Duke of *Bainaria*, with whom he sojourned, offered him a competent force to be revenged on his Enemy. With this Army he went into *Italy* and engaged with *Aribert* in so bloody and tedious a Battle that Night onely parted them; yet *Ansprand* and his *Bainarians* had clearly the worst of it, *Aribert* his loss not being comparable to that of theirs. However, *Aribert* would not keep the Field, but would needs remove to *Pavia*, which

which as a sign of fear, as usually it is of weakness, manifested matter of despair to his own men and confidence to his Enemies. Perceiving his error, he then resolved to fly into *France*, there to hire a new supply, and for that purpose took good store of gold out of the Palace, with which he would needs swim over the River, and attempting so to doe was drowned, as those about him had concluded. The day following, his Body was found and buried in the Church of St. *Saviour*, founded by *Aribert* the first. He was wont to go out disguised in the night and hear himself what his People said of him, and how his Officers manifested Justice. To Ambassadors of Foreigners he always gave Audience in bad Clothes, and never would entertain them with delicate Wines, or other costly things, that he might not bait them by such Allurements to invade *Italy*. He Reigned with his Father and by himself about eleven years, as Paul informs us. And yet *Sigoinus* begins his Reign in the seven hundred and fifth year of our Lord, and ends it but in the seven hundred and twelfth. His Brother *Guntbert* fled into *France*, and there continued till his death, whose eldest Son *Raginbert* in the days of Paul, Governed the City of *Orleans* for the King.

38. *Aribert* being dead, *Ansprand* succeeded him without opposition, but reigned onely three months; a man of as great accomplishments as one can imagine. The Lombards perceiving him desperately ill, made King his Son *Luitprand* (who as we said by permission of *Aribert* went to him into *Boiaria*) to the great contentment of his Father, and after his death confirmed their choice. Much about the same time died *Transmund* the Duke of *Spoleum*, into whose place succeeded *Farald* his Son, and Governed jointly with his Brother *Wacbilap*. *Luitprand* coming to Govern, shewed himself a man of Ability in matters relating both to Peace and War. He had a difficulty to struggle with at the beginning of his Reign, which he conquered much to his reputation: He had a Kinman called *Rothari*, who invited him to a Feast at his House in *Pavia*, but had men there ready concealed to kill him when they should have the word. But before he went he had the good fortune to be informed of the Treason, and sent for *Rothari* to his own Palace, whom according to his intelligence he found privily armed. Finding himself discovered, he leaped back and drew his Sword to kill the King, who therewith drew also, and his Guard coming in they dispatched the Traytor. *Luitprand* was a man of very great courage, which farther sometimes transported him, than was convenient for his own safety and the concerns of the Kingdom. On a time two of his Attendants agreed when a fitting opportunity should present itself, to kill him, which he also understanding, went with them two alone into a thick Wood, and drawing his Sword upbraided them with their treachery, bidding them begin and make a tryal upon him. They were so struck with so sudden a thing and his generosity, that falling down at his feet they told him the whole truth, and as well they as others, to whom he demanded himself in the like sort, obtained his Pardon.

39. Having conquered his Enemies at home by his valour and kindness, and married out of gratitude as well as to strengthen himself from abroad, the Daughter of the Duke of *Bainaria*, who had received him and his Father in their distress, he set himself to reform the Laws of the Kingdom. All the Judges he summoned to Court to give in their opinions concerning a new model, which being done, it was published the last day of *February*, in the eleventh Indiction in the first year of his Reign, as he himself testifies in the Preface to this purpose, viz. "Remember how our most Mighty Predecessour, and most Eminent King *Rothari*, as he himself speaks in his Writings, renewed and ordained an Edict for the Lombards, wherein he prudently caused to be inserted this Passage, that any Prince of the Lombards his Successour, if he found therein any thing superfluous, might wisely take it away, and what he found wanting he might add by the assistance of God. After him the most glorious King *Grimwald*, accordingly added and abolished what to him seemed fit, whose example we following, as we hope, inspired by God, in like manner such things as according to God's Law have appeared to us convenient to be done we have decreed to be added and omitted, according to what we have commanded to be written in this present Volume. Therefore in the Name of the Omnipotent God, I *Luitprand* the most Excellent, the Christian and Catholick King of the Nation of the Lombards, beloved of God, in the first year of my Reign, through God's goodness, the day before the *Calends of March*, in the eleventh Indiction, together with all the Judges from the Parts of *Austria* and *Neustria*, and the borders of *Tuscia*, with others of my faithful Lombards, and all the People assisting thoe according to the fear

Sect. 4.

Ant-brand,  
gnaia  
Luitprand,  
fidelis  
accidens.

Cap. 30.  
Far-wald, fa-  
milis pater.  
Far-wald,  
ch-lap, viz  
ch-lap, viz  
nob. W. W. L.  
Lap, Lepo-  
cum col. ut  
apud Belgas  
Lapen aut-  
quius erat  
corruere.

Cap. 31.

Ant. tancus  
Pulvis C. cit.  
Hic unio  
Reg. in f. Bai-  
ariorum plu-  
rima, egru-  
capit.

Aribert  
drowned.

Ansprand suc-  
ceeds.

Him after  
three months  
his Son Luit-  
prand.

He publisheth  
a new model  
of Laws.

Cap. 33.

The *Slavi*  
defeats them  
at Forum Julij.

Sect. 4.

"and love of God have appeared good to us, and therewith we are pleased. The Style is so difficult that hardly can it be brought to correspond with the *English* Idiom; but the Reader may take notice that this was the third Edition of the Laws of the *Lombards*, whereof we must speak more anon; he may observe also the Titles these Kings took, and that even in *Italy*, there was *Austria* and *Neustria*, as well as in *France* and in *Pannonia*, Parts of the Kingdom so called in reference to their Situation. For the word *Ostfrick*, which in Latin they barbarously, as I may say, turned into *Austria* and *Austrasia*, to those *Teutonic* People signified the *Eastern Kingdom* or Dominion. So was the Kingdom of the *Mediomatians* called by the *Franks*, and *Pannonia* by the *Germans*, part of which still, and that alone, retains the Name of *Austria*. In like manner *Westfrick* or *Westreick*, they changed into *Neustria*, it signifying the *Western Dominion* in opposition to the *Eastern*. From their Situation some were called *Æstij*, East with us, and those that so called them being the same with what others pronounced *Ostj*. The *Normanni*, *Northendi*, *Alpes Norici*, and *Norici* the People, from their Northern Situation had their Names.

Austria and Neustria what.

40. For the space of about three years we hear little more concerning *Liutprand*, whom we may conclude intent upon the Laws, and such farther Reforms as tended to the well being of his Subjects. But in the fifth year of his Reign, noise enough was made in *Campania* by the Duke of *Beneventum*, who by a Wile got *Came* into his hands. Those of *Rome* were highly concerned at it, and the Bishop dealt with him both by fair words and money to restore it, and when that would not do, thundred against him by excommunication. But this also he despised, whereupon the Bishop was forced to betake himself to the Secular hand, procuring *John* the Duke of *Naples* to set upon it by night, which he did, and surprizing it, killed therein three hundred *Lombards* with their *Gasfald*, and took Prisoners more than five hundred which he led away to *Naples*, and sold the Town to the Bishop for seventy Pounds of Gold, as had been agreed. The year that followed *Faroald* the Duke of *Spoletum* took *Narnia* by cunning from the *Romans*, and pretending a Journey to the King surprized *Clasfis*, another Town belonging to *Ravenna*; but he was commanded by *Liutprand* to restore them both. Though the King did not, his own Son *Trafemund* punished him for his temerity, deposing him shortly after, and compelling him to take Orders that he might have his place. About the same time the *Slavi* made another Irruption into the Territories of *Forum Julij*, called *Lauria*, where *Pemmo* the Duke set upon them, and with loss both of one old man, *Sigwald* by name, who in a former Fight betwixt them and *Ferdulf* had lost two Sons. Once and again he had done great Execution upon them, and now the third time, though his Captain and other *Lombards* forbade him, yet would he not be kept from speaking openly to the *Slavi*: Now I have sufficiently revenged the Death of my Sons, if Death should come I should cheerfully undergo it. And accordingly it came to pass; for he was the only man that died in the Fight; *Pemmo* having slain many Enemies, and unwilling to loose any more of his own men, made Peace with the *Slavi* in the same place. And from this time forward they began more to stand in awe of the Arms of *Forum Julij*.

41. Now for many years had the Kings and Kingdom of the *Lombards* been in peace, except some petty broils betwixt them and their nearest Neighbours, or that they contended one with another. The *Exarchs* and they had since the time of *Rotbair*, maintained a very good correspondence together, the *Romans* and *Lombards*, though Neighbours, perfectly agreeing. But now was this Kingdom at the highest pitch allotted for it, and upon the brink of prosperity, which never continues but changes most commonly to the other extreme. Wealth and Ease had made the King and the Subject both confident and overweening, those ever thinking they have the greatest strength, who never made any trial of it; yet did they think their present condition mean in comparison of what they were in capacity to attain, and therefore they must up and be doing, and involved themselves in such a War as defending to their Successors, at length procured the ruin of their Name and Dominion. *Liutprand* having prepared all things beforehand for so great an enterprize, Invades the Exarchate on a sudden, and lays siege to *Ravenna* the seat of the Governour. *Paul* who at present by favour of *Leo* the Emperour held that place, we are told by *Sigonius*, was very much surprized, as from the highest prosperity being on a sudden cast into the greatest difficulty. But there was no such cause of his being surprized, if we consider but what the same Author had related but a little before, he tells us in many words that

Liutprand invades the Exarchate.

that *Leo* the Emperour being at odds with *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, upon the account of Images took several Courses to make him away, and for that purpose sent *Paul*, as Exarch into *Italy*, who having once attempted it, but to no purpose, the Emperour the following year sent him a Message, that if he could not kill, yet he should remove him from his Office and put another in his Room. *Paul* thus importuned by his Master, and bearing himself hatred to *Gregory*, because he had forbidden the Tribute to be paid which he had laid upon the Churches, sent one *Marcicus* the *Spatharius* of *Lez*, and whom he had made Duke of *Rome*, to that City with order to lay hold on the Bishop, and commit him to Custody. But matters were not so privately carried but that the Bishop, whose Power and Interest now began to be mighty in *Italy*, had notice of it. Therefore he hires the *Lombards* out of the Dukedoms of *Spoletum* and *Tuscia* for great Rewards, to stop the passage of the Exarch's Army. They with much Alacrity marching to the City possessed themselves of the Bridges *Salarius* and *Milvius*, and opposing themselves to the Forces of *Ravenna*, not only hindered them from returning to *Rome*, but constrained them and their Leader to return back to their own City.

42. This happened but the year before the Siege of *Ravenna*, and therefore whether the Exarch had reason to be surprized, or rather ought not to have expected some such matter, and whether the Bishop of *Rome*, who had already joyed the *Lombards* with him, was not concerned, we leave the Reader to judge. However *Paul*, whether aware or not of Hostility from the *Lombards*, most gallantly demeaned himself in the keeping of *Ravenna*, shewing himself ready to undergo any thing rather than to yield up the place; inasmuch that *Liutprand* despairing to do any good, broke up his siege and departed to *Clasfis*, which being but slenderly provided he easily took, and having plundered it, laid it level with the Earth. But upon the Report of what had happened to *Clasfis*, the Citizens of *Ravenna* began to be very fearful and dejected as if their turn was not far off; which being understood by *Liutprand*, their fear became his confidence, and he drew back his Army to the City, which having had some taste of the fruits of Conquest, he thought now would fall upon it with more Alacrity. And so it proved, for they tired out by their frequent Assaults both the Garrison Soldiers and the Townsmen, which when *Paul* perceived, and despaired of receiving any Succours from abroad, he left the Town to the Discretion of the Inhabitants. The Besiegers having notice of his flight, knew it a fit time to renew their Violence, and with little more trouble carried the Place, which *Liutprand* permitted his Soldiers to plunder. And here they got plunder enough, wealth sufficient to glut their minds, and take off their edge from any farther adventures, contrary to the true Policy of a Captain, who ought to use his Men in this case as Huntmen deal with their Hounds, to give them such a taste of the Prey as to stir up their Appetites, and make them more eager after the game, but not to fill them and make them lazie. This City being the seat of the Exarch, of Kings, Emperours and great Prelates, abounded with all Riches imaginable. *Liutprand* spoiled it of many rare Monuments of Antiquity, amongst which the most remarkable was a brazen Statue of an Emperour on Horseback, a Piece of admirable Contrivance and Workmanship, which he caused to be translated to *Pavia*, where it remains, and by its rareness something comforts the Citizens, for the decay of the Glory of that Place.

43. *Ravenna* being taken, most of the Cities of the Exarchate presently yielded, and from an Exarchate it was changed into a Dutchy, over which was set *Hildebrand* the King's Nephew, who because he was young, *Peredeus* a Duke was made his Governour. *Paul* the Exarch thus ousted of *Ravenna*, betook himself to the *Venetians* at *Heraclea*, where he implored the Assistance of *Vrsus* the Duke. This while *Gregory*, the *Roman* Bishop, was a Looker on, after he had set the *Lombards* and *Paul* together by the Ears about his business. He had a design to chastise the Exarch, but not to encrease the Power and Dominion of the *Lombards*; his spleen excited him against the Emperour, and his Interest caused him to wish that both sides were more weakened and humbled, that his own Authority already in a fair way, might make the greater progress in *Italy*. *Liutprand* had made such a progress in the war as made him tremble, and he perceived it was high time to put a stop to the Carrière of his good Fortunes. He writes his Letters to *Vrsus*, the Duke of the *Venetians*, exhorting him to give aid to the said *Paul*, and now quite alters his style, making those he black who formerly were white, and him white whom before he could not enough tax and load with opprobrious Language. He tells him that by reason of sin the City of *Ravenna*, which was the Head of many Churches, was taken by the wicked Nation of the *Lombards*, and his worthy Son the

Sect. 4.

Vide Sigon. de Regum Italia lib. 3. pp. 99. &amp; 100.

Takes Ravenna.

The Exarchate of Ravenna turned into a Dutchy.

The Bishop of Rome, jealous of the growing Power of Liutprand, turns against him.

Extant littera apud Sigon. um quo supra. P. 101.

Lord





Sect. 4.

48. *Trafemund*, when the Siege was raised, resolved to make again for his Dukedom, being readily assisted by the Bishop, who by this means hoped to recover his four Towns, and by *Godecalc*, lately advanced to the Dukedom of *Beneventum*, by the People against the King's mind, in the room of *Gregory* deceased, who thought hereby to weaken the King, and strengthen his own illegal Title. At his first Invasion of the Countrey, he easily recovered several Places, and at length in *December*, and the Eighth Indiction, took *Spoletum* by surprize, and therein killed *Hilderick* the young Duke. He had a great Advantage for managing his Affairs presented by the Sickn of *Liutprand*, which was so grievous, that the *Lombards* despairing of his Recovery took *Hildebrand* his Nephew, and carrying him to our Ladies Church without the Walls, inaugurated him King. But an odd Accident happened at the Ceremony; for having a Spear delivered into his Hands, according to the Custom, a Cuckow came and sat thereon, which by Wisemen was looked on as prodigious, and betokening a mean Reign to their young King. *Liutprand* when he was recovered and had notice what was done, took it ill, but because the solemnity was past, made *Hildebrand* King together with himself. The following year was eminent for the Ends of three mighty Men in the World, *Leo* the Emperor, *Charles Martel* lately mentioned, and *Gregory* the Roman Patriarch; to whom succeeded one *Zachary* a Greek by birth. This *Zachary* was scarcely settled in his Chair when he sent to *Liutprand*, and demanded the four Towns to be redelivered, to which Message he answered, that when he should come to the Places, he would give him abundant satisfaction. *Liutprand* in the mean time resolved, not to suffer *Trafemund* to carry the Dukedom of *Spoletum*; but the Year that followed made war upon him by the Assistance especially of *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julii*. *Trafemund* aware of their coming, went to meet them at the Place he thought they would land their Men, and when there he missed of his opportunity followed them to *Forum Sempronii*, and reached them in the middle of the Forest. *Rachis* and his Brother *Aulfus*, with their *Forojulians* brought up the Rere, and being first engaged, though the Commanders omitted nothing of their Duty, many of them were slain. *Rachis* by one *Berto* of *Spoletum*, was challenged to a single Combat, wherein he dismounted his Enemy, and suffered him to creep away on his Hands and Knees into the Wood. *Aulfus* was by two set upon on a Bridge, both whom he tumbled down into the River, and escaped. *Trafemund* found himself concerned to retreat to *Spoletum*, where he was besieged, and at length being forced to yield, was compelled to enter into Orders. Then did the King bestow the Title, and Office of Duke upon *Afrand* another of his Nephews.

Death of three great Persons.

A. D. 741.

49. In the mean time *Liutprand* restored not the Places before mentioned to the Bishop, who wondering thereat, resolved to do as *Gregory* the second his Predecessor had done before him; to go himself in Person and speak with him, then living at *Interamna*, in the Territories of *Spoletum*. *Liutprand* hearing of his coming sent *Grimoald* with a Complement and order to bring him on his way as far as *Narnia*, where he was to be received by the Army. He himself when he drew nigh to *Interamna*, went out to meet him, and after some friendly discourse dismissed him to his Lodgings. The next day coming again together, the Bishop claved him with good words. "He related how for his Predecessors sake he had raised his Siege from before *Rome*, and commanding him for his Justice and holy demeanour towards all men, put him in mind what a blot it would be upon his Memory, as well as a wound upon his Conscience, to break his word given to *St. Peter*, and to rob him and the Church, to which he had pretended to bear so good affection: "In sum he desired he would give up the four Towns he had so long held in his hands, and farther make a League with the Church, which if he did, he might be sure to have everlasting Salvation after death, and eternal Renown with all Posterity. We are told the Device so took, that *Zachary* obtained whatsoever he desired, not only the four Towns, but a League with the Church for twenty years; and moreover some Lands in *Sabinum*, which thirty years before had been taken away with others in *Narnia*, *Ancona*, *Auscium* and *Humum*, which they called *Patrimonies*, and the Valley known by the Name of the *Great*, in the Territories of *Sutrium*. The next day having lovingly dined together, the Bishop departed to receive the Towns from the Kings Commissioners, who were *Hildebrand* his Nephew Duke of *Clusum*, *Tacpert*, *Raving*, and *Grimoald*, *Gastalds* of *Etruria*. First he received *Amelia*, then *Orta*, afterward *Polimartium*, and at length through the Borders of *Tuscia* belonging to the *Lombards* and the *Sabini* they came to *Bleda*. Thence returned he to *Rome*, where, as well he might, for joy he made a Solemn Procession.

Liutprand persuaded to be kind to the See of Rome.

Anastasi.

cession. And these things were thus transacted in the Tenth Indiction, if we believe *Anastasi* who was Library keeper to some of his Successors.

50. *Liutprand* all this while did not forget *Godecalc*, who both had seized on the Duchy of *Beneventum* without his leave, and had assisted *Trafemund* also in his Rebellion. Having rid his hands of *Trafemund*, he led an Army against him, but he durst not abide his coming, but resolved to fly into *Greece*, which as he attempted, and had put his Wife and Household-stuff into the Ship, when he himself was to go aboard he was killed by those Citizens of *Beneventum*, that bore good will to *Gisulf*, and his Wife escaped safe to *Constantinople* with all she had. *Liutprand* coming to the City restored *Gisulf* his Nephew to the Title and Office of Duke, whom he had formerly removed for his Youth and Inability to govern: the following year and the eleventh Indiction, as *Anastasi* assures us, either impatient of rest, or out of an ambitious desire of farther Conquest, he again invaded the Exarchate, and having taken *Casena*, openly shewed that he intended once more to be Master of *Ravenna*. *Eutychius* the Exarch, as well as *John* the Archbishop, with the Citizens and the Cities of *Pentapolis* and *Amelia* knowing themselves too weak to make resistance, betook themselves to *Zachary*, whose authority they knew to be so sacred and inviolable with the King, that he would deny him nothing. He sent a Message to him to restore *Casena*, and to leave the Exarchate in repose, and it being rejected, he himself made a Journey first to *Ravenna* and thence to *Pavia*, where he caused the King to conquer his Inclinations, to restore *Casena*, and promise not any more to offer violence to the Exarchate. The Bishop shortly after his Return (of which, as also his Journey, *Paul* the Deacon makes no mention, though by reason of the Age he liv'd in he could not be ignorant of so notable a matter) had News brought him of the sudden death of *Liutprand*, who left this life after he had reigned one and thirty Years and seven Months. A man of great worth, if his extreme thirst after Conquest and Dominion be excepted, though *Paul* to other great Commendations adds this, That he was a lover of Peace, which must be restrain'd to what he concludes his Book with, that with the greatest care he preserved Peace with the *Franks* and *Avars*. For together with his Life *Paul* shuts up his History of the Acts of the *Lombards*. He was Deacon of the Church of *Forum Julii*, in the Territories of which *Leuphis* his Great Grandfather's Father seated himself, when with the *Lombards* his Country-men he came into Italy. Hedy there, left five Sons who were all taken away into Captivity by the *Avars* at that time, that *Romilda* the Wife of *Gisulf* betrayed *Forum Julii* into the hands of their King. Of these five only *Lupicis* returned into the place of his Nativity (of the strange Circumstances of his Return, let the Reader if he list consult the Author himself) where he married and begat a Son named *Arichis*. This *Arichis* had a Son named *Warnefrid* who by *Theudelinda* his Wife had our Historian, (besides another Son called *Arichis*) whom we can easily believe to have been a *Lombard* by descent, though he had not told us. For *Jornandes*, the Historian of the *Goths*, and he, by the manner of their writing, sufficiently discover that Natural affection which men bear to the Stocks from whence they proceed.

51. *Liutprand* being dead *Hildebrand* or *Hildebrand* his Nephew (i. e. his *Vide Signum*, as *Signinus* interprets it) succeeded him in the Government, whom being formerly chosen by the People he had confirmed, as we formerly shewed. But his former Election and Confirmation were not of such moment with the *Lombards*, but that rejecting him of whom they themselves had made the choice, after seven months they deposed him, and made King in his room *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julii*, a man much admired for his Virtues. *Rachis* with universal applause having ascended the Throne, shewed that though he was fit for War, yet he desired Peace; and became the great Patron of Churches. And in the second year of his Reign finding the Laws (notwithstanding the several Alterations made by his Predecessors) to be defective, he summoned all the Judges of the *Lombards*, both out of *Austria* and *Neustria*, and according to their Judgment and Approbation, amended and added what was faulty or defective. The year which followed this, being the second of his Reign, on the first of *March*, and the fourteenth Indiction he published his Amendments with a Proeme, wherein he takes notice how *Rothair*, *Grimoald* and *Liutprand* his Predecessors had taken the same care before him; but he having seriously considered of what they had published, found some things good, and other things fit to be purged and corrected. Some five years he spent in the Studies of Peace and Laws, and then a fit of War took him, being no longer able to subsist without some Martial Diversions. He invaded *Pentapolis*, where having at

Invades again the Exarchate.

Liutprand dies.

The History of Paulus Diaconus ends with him.

Hildebrand his Nephew succeeds.

Deposed, and Rachis made King.

He corrects the Laws.

Sect. 4.

*Godecalc*, *Dit Jernu*, *Nam Denon*, *non altere*, *quam locum*, *nomine nra*, *erat Germani*, *in Noce Telt-*, *mens Gp*, *hine Marj*, *chalek & dit*, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Lib. 6*, *Et. 57, 58*.

*Liutp. Gt.*, *A more fortis*, *Liup, Amor*, *Angin Lovc*, *hinc Liupman*, *G alia tu va-*, *cab. Allem*, *Leupichis*, *idem quod Li-*, *up-git*, *Lib. 4. c. 39*, *Warnefrid*, *cassus pacis*.





64 Sect. 4. *Lard* for the Church, and the Redemption of the Exarchate; and because one good turn requires another he was prevailed with to stay till Winter was over, and the Army could be ready to march, and in the mean time to anoint Kings of *France*, *Charles* and *Carloman*, the more effectually to recommend them to the People. *Aistulf* all this while as a Man unconcerned about War, applied himself vigorously to the Affairs of Peace, making another Amendment of the Edict or Body of Laws formerly published, and so oft amended by his Predecessors. "In the Preface he signifieth, that having seriously weighed what had been done by them; he found some things wanting, which defect was the Original of great Errors. Therefore in the fifth Year of his most happy Reign, in the Name of God, on the first day of *March*, the seventh Indiction; having called together his Judges from the several Parts of his Kingdom, he caused to be affixed to the Leaves of the Edict, what seemed just to his Excellency, and agreeable to the mind of the Lord. The Bishop of *Rome*, being all this while in *France*, fell sick, and therefore the Expedition was put off till the Month of *August*, wherein he anointed *Pipin*, his Wife and both their Sons. Then in Order to his Return, finding these Kings, and their Subjects sufficiently propense to gratify him, whereas at his first coming he had so worded it, that *Pipin* understood the Exarchate was to be restored to the Commonwealth or Empire, now making use of his time he turned his Tale, and though he had so much preached the Doctrine of Restitution to the right Owners, unto *Aistulf*; he contended that neither the Exarchate nor *Pentapolis* was to be restored to the Emperor, for this reason, because *Constantine* was unworthy to have any thing to do in *Italy*, who had forsaken it, and exercised open Enmity with the Church. If so be *Pipin* would discharge the Duty of a grateful Man, or consult his Souls Health, or give any reward to the Bishop for the danger he had undergone, and the pains he had taken for the good of *Italy* and the Church, he should grant both the Countries to St. Peter. He so prevailed upon *Pipin*, that he openly promis'd, that in case it pleased God to make him victorious over the *Lombards*, to obtain the Remission of his Sins, he would take away the Exarchate, and *Pentapolis* from the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and deliver them to St. Peter, and his Successors, to be possessed by them for ever. This he caused the Clerk to record, and confirmed it farther by his own Oath, and the Oaths of his two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman* then present.

57. During the Preparations for War, we are told that *Aistulf* was once and again importuned, and with great gifts allure to surrender the Cities; but when neither gifts nor intreaties would prevail, in the eighth Indiction, *Pipin* caused his Armies to begin their march through the Territories of *Vienna*. Now again it pleaded the Bishop out of his Abhorrence of the Effusion of Blood, and hope that he might by the report of so great an Army be frighted into a Compliance, to send once more to *Aistulf*, to invite him to do by fair means, what else he should be compelled. By the Ambassadors of *Pipin* he sent his Letters, wherein by the Holy Mysteries, and the dreadful day of Judgment it self, he besought him that peaceably and without blood, he would restore what he had taken to the Holy Church, and the Commonwealth of the *Romans*. This he obstinately again refused to do, adding Threats both against *Stephen*, *Pipin*, and his Followers. *Pipin* then proceeding towards *Italy*, sent a Party to the *Alpes*, to seize on the Straits, and secure his Passage, which *Aistulf* understanding, and despising the *Franks* for their Number, with a Multitude of his *Lombards* he hastened thither, and very confidently fell upon them; but the *Franks* having the Advantage of the Ground, and being a Party of choice Men picked out, so warmly received him, that they made great slaughter of his Men, which he not enduring is said to have ran away to *Pavia*, there to abide the Storm that was coming upon him. *Pipin* finding the Passage clear, marched on without any Molestation, and with the Accidents usually accompanying such Invasions, came and sat down before *Pavia*, whence perceiving that the King would not stir, he harried the Country round about, and made his siege as strait as could be. *Aistulf* seeing what advantage the other had against him, within a short space thought it best to come to a Treaty, wherein it was agreed, that by a corporal Oath he should engage to restore the Exarchate with *Pentapolis*, and whatsoever other Places he had taken, and for farther Confirmation hereof, give up forty Hostages which were to be sent into *France*. This done, *Pipin*, though in the middle of Winter, returned back into his own Country, and *Stephen* the Bishop with great Joy and Expectation to his See.

58. They

58. They being returned and the Tempest quite blown over, *Aistulf* repented of what he had done, and was so far from delivering up the Places, that gathering an Army together at *Ravenna*, he brake into the *Roman* Territories, and doing therein all violence possible came before the City, having seized on *Narnia*, which not long before he had restored. He thought that *Pipin*, having already discharged the Duty of a Friend, would no more pass over the *Alpes* in behalf of the Bishop; who, having quite other thoughts, sent away his Messengers by Sea, that they might have a more safe and speedy passage, by all things sacred concurring the King, that he would make good what he had promised to St. Peter. *Pipin* in great wrath denounces War against, and for that purpose makes new Levies, which *Aistulf* hearing and surprized with the News, after three Months siege leaves *Rome*, and hurries away to defend his own Quarters. It was now Autumn, when *Pipin* being in a readiness began his march, and passing the *Alpes* with little Difficulty, came and besieged *Aistulf* in *Pavia*, as formerly. It was not yet known at *Rome*, that he had passed the Mountains, where were arrived from the Emperor two Ambassadors, *George* a Protonotary and *John* the Silentary, who were to deal with *Pipin* about restoring the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to the Empire; for they had heard at *Constantinople*, how the *Roman* Bishop had been tampering about them. From *Rome* they straight departed for *Marcellus*, where being arrived, they had News of *Pipin*'s being in the Territories of the *Lombards*. *Stephen* had also sent his Messengers with them, whom, because they might probably hinder his business, *George* caused his Fellow *John* there by some Arts to detain, and he went before to *Pavia*, where having Audience of *Pipin*, he delivered his Message as advantageously as he could. But *Pipin* with the greatest Piety (so the Bishop's Favourers write) answered, that by no humane Rewards he was induced to do what he did, but inflamed with a desire of procuring the Favour of Almighty God, he had received the Church of *Rome* into his Protection, persuading himself it was for the Health of his Soul, and would avail for the Remission of his Sins. In case he should recover the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, he had sworn to deliver them to St. Peter, and his Successors; and by no reasons or Arguments whatsoever would be drawn from being as good as his word, and discharging his Duty.

59. In the mean time *Aistulf* was closely besieged, and so much straitened, that fearing the Effects of a Storm, he sent out to *Pipin* his Plenipotentiaries to make an Agreement, who offered not only to restore the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, but *Comacina* also to redeem his Peace. *Pipin* accepted of their Proposals, and the Agreement was ratified by Oaths, and giving up of new Hostages; which done, *Pipin* again surrendered the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to St. Peter, and his Successors to be held by them for ever, and commanded Instruments of the Donation to be drawn accordingly. Leaving *Fulrade* the Abbat to receive all agreed on from *Aistulf*, and to put them into the Bishop's Hands; he shortly after departed into *France*. *Fulrade* going with the Commissioners of *Aistulf*, received all the Cities of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* from their Hands, except *Ferraria*, *Faventia* and *Caballum*, and having from every one of them Hostages, he took along with him to *Rome* the Principal Inhabitants, and he laid up the Keys of the several Cities together with the Instruments of the Donation in the Confession of St. Peter. Now to understand these matters more clearly, the Reader may know, that in the Exarchate were comprised these Cities: *Ravenna*, *Bononia*, *Imola*, *Faventia*, *Forum Popili*, *Forum Livii*, *Casena*, *Bobbium*, *Ferraria*, *Comacina*, *Adria*, *Ficola* and *Gabellum*. *Pentapolis* contained these: *Ariminum*, *Pisaurum*, *Concha*, *Fanum*, *Senogallia*, *Ancona*, *Auximum*, *Humana*, *Asium*, *Forum Sempronii*, *Monte Feretri*, *Urbium*, the *Balnesian* Territory, *Calles*, *Lucooli* and *Egabium*, with the Forts and Territories to these Cities belonging, all which had afterward the Name of the Marquisate of *Ancona*. But thus the Bishop of *Rome* became possessed of other Mens Goods, the Reader sees how, and for what Reasons the Emperor the Right owner was deprived, by what Arts and Devices is also manifest. *Stephen* committed the Government of *Ravenna* to the Arch-bishop, and the Tribunes of the City, whereupon the Archbishop afterward wrote himself Exarch. As for *Aistulf* who was but justly compelled to surrender, having had as little right to these Estates as he who now possessed them; we are told that the following year he spent in Consultations how to break the Agreement, and toward the end of it, being in hunting either thrown by his Horse, or as others wrote wounded by a wild Boar died within a few days after, whose Actions we might possibly have had related with more favourable Circumstances, had either

K

*Aistulf* dies.

The Cities of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*.

*Pipin* at his Request invades *Italy*.

And forces *Aistulf* to Terms.

756.

Paul

Sect. 4.

*Paul* the Deacon continued his History so far, or any other of his Nation written his Life, or any indifferent Pen had transmitted these Revolutions to Posterity. But *Paul* living in the time of *Charles* the Great, the Son of *Pippin*, when it was a Crime to write any thing well though truth of the Lombards, (for looters in these cases of Conquest have not leave to talk) durst not burn his fingers by meddling with matters of so late concernment; and therefore wisely left off where these things began, which brought destruction to the Lombard Kingdom. His Countrymen for the same Reason were all silent. They only were Publishers of these transactions, who were joined both in their Affections and Interests with the Prevalent Party.

Desiderius makes himself King.

60. Now was *Aistulf* dead, and none left to whom the Kingdom by right of Succession or Inheritance appertained. Therefore *Desiderius*, who had been his Cones *Stabuli*, or Master of the Horse, as also promoted to the Dukedom of *Tuscia*, set up for himself by the favour and assistance of the People of that Country. *Rachis* was still living, and so enraged at his Exaltation, that he exchanged his holy Zeal for Indignation, and purposed to leave acting the part of a Monk, and resume his former dress of Royalty; and he wanted not either Adversers or Assistants to such an Undertaking, the Inhabitants of *Liguria*, *Emilia* and *Venetia*, flocking to him. *Desiderius* hereat startled, as being in danger, not only to mis of the Kingdom, but to loose his Dukedom too, took the right course to prevent both the one and the other: He betook himself to *Stephen* the Roman Bishop, and bargained with him to restore *Faventia*, *Calatum* and *Ferraria*, which *Aistulf* had still kept in his hands, if either by his Arms or Authority he could maintain him in his possession of the Kingdom. The Bishop having communicated the matter to *Fulrade*, the Abbat, resolved to attempt the thing, and sending him with his Brother *Paul* into *Etruria*, made a firm League and Alliance with *Desiderius*, and admonished *Rachis* now the Monk, to hold him to his present course of life, and not disturb him whom he had named King and taken for his Ally and Confederate. And if all should fail, *Fulrade* had got an Army of *Franks* and *Romans* together, to dispute the Controvercie by dint of Sword. So *Rachis* gave over his Enterprize, and therewith the Lombards of his Party being discouraged, *Desiderius* enjoyed what he had got; and going to *Pavia*, where he solemnly entred upon the Government, he restored *Faventia*, *Caballum* and *Ferraria*, to the Church, according to Articles. Not long after died *Stephen* on the twenty fifth of *April*, a man ever to be had in remembrance by his Successors, for his enriching his See with the goodly Possessions of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, to be compared (as *Signonius* writes) with *Gregory*, surnamed *Dialogus*, who procured for it the Duchy of *Rome*.

61. *Paul* his Brother succeeded him, and renewed the League made with *Desiderius*, who, in the third year of his Reign, took his Son *Adalgise* to be his Partner in the Kingdom. *Gisulf* the Duke of *Beneventum* dying, he bestowed the Duchy on *Agarisme*, who had married his Daughter *Adelpurga*. For several years he bore himself with great respect to the Roman Church, and with a mind so devoted for Religious matters, that his own Daughter *Anselberga*, he made Abbess of an Abby of his own founding, and otherwise he shewed himself a great Patron of that Profession. Thus he continued for some ten years, and then they tell us he began to shew himself another man; as if Ambition had been hereditary to these Lombard Kings. *Paul* the Bishop dying, he caused a Schism to be made by the illegal promotion of one *Constantine*, and when this Device was frustrated by the means of *Christopher* the Primate (or Assessor to the Bishop, as was the *Secundicerius* also, they sitting next to the Duke of the City) who to remove the Schism caused *Stephen* the Third to be Canonically chosen, he himself went to *Rome* under a shew of Devotion, and there dealt with *Astutus* the Duke of the City, to accuse *Christopher* and his Son the *Secundicerius* of some feigned Crime, and then having seized and made them away, to imprison or drive thence the most Eminent Citizens, and so to tame the rest, as that they should not have courage to attempt any considerable matter: At the Instance of *Bertrade* Wife to the late *Pippin* of *France*, he gave his Daughter to *Carloman* one of her Sons, or rather two of his Daughters to her two Sons, for both are affirmed to have married this way. About two years after *Carloman* died, whose Widow *Berta* finding her self and young Sons not treated after the best fashion by *Charles* his Brother, they came into *Italy* to her Father, who was vehemently incensed against *Charles*, for putting away his other Daughter; and, desirous to imbrace any occasion of revenge, purposed to get the Boys Consecrated Kings by the

Sect. 4.

the new Roman Bishop. One of these things he hoped would follow: Either he should thereby procure an ill understanding betwixt *Charles* and the Bishop, or some Tumults and Strife in *France*, which would present him with a fit opportunity of conquering *Rome* and all *Italy*.

62. But not knowing how *Adrian*, at present Pope, stood affected, he would first try him, whether he would renew the League. He answered, he was willing to have all Christians his Friends, and the Lombards amongst the rest, upon those terms, whereon their Predecessours had founded their Alliance; but as for *Desiderius*, he had learnt so much of his falleness from *Stephen*, who had lately occupied that See, that he could not trust him; and when the Ambassadors promised with Oath, that he should give him full satisfaction; he said, that he would return Answer by Messengers of his own. *Desiderius* judging by this Reply, that he was not to be trusted, would get by force what he could not obtain by Intreaties; and when *Adrian* had not late two full Months, he brake into the Exarchate, where he speedily took *Ferraria*, *Comacini* and *Frentius*, making open shew that he would attack *Ravenna* it self. *Adrian* having notice sent order to his Messengers that were on their way, as far as *Perusia*, to make demand of the places lately taken. The King answered, that if the Bishop would come to him he should command him; which he refusing to do, he in great wrath invaded *Pentapolis*; where he wasted the Country belonging to *Sevangelia*, *Asium*, *Monferrate*, *Urbium*, *Eugubium*, and other Cities, killing the principal Inhabitants of *Bleda*, who were gone out to reap their Corn, and carrying away much booty and Captives. *Orculi* also, within the Borders of *Rome*, underwent the same and worse fortune. Hereupon the Bishop sent to him the Abbat of *St. Vincent*, with twenty Monks of great Reputation for their Sanctity, who coming to *Pavia* cast themselves at his feet, and besought him with many tears, to give over those violent courses, and restore such Places as he had taken from the Church. To them he answered as before, that he would doe both if *Adrian* would come to him.

63. To this purpose he sent Ambassadors of his own, who desired a meeting. *Adrian* made a solemn and religious Protestation, that if he would but restore the Towns of *St. Peter*, he would either give him a meeting at *Rome*, or where else he pleased, and consult with him for the quiet and Repose of *Italy*; and if he did not it should be lawful for him to re-invade the Places at his pleasure. But in case he would not restore them, he would never see his face, and he sent two to receive the Cities; but having protested the same, they received the same Answer as before. After their return others were sent, whom he refused to see, and with great threats dismissed, that he would bring his Army before *Rome*. *Adrian* then looking for extremity, caused the City to be fortified as well as it might be, and as *Stephen* his Predecessour had done, resolved to advertise *Charles* the King of the *Franks*, in what estate he was, and to desire his assistance. "He sent one *Peter*" by Sea to intreat him that, after the Example of his Father and Grandfather, he "would succour the Church now in distress, and the City of *Rome*, which was "threatened with destruction. The cause of so wicked an undertaking he told him "was palpable, to compell him to anoint the Sons of *Carloman*, which how it "stood with his Concernments he left it to him in his wisdom to judge. To this Crimination *Desiderius* answered in an Edict which he sent to *Grimald* the Count of *Viterbium*, wherein he shewed he had well deserved of *Italy*, \* contrary to what *Adrian* had laid to his charge. He reckons up many places built and repaired by him, and concludes, that this is not to destroy *Etruria*, as *Adrian* accused him, who refused Peace offered by him. He commands therefore *Grimald*, that so long as Peace continueth doubtful, he order all the Souldiers of *Tuscia* to be in Arms, and to furnish them with Provisions and Pay plentifully, that they may not only be ready to receive an Enemy, but prepared also to make an Invasion. And he requires him not to burthen the People with new Exactions.

64. *Adrian* his Messenger got safe to *Charles*, and easily obtained a promise to stand by his Master in all his difficulties whatsoever; for *Charles* remembered what advantages his Ancestours had got by adhering to the Church of *Rome*, and had no reason to hope less than any of them, considering how the World went at this time. He sent to *Desiderius* requiring him to restore to the Bishop what was belonging to him, who promised to give him full satisfaction; but he was resolved to try another course. Taking his Son *Adalgise* along with him, with his Daughter *Berta* and her Sons, in a peaceable manner he went towards *Rome*, under pretence of paying a Vow at the Sepulchres of the Apostles, which when he

Desiderius breaks into the Exarchate.

\* Nos enim non sumus Tyfice defra-  
ctores: ut nos  
apud Gallos ac-  
cusat Hadrianus,  
qui pacem ul-  
trà à nobis ob-  
latam respu-  
it; quare ita  
Grimaldi  
Profecti Vi-  
terbium, præ-  
came cipimus, &c.

Sect. 4.

came as far as *Spoleum*, he caused to be signified to the Bishop. *Adrian* caused the Walls and Gates to be strictly guarded, forbidding he should have any entrance, and the Churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* without the Walls, to be fast locked and barred up; which notwithstanding, when he proceeded on his way, he sent to him as he lay at *Interama*, denouncing unto him by all things sacred, that without his leave he should not set his foot within the *Roman* Territories. He had before composed a Song of heavy Curies against him, his Family, and those that accompanied him in his Journey. But this Denunciation caused him to go back, though with an angry and revengeful mind. For now came Ambassadors from *Charles* to see whether he had satisfied the Bishop, who at their return sent some of his own back with them, and ordered them to call upon *Desiderius* at *Pavia*, where they had as cool welcome, and as resolute an Answer, as those that had been before them. Proceeding then in their Journey, they solicited *Charles* for help to recover the Cities, which to obtain by fair means, he is said, once more to have sent to *Desiderius*, offering him fourteen thousand *Solidi* to satisfy the Bishops pretensions, but to no purpose; resolving therefore to force him to it for nothing, he call'd an Assembly of his *Franks*, and related to them the whole matter. There was none present who did not load *Desiderius* with Invektives, and give his Vote for sending speedy relief to the Church. Then was the War resolved on, and Levies of Souldiers were made greater for number, and with more care and accurateness than ever formerly had been known, which clearly signified to any intelligent Persons, that how specious soever their pretences were, the *Franks* buckled themselves to this Expedition, not so much for the relief of the Church, as to put a Period to the Kingdom of the *Lombards*.

65. The whole Army coming to the Rendezvous at *Geneva*, *Charles* divided it into two Parties, whereof the one he committed to the Conduct of his Uncle *Bernard*, and the other he led himself another way. *Desiderius* having certain Intelligence of his Motions, sent some Troops with speed, to make good the Straits, then did he gather out of the Dukedoms of *Forum Julii*, *Beneventum*, *Spoleum*, *Etruria*, and his whole Kingdom, a vast Army, which he ordered to march to *Augusta* and *Taurinum*, to give *Charles* Battel, in case he should descend from the Mountains. *Charles* drawing nigh the *Alpes*, once more (they say) sent to him, offering him the same Sum of Money as formerly, and requiring but the Sons of his Judges, as Hostages, for delivery of the Towns, but he gave the same resolute Answer; which received, the *Franks* continued their March till they came to the Straits, which they found seized by the *Lombards*. *Charles* perceiving they stop the Passage, sent a Party over the Mountains another way, to come upon the back of *Desiderius*, which Device took very well; for it put the King into such a fright, that by Night he left his Camp and ran away, which *Charles* understanding, followed him as fast as he might, and in the pursuit killed many of his followers. But here we arrive at a piece of difficulty, our Authours not agreeing amongst themselves concerning what followed, though as we said, being of the contrary Party, they are no ways favourable to the poor *Lombards* who had no Writers to discover their partiality. One faith that a great Battel was now fought in a Field lying betwixt *Novaria* and *Papia*, where *Desiderius* received a great Overthrow, and thence the place had the name of *Mortaria*. Others will have *Desiderius*, without giving Battel, to have fled (scarcely looking behind him all the way) to *Pavia*, where he shut himself up, having strongly fortified the City. His Son *Adalgise*, with *Berta* and her Children, he sent to *Verona*, the second place for strength and convenience in the Kingdom.

66. Before such time as *Desiderius* went towards the *Alpes*, we are told that some of his Subjects of *Spoleum*, and of the *Reatines*, despairing of his Success, went to *Rome*, and put themselves into the hands of the Bishop, whence followed some out of every City (like good Subjects doubtless) and in *St. Peter's* Church, protesting themselves at his feet, swore perpetual Fidelity and Obedience to the *Roman* Church, cutting their Beards and their Hair after the fashion of the place. But after it was once noised that *Desiderius* was beaten back from the Straits, all the rest, in a manner, fled to *Rome*; where binding themselves with the same Oath, they were kindly entertained. The Bishop using moderation, with the approbation of the Inhabitants, made *Hildebrand* Duke of *Spoleum*; and to such *Lombards* as would dwell at *Rome*, he gave a place to Inhabit, which from them received the Name of *Lombard-street*. The Example of those of *Spoleum*, was followed

Forum yielded.

Charles goes to Rome.

followed by the *Firmani*, those of *Auximum* and *Ancona*, with the Citizens of the *Cattle of Felicity*, who cut their Hair, and surrendered themselves into the Dominion of the Church. But *Charles* perceiving *Desiderius* would not fight, besieged him close in *Pavia*, whither he sent for his Wife and Sons; and there in the Camp spent the former part of a sharp Winter, till *Christmas* was over. The Solemnity being past, he committed the Siege to the care of his Uncle *Bernard*, and went himself and beleaguered *Verona*, where *Adalgise* despairing of holding out, fled, and went into *Greece*; after whose departure the Inhabitants quickly surrendered the place, and therein *Berta* and her Sons, into the hands of *Charles*, who we are told, sent them into *France*, and treated them very honourably; and well he might, considering what an Interest they had in that Country. *Verona* being gone, upon Summons the rest of the Cities beyond the *Poe*, yielded themselves to the Conquerour, who then returned and reinforced the Siege of *Pavia*. *Easter* now began to approach, the Feast whereof *Charles* had a great desire to celebrate at *Rome* with the Bishop. Leaving the Siege to be carried on by *Bernard*, with a splendid Train he took his way thither, and being honourably received in every place he passed, on *Easters* Eve he arrived at the City.

67. *Adrian* conceived himself obliged in the most honourable way he could, to receive a King so great, who had done so mighty matters for the Church, and was in a fair way to effect more. First, all the Judges went out and received him with Banners thirty Miles from the City. A Mile off all the Schools met him, the Children bearing in their hands the Branches of Palms and Olives, and singing out his Commendations. The Rere was brought up by many Cross-bearers, as it was the Custome of old for Exarchs and Patriarchs to be received. The Bishop himself early in the morning, with all the Clergy and People, went to the *Vatican* Church, where sitting with his Clergy upon the Steps, he received him. *Charles*, as soon as he saw the Crosses, alighted from his Horse, and with his Judges went the rest of the way on foot, till he came to the Steps, to every of which (you must know) giving a kiss, he mounted up to the Bishop, by whom being lovingly received, after mutual embraces and Congratulatory Speeches, he was brought into the Church, all the Clergy singing, and calling him the Author of the Publick safety and Liberty, and merrily acclaiming, *Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord*. Afterward with a Train of Bishops, Abbats, and the Followers of *Charles*, they came to the Confession, where prostrate on the ground, they rendered thanks to God and *St. Peter* for so great a Victory; which done, the King desired he might go into the City to perform a Vow, and visit the Churches, which the Bishop permitted; each having first sworn over the Holy Body of the Apostle, that he intended no harm to the other. First, he went to our Saviour's Church in the *Laterane*; where seeing the Bishop administer Baptism, after a little stay, he returned to the *Vatican*. The day following being *Easter* day, he made a solemn Entry into the City, the second time being received by the Judges and the *Roman* Souldiers, and came to the Church of *St. Mary ad Praesepe*, where after Service he dined with *Adrian* in the *Laterane*. On the third day in the *Vatican* after Prayers, the Bishop caused solemn thanks to be given him in an Oration. Herein the kindnesses of *Pippin* and *Martell* to the *Roman* Church were commemorated; the great Piety, Faith and Fortitude of the Family were gloriously set forth, and therewith was joined great Commendations of the whole Nation. It was told the Auditors that *Charles* (not in the least degenerating from the worth of his Ancestours) was come with a mighty Army against the Enemies of the Church; and by the help of God, had been as prosperous as he had been ready to undertake the work. And it was to be hoped, that within few days all *Italy* would have cause to congratulate his complete Victory, as now both *Italy* and the Church gave him hearty thanks for what he had already performed.

68. On the fourth day *Charles* was present at Service in the Church of *St. Paul*. On the fifth the Bishop procured him to meet him in the Palace of the *Vatican*, where in the presence of their Judges he desired him to make good what *Pippin* his Father, he himself, and his Brother *Carloman* had engaged to *Stephen* at *Carissacum*. Hereupon *Charles* caused the Instruments of the Engagement to be read, afterward with his Judges approved them, they containing a Grant of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*. *Irerius* his Secretary he commanded to add a new Grant, and therein to add *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, the Territory of *Sabinum*, the Dukedoms of *Spoleum* and *Tuscia*, with the Revenues paid formerly for these Dukedoms

Charles makes a new Donation to the See of Rome.

Sect. 4.

Charles King of the Franks invades Italy.

Sect. 4.

to the Lombard Kings; always excepted the Royal Prerogative and Authority, over these Dukedoms. The Instruments of this Donation being signed with his own hand, and attested by the Bishops, Abbats, and his Secretaries, he deposed upon the Altar of St. Peter, and in the Confession, as Monuments in time to come, binding by Oath himself and his to the observance of them; and took a Copy of them along with him. For this Donation the Testimony of *Anastasius* the Popes Library-keeper is produced, an Epistle of *Adrian* himself to *Constantine* the Emperour and his Empress *Irene*, and the Instruments of *Ludowick* the Son of *Charles*, wherein it is more fully expressed, and whence it appears that the Lombard Dukedom of *Tuscia*, comprehended the Castle of *Felicitas*, *Orbitum*, *Balnearogium*, *Ferenti Castrum*, *Viterbium*, *Marchia Tuscana*, *Populonium*, *Soanen* and *Roselle*. These things thus appointed, when *Charles* had made a stay of eight days in *Rome*, and in this space satisfied the desires of the Church-men as well as his own Curiosity, he returned to the Camp at *Pavia*.

69. Here *Desiderius*, in a most fortified City, resolved to hold out, knowing that all the Kingdom would be lost with it, and if it were safe the rest might easily be recovered. Though there was small hope of starving the place, or carrying it by any stratagem, yet the reasons that made *Desiderius* resolved on one side, made *Charles* as peremptory on the other, resolving not to raise the Siege till he should have some good account of it. But that which breaks stone Walls, broke at last the resolution of *Desiderius*, and broke open the Gates to the *Franks*, not only the Townsmen but Souldiers too, being conquered by Hunger, which being accompanied by a raging Pestilence, drew necessity upon the King, a thing too powerful for him to withstand; so that at last he yielded up himself, his Wife and Children, and all he had into the Power of *Charles*. By so doing, if we believe the flourish of *Sigonius*, he was more famous, viz. by loosing his Kingdom, than either was *Alboin* for beginning it, or *Agilulf* for reducing it into form and order, so much fame and favour did the greatness of the Conquerour procure unto him. But here was the period of the Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, in the two hundred and sixth year after their seizing on that Country, the seven hundred and seventy fourth year of our Lord. However some Bishops of *Rome* have belpattered the Nation, and the success of *Charles* both eclipsed their glory and engaged all Pen-men on his side and the Pope's (so that this late Revolution is described to us with unworthy and improbable circumstances on the Part of *Desiderius*) yet were they a People very Warlike and considerable. Their Domination being barbarous and cruel at first, after they came to taste of Christian Religion grew more mild and benign: witness their good and wholesome Laws, whereby Theft, Robberies, Murthers and Adultery were severely punished, and the Liberty and Property of private men most carefully provided for; witness the magnificent Churches, rich and spacious Monasteries, where with as Monuments of their Religion they adorned that part of Italy where they had most power; the sumptuous Palaces and endowments of Bishopsricks, the notable Towns they either built from the ground or repaired, the many men eminent for sanctity, which they highly cherished; and even the Bishop of *Rome* himself whom they greatly enriched. And though with *Sigonius* we conclude that Ambition, and a lust of Reigning cast them down from the Royal height of Dignity and their ancient Dominion in Italy, yet we shall conclude also that the enjoyment of other mens Rights, Success and Conquest, though they varnish over Names and Titles, to wife and sober Persons argue neither true worth, nor solid Felicity.

70. But having lately mentioned the Laws of the Lombards, we must not diminish them without some farther reflexions upon that Subject. They had not only written Laws purely digested and supplied by their several Princes upon occasion, but customary, whereby Lands and Possessions were held by Services. These are called *Feuda* or *Feodæ*, concerning which, both as to the Etymology of the word and the original of the thing, opinions are various. Some derive the word from *Faida* (whence our *Feude*) signifying enmity, strife, war or division, in the Tongue of the Lombards; some from the word *Fedus*, a League or Alliance; some from *Fieri*, and others from *Fides* or *Fidelitas*. Accordingly the word is variously written sometimes, (*Feodum* and *Feudum*) otherwhile *Feudum*, and *Feudum* also. It properly signifies a Salary, or Stipend, and Secondly, or by way of Translation, the Lands or Territories, which by the good darity, and bounty of the Lord, the Vassal enjoys in the place or room of a Stipend or Salary. It seems therefore to be derived from the Saxon or Teutonic word,

*Driskoin* delivers up himself and all he hath to *Charles*.

The Kingdom of the Lombards ends.

(Feod whence is called)

word, *Fo*, *feh*, or *peoh*, which the ancient *Franks* called *Fe*, and we at this day *Fee*, for so was and is called a Salary, Stipend, or Reward. The Saxon letter *B* might well be changed into *s*, or rather *hade* or *had* might be added, which in Saxon signifies a State, Order, or Condition. So might it be called *Feodum* from *probas* or *prohos*, as that which was possessed in the quality or condition of Reward or Stipend. So our Saxon Ancestours called the Military Order, *enrygh-has*, as we at this day Knight-hood, and many other things in like manner, as we now say Father-hood, Child-hood, Man-hood, and the like.

71. Whencesoever the word had its Original, the Original of the thing hath been as much controverted; some derive it from the Laws and Customs of the *Romans*, from their Patrons and Clients; it being the custom from the time of *Romulus* for *Plebeians* to make choice of certain Patritians for their Patrons to protect them, as we have formerly shewn out of *Dionysius*, they being to serve them with their lives and fortunes upon occasion. In imitation of them the Provincials, and the Associates of the People of *Rome* had their Patrons in the Senate. Others will have the Stipends of the *Roman* Souldiers in the Civil Law called *Militia* to have resembled these *Feuda*, and some compare the *Coloni Glebe ascriptitii*, to these Vassals and Feudatories. But their opinion most resembles the truth, who in this point of the *Romans*, think the *Feuda* to have begun under *Alexander Severus*, at least under *Constantine* the Great. For *Severus*, as *Lampridius* the Historian informeth us, to the Captains and Souldiers of the *Limiti*, gave those grounds that had been taken from the Enemy to be possessed by their Heirs, in case they served in the Wars, wisely concluding that they would be more careful and industrious to defend their own; which *Constantine* perceiving not to have been practised without reason, ordered that these grounds should pass also to the Heir called *Hæres Paganus*, the more to oblige his Souldiers to him. But all these Remarks conclude nothing as to the Nature of the *Feuda*, as they are now received amongst the several Nations, being constituted in a moveable thing, or such as come near thereto, the use and *Utile Dominium* whereof, is only granted to the Client, but the Propriety or direct Dominion, necessarily remains in the Granter and his Heirs, and besides that Fidelity which the Client by oath promitteth to his Patron (from which the one is called *Dominus*; and the other *Fidelis*) or Lord, is reserved a certain Jurisdiction over the Client or Vassal in case he acted or omitted any thing contrary to their Agreement, and the Nature of the Action of a *Feudum*, of which there is nothing to be found either in the Laws or Customs of the *Romans*. A Person very eminent in his Profession writes, that he had looked over all *Roman* Treatises, and those Books also which have been written of these *Feuda*, and from them all (a very few only excepted) he pronounces that the *Feuda* were utterly unknown to the *Roman* Laws, and not the least Footsteps of them are to be found in that of *Justinian*, but that they rose up from the Manners and Customs of other Nations after the *Roman* Empire was ruined in the West.

72. But of what Nations it is farther controverted. The same learned Person is concerned for the Honour of his own, and besides him some few others contend that the *Feuda* were introduced by the Kings of the *Franks*, before the Domination of the Lombards in Italy. It appears indeed from *Gregory Turonensis* and others, that there were Dukes and Counts which held certain Territories, and that there were *Leudes* which are interpreted Vassals. But yet from the Nature of the Offices of these Dukes and Counts, can nothing certain be concluded to make them *Feuda*; so uncertain was their Tenure and Succession therein, and some Image or Resemblance there might be of these *Feudatories*, but no perfect *Idea* of these *Leudes*. The general opinion of Authours is that the *Feuda* had their Original from the Lombard Kings in Italy, who, as the Reader may discover by what we have written, were wont to grant Cities, Towns and Territories to Dukes and Captains to use and enjoy, the direct Dominion ever reserved to themselves. For farther Confirmation hereof, and in answer to what is objected on the French Part, there is one who proves, that the greatest part of the Customs, and most of the words which the French themselves use about these *Feuda*, were taken from the Lombards. The words are *Teutonic*, and favour not only of the German Tongue, but its most ancient Dialect or the old Saxon; whence, and because the Lombards were a Teutonic Nation, some will have the first Original of *Feuda* to have been in Germany it self, and they sanke they find somewhat of the Condition of Vassals in the Story of *Tacitus*, which he tells concerning the *Comites* amongst the Germans; who brought Council and Authority to the Princes

They had their Original from the Lombards.

Sect. 4.

Vid. Dr. Drake, de Auth. Jus civilis, lib. 1. cap. 6.

Milicium de Feud. n. 5.

Gregory Turon. l. 8. c. 9.

Eguinarus Baro, de jure benefice, lib. 1. in pref. ad Jean. Bertrand. Franc. Cancell.

Spahnmann Gloss. in voc. Feudum.

or

72. Sect. 4. of the Villages, and they think this adds some force to their Conceit, that Vassal is derived by some Etymologists from the German word *Gesell*, by which is expressed the Latin word *Comes*.

73. The truth seems to be this. There was something of this sort of Service and Dependence practised by the ancient Germans, which being by all the Barbarous Teutonic Nations partly brought out of that Country, were mightily strengthened and confirmed by certain practices, which at that time the Necessity of Affairs put the Roman Emperours and other Princes upon. Severus and Constantine the Great, and after them others found it highly convenient for the Safety of their Territories, to bestow part of them upon Captains, and Soldiers as Wages, or Fees, or Rewards, and placed them upon the Borders where most danger lay, that by protecting what they now looked upon as their own, by one and the same Act they might also defend the whole Empire. Barbarous Princes taking up this custom, as highly necessary, formed it according to their own, and shaped it into a Service and Dependence suitable to their own German practices. Hence came it to pass that not only the Lombards, but in truth the Franks had some Services of this Nature, and this is to be observed, that these German Nations the nearer they were to the Romans, and the more subjected to Invasions, the more perfect and formal were these Vassalages and Services. Therefore do we hear little or nothing of Feuda amongst our Saxon Ancestours here in Britain, nor amongst the Goths in Spain. The Lombards, being nearest the Romans, learnt the fore-mentioned Custom from them, and being as in a Pit invironed with Adversaries, were put upon joining it with their own, and framing them into a German or Teutonic Model. As the Emperours of old assigned Lands to their Captains by way of Fee or Stipend, and to protect the Borders, so did they. But they added a peculiar Oath of Fidelity and Homage, and not only Grounds upon the Limits in the Mouth of Danger, but even all their Countrey they distributed to be held by Fidelity and Services, as we see by the many Dukedoms into which it was divided. And mutual at last, by practice and continuance, began the Obligations of Lord and Vassal. At first it was in the Power of the Lord Lib. 1. Tit. 1. to take away what he had granted in Feudo when he pleased. Afterward it was to be certain to the Vassal for a Year, and a Year only, and at length the Possession was extended to the Term of Life. But his Posterity being still unprovided for, it was brought down to one of his Sons, on whom the Lord would please to confer it, and at last came to be distributed equally amongst them all.

74. Afterwards Conradus Salicus the Emperour, in the Year 1025, going to Rome to take the Crown from the Hands of John, the twentieth, his Vassals petitioned him to exact by a Law, that the Feoda might descend to Grandsons, and that a Brother or his Son might succeed to one that died without lawful Issue, in that which had been possessed by their Father. But in case one of the Brothers received a Fee (so now will we call it) from the Hands of a Lord; he dying without a lawful Heir, his Brother could not succeed in the Fee, and although it were received in general, yet could not one succeed the other, except it was expressly by Name so provided; viz. that one dying without lawful Heirs the other should succeed, to be sure an Heir being left the other Brother should be excluded. Its farther to be understood, that a Fee or Beneficium collaterally went anciently no farther than Cousin-Germans, but in succeeding times came to be stretcht as far as the seventh Degree, and to Males in a descending Line *in infinitum*. And this is to be noted, that though Daughters as well as Sons succeed their Fathers, by the Laws yet they are prohibited to succeed in a Fee, as also their Sons except especial Provision be made for them. This little History of Fees is given us by the Compiler Gerard Niger, wherein is to be observed, that as to what he writes concerning their descending upon Males by a new Law *in infinitum*, that in France these inferior Fees, as well as Dukedoms, Counties, Baronies, and the like came to be hereditary under Hugh Capet, who began his Reign eight and thirty years before the Law made by Conradus. From this time forward Noblemen (the lesser Nobles or Gentlemen are included) from their Fees began to take Surnames to themselves, and to their Names to add *de such a place*, a thing so ridiculously practised in France to this day, that if a mean man that can write himself but *Sieur*, have five or six Sons, if he have so many little Hamlets or even Cottages erected in several Grounds, each must be denominated from one of them. In case he be not so wealthy, if he have a Mill in his Ground, a Rock in his Field, or a Meadow belonging to his Cottage, one must be called *de Moulin*, another *de la Roche*, and another *des Prez*, whereby you would take

take them for Persons of Extraordinary Extract and Revenue, Persons indeed that deserve, as Lords to impose Manners, Fashions and Language upon a World so inconsiderate. Sect. 4.

75. But by such Degrees came Vassals to be possessed of Fees, which they lost again by many Acts of Ingratitude and Unfaithfulness, several Crimes which not here to be related at large, but only to be touched on. As first in case after the Death of the Lord or Vassal, the Heir came not within a year and a day to swear fealty, and desire Investiture. If three times being cited to the Lord's Court, he refused to receive Investiture and swear Fealty he refused it. If he refused to perform the Services due, or renounced his Fee. In case he sold it without consent of his Lord; For so the Services due to the Lord should come to nothing, the Vassal being reduced to Want or Beggary. If he infeofed any other Person with other Conditions, than he himself held the Fee, or such a Vassal was not in a Condition to serve it. If he took Holy Orders, or a Religious Vow upon him. If he acted contrary to what was expressed in his Oath of Fidelity. In case he committed another Felony by betraying his fellow Vassal, so as he could not appear in Court. These Crimes or Felonies respected the Fee itself, such as follow the Lord of the Fee himself. As in case he made an Assault upon his Lord's Person, or by Sword or Poison contrived his Ruine: or by Force and Arms set upon any Castle or Town, in which his Lord or Lady resided. If in any Fight or Battle he forsook his Lord, or when it was in his Power, he freed him not from the danger of death or a Siege. If knowing any one to contrive the Assaulting, Taking, the Death or great Damage (in his Patrimony) of his Lord, he did not make him acquainted therewith, as speedily as might be. In case he turned Enemy to his Lord, or adhered to his Enemies. If he turned Accuser of his Lord, or brought him into any great danger. If he accused him, or bore witness against him. If he betrayed his Councils or Secrets. If he made him a Cuckold (*Si Dominum Cuccubaverit*) and wantonly sported with his Wife. If he lay with his Daughter, his Son's Daughter, his Son's Wife, or the Sister of his Lord remaining in his House. In case he would not do him Justice. If he committed Felony against or Cuckolded one of the Lords, of whom he was the common Vassal, he was only to forfeit that Part. If so be the Vassal killed his own Brother, or his Brother's Son to get the Inheritance: or betrayed his fellow Vassal, so as he could not stand any more in Court, he should be deprived of his Benefice or Fee; but so far as this Felony was not committed against the Lord, the Fee should not fall to the Lord, but to the next Kinsman by the Father's side. If he killed the Brother of his Lord, it seemed no Felony, for he lost not his Fee. Neither indeed seems that to be Felony, properly so called, which the Lord committed against his Vassal, although it was equally punished. Nor was Felony always punished with a perpetual loss of the Fee.

76. Besides the losing of the Fees, to which Vassals were by these means obnoxious, they were also subjected to many, and often very heavy Services. First, they swore a most strict Fealty and Allegiance to their Lords, whence in some Histories they are to be known by the Name of *Fideles*, and performed their Homage in a very humble, if not servile manner, the forms and fashions whereof we cannot here discover. Upon Summons from the Lord they were obliged to arm themselves, to follow his Standard, and stand by him in all Dangers of the Field. Besides they were obnoxious to the payment of many Tributes, Aids or Subsidies. And when they died, their Lords were to have Custody of their Fees with the Guardianship, and Manage of their Heirs under Age. And from those that were Adult, Relief for their Consent to enter upon the Inheritance; at least in some places. The manner of Investiture into Fees, was solemn and various. The Greater by delivery of a Banner; in France by ancient Custom both Bishoppicks, and all other Fees by a Ring, and a Staff, by them *Rain* and *Baston*. Sometimes it was done by delivery of a Sword, an Instrument in Writing, a Clod of Earth, an Arrow, a Rod or other things. Fees were variously distinguished, as some were Imperial and Regal conferred by Emperours and Kings, as Dukedoms, Marquises, Counties which were held *in Capite*, or from the Prince, whence the Possessours were called *Capitanei*. Others were of a middle Nature, being conferred by these *Capitanei* to inferior Vassals, as Barons, Vassalours and *Castellani*. Another sort was Military, conferred by these Barons, Vassalours and *Castellani*. Yet was not this Distinction so solemnly observed, but that the *Capitanei* conferred Fees, simply Military, and Princes as well one sort as another. There were several other sorts



SECT. 4. distinguished according to the Nature of the Fees themselves, and of those that received them, of which its not our part here to discourse.

77. It's more proper for us farther to acquaint the Reader, that these Customs being various and growing to Multitudes, Judges in the Determination of Controversies concerning Fealty and Obedience of Vassals, became confounded in their Sentiments and Judgments, as in Customs not written it ever happens. Therefore about the Year of Our Lord 1152, one *Obertus Ortenfius* of *Milan*, assisted by *Gerard Niger Capagius*, under the Reign of the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa* digested these Customs concerning the use of Fees, into two \* Books. <sup>\* *Fractio*  
*Hymnorum*  
*obediunt* *uoc.*  
*Cognatus* *uoc.*  
*alii.*</sup> Unto these Uses of Fees compiled by him, were afterwards added the Constitutions of *Lotharius* the First, *Lotharius* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Lotharius* the Third; and *Frederick* the First and Second; after which the Books of Fees became of such request in all Countries, that they equalled in Reputation the very *Roman* Laws of *Justinian* himself. From them by universal Consent, all Controversies not only concerning meaner Fees, but Dukedoms, Marquises, and the like were decided. And although some there have been that contended, that the *Lombards* Laws of Fees have no place in *France*, where they will have these Fees to have been Patrimonial, and in the free Disposition and Dominion of Clients, being called *Allodia*, yet other very eminent Lawyers of that Nation contradict them, who affirm that these Laws of Fees take place in all the *French* Provinces, especially those which are *Juris Scripti*, where the Customs of the particular places do not oppose them; for in several Provinces of *Italy*, as that of *Monferrat*, and *Mantoua*, the *Lombardick* Fees are changed into Patrimonies and *Allodia*, Aliens passing without the Knowledge of the Lord, Daughters succeeding, and several other things wherein the Provinces rejecting the strict Doctrine of Fees in these Points, have returned to the Directions and Practice of the Civil Law.

78. Out of *France*, the use of Fees was by *William* the Conquerour brought into *England*, where he distributed the conquered Country amongst his Souldiers; the *Scots* pretend to have received them about sixty Years before, in the Reign of *Malerline* the Second, but by Learned Men it is esteemed no more than a Pretension. That our *Saxon* Ancestours had some sort of Knowledge and Practice of them, being Cousin-Germans to the *Lombards*, may be granted, but this knowledge and practice was very small, for the Reasons we have already alledged. Concerning the Fees brought in by the Conquerour: what peculiar Rules and Practices they have acquired different from all the World besides, let our Municipal Lawyers tell if they please. It sufficeth me (who have already said too much) to put the Reader in mind, that the *Feuda* or Fees reduced into some Order came from our *Lombards*. The Consent of Authours, so will have it. This is strengthened by this Observation, that the *Lombards* were addicted to this Course, more than any other People. That *Obert* and *Gerard* were of *Milan* in that Countrey, and that in *Italy*, these Laws most flourished from the time of *Orto* the Great, to that of *Lotharius* the Third, while the Civil Law was wholly silent. But these Fees were founded as we said upon Custom, and therefore amongst the ancient written Laws of the *Lombards*, we never meet with the word *Feudum*, and the other word *Beneficium* signifying the same, is very rarely to be found.

## SECT. IV.

## SECT. V.

The Kingdom of the Franks in Italy, from the Captivity of *Desiderius*, to the Promotion of *Charles* King of the Franks, to the Title of Emperour.

The Space 27 Years.

SECT. 5. *Desiderius* being conquered and taken, and all the rest of the *Lombards* having after his Example yielded up themselves and their Towns, *Charles* the Conquerour by right of Victory, challenged to himself the Kingdom of *Italy*, which that he might establish to himself by a new Title, he made use of the old Decree of *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, as it was accounted. At *Modostia* he caused himself to be Crowned with an Iron Crown, by the hands of the Archbishop of *Milan*, and ordained, that the same course should be used by his Successours. And it was performed with great Ceremony, as appeared from an ancient Ritual called *Ordo Romanus*, which *Sigonius*, as it concerned this matter, transcribed for this purpose, the King was out of his Chamber led into the Church by Bishops, and being conducted to the high Altar, after some solemn Prayers the Archbishop demanded of the People, whether they would subject themselves to such a King, and with constant Fidelity obey his Commands. The People answering, Yes; with holy Oil he annointed his Head, Breast, Shoulders, and the Joyns of his Arms; praying that both in War and in Issue he might be prosperous. Having then girt him with a Sword, put upon him Bracelets, a Robe, a Ring, and a Sceptre into his hand, he set the Crown upon his Head; and having through the Quire led him to his Throne, thereon he placed him, and having given him the kiss of Peace, then celebrated Divine Service. This Ceremony was now performed to *Charles* by *Thomas* the Archbishop of *Milan*, and hence he and his Successours accounted themselves so considerable, and to contend for Dignity with him of *Ravenna*.

2. The Ceremony of Coronation being thus over, *Charles*, now as Lord of *Italy*, thought it is duty to settle the Frame and Polity thereof, and for this purpose resolved to go to *Rome* to consult with *Adrian*. He having notice of his Intentions, called an hundred and fifty Bishops together, with many Abbats, and solemnly receiving him into the City, consulted with them what Honours to bestow upon him. They were unanimous in this, that a King so potent, and who together with his Father and Grandfather, had so much deserved of the *Roman* Church, was to be rewarded with some extraordinary mark of Honour. It was universally then agreed and consented to by all the Nobility, that he should be a *Roman* Patritian; that throughout the Provinces he should institute Archbishops and Bishops; so that except commanded and instituted by him, they should not be Consecrated by any: That he should chuse the Bishop of *Rome*, and regulate the Apostolick See. Now *Sigonius* tells us, that the Order and Dignity of a Patritian was, since the time of *Constantine* the Great, most splendid and honourable in the *Roman* Empire. That what we called but now Institution of Bishops, they called Investiture, and pleased it should be performed by the giving of a Ring and a Rod. As for the choice of the Bishop of *Rome*, it seems to be granted to him for preventing of Seditions and Tumults amongst the *Romans*. For these differences, the ancient Discipline by little and little decaying, by reason of ambitious seeking of so great a Place and Dignity, had quite spoiled the Meetings for Elections, to the great scandal of all good Christians; no Person at *Rome* having any Power or Authority to restrain them. But this right of chusing the Bishop, *Charles* used with great moderation, and remitted to the old way of the Assemblies of Clergy and People; provided the thing was done without tumult and indirect Practices.

Sect. 5.

He Models the Kingdom of Italy.

3. After the receiving of these Honours, he addressed himself to the Modell of the Kingdom. First, *Apulia* and *Calabria* he left to the Emperour as they had been after the Victory of *Justinian*; which afterward being seized on by the *Normans*, were reduced into another form of a Kingdom, which at length got the Name of *Neapolitan*. The Dukedom of *Beneventum*, he permitted to be held by *Aragise* the Son-in-Law of King *Desiderius*; that of *Spoleum*, by *Hildebrand*, and the other of *Forum Julij* by *Rodgand*, as Fiefs from him, as formerly from the Kings of the *Lombards*. The Exarchate of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis*, with the Dukedom of *Perusium*, *Rome*, *Tuscia* and *Campania*, the chief Right, Principality and Sovereignty retained to himself, he yielded to the *Roman* Bishop: The rest he kept to himself in the ordinary way of a Kingdom. This was whatsoever the Kings of the *Lombards* had possessed in *Liguria*, *Emilia* and *Venetia*, the hithermost *Tuscia* (as they accounted it) and the *Cottian Alps* being reckoned in. That part they called *Longobardia*, or as afterward *Lombardia*, or *Lombardy*. The Exarchate they called by the Name of *Romania*, or *Romaniola*. *Italy* being thus divided, the Government thereof he ordered should be after this manner. The Dukes he would have free, bound onely by the Bond of a Royal Fee; with which whosoever tied themselves, were annually to take this Oath: *I promise that I will be faithfull to my Lord Charles, and his Sons, as long as I shall live, without any fraud or manner of deceit: And, I swear by these Holy Gospels, that I will be faithfull to him, as a Vassal to his Lord, neither to my knowledge will I divulge any thing which he shall commit to me, in the Name, or by the Virtue of my Allegiance.*

Obliges the Dukes by an Oath of Fidelity.

4. If ever it so happened that they brake this Oath, or died without Sons, the Dukedom were conferred upon others, and this Translation, or Collation, as in Bishops and Abbats, was called Investiture; the same being offered in other Vassals or Feudataries, as Counts, Captains, and Valuassars, the Modell of the Services and Tenures of whom was afterward perfected by the *Germanus*. The People and Cities were after this manner to be governed. The Limits of the Kingdom and the Towns, he committed to the government of Counts, assigning to them all publick and private Jurisdiction. The Limits or Borders they called *Marches*, or *Marches*, whence the Governours of them, obtained the Titles of Counts of the *Marches*, and *Marquesses*. Some extraordinary Commissioners he sometimes sent into the Kingdom, whom having greater Authority than Counts, they called *Missi*. The Grounds of the several Cities being confuted or litigious in the Reign of the *Lombards*, he would have separated and limited, bounding them for the most part with Mountains, Fens, or Rivers. The Cities he would have take an Oath of Fidelity to him, these words being added to it, *I will preserve his Life, Member, Mind, and true Honour*. On the Feudatary Cities, Churches and Monasteries, he laid certain Services, called *Foderum*, *Parata* and *Mansionaticum*, to be paid to him, especially when he came into *Italy*, which by him and his Successors were afterward either much diminished, or wholly remitted. To Bishops and Abbats he confirmed the Possession of Churches and Monasteries, formerly granted by the *Lombards*, and added new to such as deserved them. And that he might seem to have given liberty to *Italy*, when he came thither he was wont to assemble the Bishops, Abbats, and Noblemen together, and with them to deliberate of the great Affairs of the Kingdom, after the manner of the *Franks*. Into *Italy* he brought also the *Salick* Law; so that from this time forward, three sorts of Laws became of use to it; that of the *Romans*, the other of the *Lombards*, and this *Salick*. But this was the custome, that by what Law every man would live, he should profess, and then according to that, Justice should be administered to him; which Custome prevailed in *Italy*, till the time of the Emperour *Lotharius* the Second.

He settles the Government.

Three sorts of Laws in use, viz. That of the Romans, the Lombards, and the Salick.

5. Things being thus settled, *Charles* returned to *Pavia*, where leaving a strong Garrison, he took *Desiderius* and his Wife along with him, and returned into *France*. Yet did he not so well settle his Matters, but that within a year or two he was in danger to be disturbed, the Reputation he got by Arms, not being sufficient to bridle the Minds of the *Lombard* Dukes, who impatient, that the Kingdom should be taken from them, began to make disturbance in the Cities. The chief of the Conspiracy was *Rodgand* Duke of *Forum Julij*, which *Charles* understanding, as he returned out of *Saxony*, resolved betimes to obviate the mischief, and by the terrour of severity cause those who had not yet discovered themselves, to keep themselves in their Duty. Having kept his *Christmas* in *Alsatia*,

Returns into France.

Duke Rodgand Rebels.

Sect. 5.

Is defeated and put to death.

*Alsatia*, with a powerful Army he passes the *Alpes*, and marches straight into the Duchy of *Forum Julij*, where he gave Battel to *Rodgand*, who was defeated, taken Prisoner, and put to death, as having affected the Sovereignty. Such Cities as were faulty begging pardon, easily obtained it. Going then to *Tarishum* to hold his *Easter*, he annexed the Duchy of *Forum Julij* to the Kingdom; committing the Government of the several Cities to Counts; and then returned into *France*, much about the same time that *Leo* the Emperour at *Constantinople* made *Constantine* his Son his Colleague and Associate. For several years after, *Italy* remained quiet. The fourth, the return of *Charles* produced two memorable things; another Progress he made into *Italy*, and the Death of the Emperour *Leo*, while Son *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* governed with his Mother *Irene*, a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, and Disposition. *Charles* perceiving, that being diverted by other continual Wars, he could not probably keep *Italy* in quiet, except he set a King over it, who by his Presence should administer Justice, and cast an awe as well upon Domestick as Foreign Enemies, resolved to make *Pipin* his Eldest Son King with him. Returning out of *Saxony*, taking with him the said *Pipin*, his Wife *Hildegardus*, and *Lodowick* his other Son; a little before *Christmas* he came to *Pavia*.

He makes Pipin King of Italy with him.

Enacts several Laws.

6. The Holydays being over, he summoned an Assembly of the Spiritual and Temporal Nobility, and made by their assent several Laws yet extant; and published on the first of *March*, concerning Bishops and Abbats, their Rights, and their Discipline; as also concerning the punishment of Murthers, Robberies, Perjuries, and for the right Administration of Justice by the Counts, and the *Vassi Dominici*. This done, he went to *Rome*, to procure the Bishop to anoint his Sons, who being very ready to bestow what would cost him nothing, anointed *Pipin* King of *Italy*, and *Lodowick* King of *Aquitain* on *Easter* day; and to another *Pipin*, he himself was Godfather. At their return to *Pavia*, the Ceremony was there renewed by *Thomas* the Archbishop, who Crowned *Pipin* with an Iron Crown, and was Godfather to a Daughter named *Gisla*. *Italy* was generally very well pleased with the Advancement of their new King, as one who would continue with them, and consequently administer Justice as there should be occasion, and protect them from the Inroads of the *Hunnes* and *Saracens*. And *Pipin* did not frustrate their Expectations in any thing they could reasonably require, bestirring himself, and doing all good Offices of a King, as he had opportunity. He encouraged all publick Works, and made such new Laws as were requisite; several of his, as of his Father *Charles*, being still extant, made in a full Assembly of the Nobility, concerning the ordering of Churches, repairing of Monasteries, Hospitals, Bridges and High-ways, the security of such as travelled to *Rome*, the Administration of Justice by Counts and their Judges. When he was in *Italy* he commonly resided at *Ravenna*, either taken with the ancient famousness of the City, or for convenience of managing Naval matters. This great Repose and satisfaction, was after some five years interrupted by the ambitious Practices of *Aragise* the Duke of *Beneventum*, who being Son-in-Law to *Desiderius*, and puffed up with conceit of his own greatness, revolted. He was so proud, that he would be called Prince in the room of Duke, and be anointed and Crowned as King by his Bishops, subscribing his Diploma's, *From our most Sacred Palace*. Contemning *Pipin*, to enlarge his Dominion, he invaded the *Roman* Territories, not fearing the power of *Charles*, or the Catastrophe of *Desiderius*. *Charles* being informed of his Motions by *Adrian*, having dispatched his other Wars, resolved to pass into *Italy* and chastise his Folly. At the beginning of Winter he passed the *Alpes* with such expedition, that he kept his *Christmas* in *Etruria* at *Florence*, a City formerly destroyed by *Totilas* King of the *Goths*, and now said, by command of *Charles*, to have been re-edified.

Aragise of Beneventum rebels.

7. From *Florence* he went to *Rome* to consult with *Adrian* about the chastisement of the Rebel, who now unbethinking himself, sent his Son *Ronnald* to beg peace with great presents, and a promise to give all satisfaction to the Bishop. The King by the Bishop's advice denied his request, and led his Army into the Territories of *Capua*, which he compelled to surrender after he had waited the Country round about. The report hereof terrified *Aragise*, who expecting the Storm to come upon *Beneventum*, quitted that place and returned to *Salernum*, a Sea-Town, whence if need were he might have a convenience of Escape. Now he sent another Message, offering to give up his other Son *Grimald* also for an Hostage, and farther to do whatsoever he should be commanded. This was accepted by the King, who taking an Oath of Allegiance from him, and the Inhabitants

But begs Peace, which is granted.



Sect. 5.

time of *Adrian*, but that Bishop either could not or would not understand him. But *Leo* knowing his mind, and being as ready as able to serve him in this affair, set about the work in this manner. He could not for shame but to bethink himself what way he might shew himself grateful to him, who to free the Church from so great danger and Infamy, had not grudging to take a Journey out of *France*. He found that since *Gregory* the Second his Predecessour, had begun to be Persecuted by the Heretical Emperor, there never were wanting some who earnestly contended that some other Defender of the Church was to be found out, that is some other Prince to be dignified with the Imperial Title. That without doubt, if any one so great an honour was to be conferred, either it was due to King *Pipin*, or at least to *Charles* his Son, who in asserting the Catholic Faith, and in persecuting Infidels, Heretics, and Rebels against the Church had excelled Kings, yea all Emperours whatsoever. What *Adrian* had omitted, and the King himself in his time, he knew, had affected from the tumults at *Rome*, he resolved now to take occasion to perfect, that he might oblige so powerfull a King, and obtain a Protectour and Patron to the *Roman* Church. The Ceremony he resolved should be on *Christmas* day as a greater grace to the Fact, and that it might be more solemn and stately. *Pipin* himself, having committed the War against *Grimould* unto Duke *Winigise*, came to the City, drawing with him an infinite number of Mortals to behold the sight.

*Charles* is made Emperor, and *Pipin* Crowned King of Italy by *Leo*.

13. The day being come, *Charles*, early in the morning went to the *Vatican* Church, and thence to the Confession, where having finished his Devotions, the Bishop, who by former agreement was present, put on him an Imperial Robe, and set on his Head a most precious Crown of Gold, which had been prepared for this purpose: At this the People three times acclaimed, To *Charles* Augustus, Crowned of God, the Mighty and most Pious Emperor of the Romans, Life and Victory. God and the Saints being then invoked, this Imperial Title was confirmed by the People, and their Acclamation being over, the Bishop anointed both the Father and the Son standing by, the one for Emperor, the other for King, and then set upon Celebrating of Divine Service. This ended, both *Charles* and *Pipin* offered in the *Vatican* Church, a Cupboard of Silver, and several Vessels for the Service thereof, of pure Gold: in that of *Lateran*, a Cross of excellent Workmanship made of Jacinths, which *Leo* in compliance with *Charles*, ordered to be carried in solemn Processions. Such was the order of the solemnity, by which it appears, as *Signorius* observes, how untrue the story of those is, who wrote that all this was done by *Leo*, *Charles* neither knowing any thing before, nor consenting, as who should say often, that had he perceived any such thing, he would not that day have gone to the *Vatican*. But this Imperial Title having failed in the West almost three hundred years before, at the Deposition of *Momylus Augustulus*, the Bishop of *Rome* now renewed it in *Charles*, that his Church might have a Patron and Defender, obliged by such a courtesie as we said before. This is sufficiently evidenced by the form of the Oath, which the Emperours of this Edition at their Coronations, had by these Bishops imposed on them: J. N. Emperour, in the Name of *Christ*, promise and engage before God and St. Peter the Apostle, to be the Protectour and Defender of this holy Roman Church, in all its concerns, as I shall be assisted by Divine helps, to my knowledge and Power.

14. And as *Leo* for his own respects, and those of his Successours was ready to give, so *Charles*, to serve his own Ambition and the Dignity of his Family, was willing to receive, though from him, this Glorious Title. For, now rejecting that of Patritian, he wrote himself *Roman* Emperour, and *Augustus*. Being placed in this high pitch of Majesty, he thought it agreeable to his Office, not only to look after the settlement of *Italy*, but all Christendom, and in that study spent the Winter following. The Accusers of *Leo* he condemned to death, but at the request of the Bishop, exchanged this punishment for that of Banishment. To the Edicts of the *Lombards*, he added such Laws as he perceived from complaints whereas he came were wanting, and by others reformed Ecclesiastical matters. *Signorius* tells us that the aforesaid Laws were in his time to be seen at *Mutina*, with this Title in the Preface. *Charles* by Divine consent (or Order) Crowned, Governing the Roman Empire, most Serene Augustus, to all Counts, Gallards, or to all that by our meekness have been appointed Officers of the Commonwealth throughout the Province of Italy, in the year eight hundred and one, from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, the ninth Indiction, in the thirty third year of our Reign over France, and over Italy the twenty eighth, the first of our Consulship. Being now Emperour, he calls *Italy* not a Kingdom, but a Province, and

The Confessors are condemned to Banishment.

Sect. 5.

and to make the world believe he was Emperor Indeed, a *Roman* Emperour, revives old Titles and Names, Styles himself *Augustus*, and talks of the Consulship; but he entred it seems at the same time that he commenced Emperour, and so shews himself not to be of the true and genuine Stock, few, these excepted, who invaded the Empire, and the Titles of whom were precarious, but were Consuls before they came to be Emperours. And whether in strictness his Title was not precarious, whether he was a Legitimate *Roman* Emperour, or can be so called is a Moot-point, may admit of a little Disquisition.

15. If he were an Emperour (take the word as one possessing or reigning over divers Kingdoms) yet could he be called by any other addition, better than that of *Roman*. The *Roman* Empire was now almost quite extinct in the West, little or nothing left except a few Islands in the Mediterranean, and perchance a few Maritime Towns lying towards *Sicily*. The Emperour had been beaten out of this Country by the *Lombards*, who having made a Prey at last of the Exarchate, became themselves a Prey to Victorious *Charles*, and the Exarchate, by what right soever was challenged as the Churches Patrimony. Grant then that the *Romans* had Power to name him Emperour, to confer that Title upon him or any other, a worthless empty Title must it be, signifying a Sovereignty over the City of *Rome*, and the small Territory of the Exarchate (the rest was quite alienated) such a Dominion they had at the Banishment of their Kings, the Names of one of which would more have fitted him, as *Servius*, *Tarquinius*, or the like; than that of *Cæsar*. That they could give any thing of the Eastern Empire to him or any other, we cannot believe, after that *Constantinople* had been by Imperial Authority made a second *Rome*, and all Co-equal Majesty and Privileges conferred upon it. *Rome* of late had lost the Imperial Title, been a Captive to Barbarians, a Member of a Kingdom, being though restored to her Liberty afterward, yet it was by the Help and Assistance of her Daughter, had all along hitherto truckled under her, and acknowledged the Sovereignty of her Princes, and submitted to the Government of a Duke; till under shew of Religion, she became disloyal, and advanced her Bishops from the Episcopal Chair to the Princely Throne.

M

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

The Affairs of Britain, lately a Roman Province,  
Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman  
Empire.

## SECT. I.

*From the Departure of the Romans out of the Island to the  
Destruction of Britain, or the forcing up of the Inhabi-  
tants, into the Mountainous places by the Picts, Scots  
and Saxons.*

*The Space of One Hundred Ninety Seven years.*

## SECT. I.

The Picts and  
Scots, invade  
Britain.

The Character  
of the Britains  
in those days.

THE Britains being again forsaken by their Friends the Romans, who as we said were called into Gall, the Necessities of the Empire there and then requiring it, became speedily again a Prey to the ravenous Picts and Scots, who no sooner was their fear and awe removed, but like Wolves they returned, and without any Pity or Compassion renewed their Slaughters, and the Havock they had made of a worse than tame and sheepsish Nation. For, such Qualities as are the certain Prefages of the Ruine of a People, had long e'er this manifested themselves; Luxury, Effeminateness, and all sorts of vicious Habits and Practices which weaken mens Hands, and enervate their Minds, which in all Ages have destroyed Families, and overturned Governments, abounded amongst them: Never scarcely did a Kingdom, Empire or Estate miscarry, but its Period was usher'd in with Looseness and Luxury. Let the Example of *Sardapalus*, of the Army and Court of *Darius*, of *Cleopatra*, and her *Egyptian* Train, and that of the Romans after the times of *Lucullus*, speak for the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Macedonian* and *Roman* Empires. As for Kingdoms and States, Examples lo abound, as it would be too tedious to relate them. Besides the Just Judgment of Almighty God, who in the Destruction of those that pervert Nature, and apply their Strength and Faculties to other things and ends than for which they were made, vindicates the Sovereignty and Right, which he necessarily hath over his Creatures. Luxury and vicious Habits in their own Natures, and by way of Efficiency procure what are the certain Causes of Ruine and Destruction.

2. For if things be preferred by the same means they are got or obtained, this cannot be done but by Labour and Industry. Now Luxury brings Idleness and Laziness, renders Men effeminate and impatient of Toil or Industry. This is to be noted of vicious Persons in all Ages. First, such Persons conscious to themselves, that by all Rules of Sobriety they were condemned, found themselves concerned for their Reputation (though this two at last they come oftentimes to slight) to excuse, may plead for what they were inclined to practise. Hence Sobriety was ever by them branded for Folly and foppish formality, and because they could not out-reason, they were put upon it to jeer, or as they say to droll at all things and Persons serious, and the most solid, substantial, and every way most worthy, they endeavoured to represent and render ridiculous. Learning, Discipline, honest Studies and Endeavours they scoffed at, cried up natural Parts, and flashy trifling Wits, because they could not endure to take pains themselves, being a kind of Euthuists in this respect, as expecting Inspiration or *Mahomet's* Pidgeon, for the

Infusion of such Abilities as cannot be obtained but by time and labour. Hence Sect. 1. all Seriousness being discouraged, none were preferred but vicious and superficial Parasites. When any able Persons spoke their Judgments they were derided, and all their good Councils by one twitting and drolling Speech rendered ridiculous. This caused them either to hold their Peace, or comply with the prevalent Humour, and then all good Council being discarded and rash hare-brained Opinions admitted, Reason was banished, Industry and Pains driven away and drew along with them, what are the usual Effects and Products. The wife Man knew what he said when he affirmed, that the Scorners, as it is translated, or the Derider or Droller destroys the City, not the open Enemy, not the Traitor, for Government usually recover themselves out of such Hazards; but when all Sobriety is scoffed at, when dissolute Persons manage Affairs, and by their drolling render sober and wholesome Councils ridiculous, then is a Kingdom or State in the ready perdition, and certain way to Destruction. These are the certain Symptoms of its mortal Infirmary.

3. Such was the State of the British Affairs; their Sobriety and Prosperity, if ever they enjoyed either, were decayed together. But if *Gildas* their Countryman hath not injured them, they never much could pretend either to the one, or to the other. For the first, he tells us in General, that they neither behaved themselves well towards Almighty God, towards one another, nor such foreign Princes as had subdued them, and their Subjects. For the other, they submitted to the triumphant Romans, and received their Commands without any resistance, a weak and an unfaithfull People, subdued not so much by Sword, Fire and Engines of War (as were other Nations) as by Threats, Punishments and Edicts, and only in outward shew pretending Obedience. Accordingly, when the Roman Souldiers were most of them departed, having left some Governours behind to establish their Power, and not the least thinking of a Rebellion, a wily *Lionel's* false these Rulers. When the Senate had notice hereof at Rome, and sent an Army to be revenged, nor Fleet was there prepared to fight for their Country, nor squared Battalion or Right wing (to use his words) was there to be seen, nor any other warlike Preparation on the shore; their backs were for shields toward such as pursued them, their Necks trembling, and like Women they stretched out to their Swords, and offered their Hands to be manacled, so that it became a by-word, and in Derision was wont to be spoken, *That the Britains were neither valiant in War, nor faithfull in Peace.*

4. The Romans having killed many of these perfidious Men, and condemned others to slavery, that the Land might not turn into a Wilderness, quitted again the Country that wanted both Wine and Oil, and returned into Italy, leaving a sufficient Power behind them, to be as whips for the Backs, and Yokes for the Necks of the Natives, to afflict and tire them not so much with a military Hand as with stripes, but if need were to thrust the Sword into the sides of the Nation; and however to make the Name of Roman Slavery stick to the Soil, so that it should be accounted not *Britannia*, but *Romania*, and what Brass, Silver or Gold it could get, should be stamped with *Cæsar's* Image. Having received the Gospel in the time of *Tiberius*, it cannot be denied but that this Nation afforded several glorious Martyrs, but when *Arianism* once came to spread abroad, readily received the Venome of every Heresie, being ever greedy of Novelty, and never stable in any thing. After this a vast wood of Tyrants (so he phraseth it) sprung up, and the Island retaining the Roman Name indeed, but little of the Manners or Laws, sent into *Gall Maximus*, accompanied with many Souldiers, but such as were tumultuous and over and above adorned with Imperial Ensigns which he never decently wore; not obtained legally, but as Tyrants were wont to compass them. This Man by craft rather than any Valour, having brought the Neighbouring Provinces into his Net, and by Perjury and Lies adjoined them to his wicked Dominion; stretched one of his Wings as far as *Spain*, and the other into *Italy*, and establishing the Throne of his most wicked Empire at *Triers*, raved with to great Madnes against his Masters, that of two lawfull Emperours, the one at Rome, and the other elsewhere, he bereaved of his Religious Life. But presently as he proceeded in such cursed and audacious practices, was he at *Aquila* smitten on the Head (he means slain) who had cast down the honoured Heads of the whole World, from their Sovereignty.

5. But by this means became Britain bereaved of her Souldiers and Military Men, as also of her Governours (how cruel soever) and in a manner all her Youth, which following the Tyrant into *Gall*, never more returned home, and

## Sect. 1.

Another Invasion by the Scots and Picts.

Upon which a Message is sent to Rome for aid.

A third Invasion.

A severe Famine follows.

thereby growing utterly unskillful in matters of War, first was invaded by two transmarine and cruel Nations, the *Scots* from the West, and the *Picts* from the North, under which the groned for many years. Being harassed with their Inroads, and the direful Effects thereof, the sent to *Rome* with Tears, requiring that Succours might be halted away to her Relief, vowing in case the Enemy were removed to remain constant in Fidelity to the Empire. A Legion unmindful of the former Mischiefs was ordered her, which having passed the Seas presently engaged the Rovers, and having made of them a great slaughter, quite drove them out of the Countrey, and thereby freed the Inhabitants from cruel Death, or Imminent Captivity. This done, it set them upon making a Wall overthwart the Island to defend them from these Inroads; but it being made by the Rabble without any Instruction, and not of Stone but of Earth, for the most part did them little or no Service. This Legion being returned with great Joy and Triumph, the same Rovers like so many greedy and ravenous Wolves came again upon their former Prey, no Shepherd appearing to protect the sheep, bore down and trampled on all in their way like standing Corn. Now again Messengers dispatched to *Rome* with their Clothes rent, and Earth upon their Heads, like as fearfull Chickens betake themselves to the Wings of their Daughters, beseeching them not to suffer their afflicted Countrey absolutely to perish, nor the *Roman* Name (now indeed merely a Name) to be lost, and extinguished in the Island. The *Romans* receiving as great an Impression from the Story of this Tragedy, as humane Nature was capable of, made almost haste to their Rescue, as an Eagle can do in the Air, an Horseman on the Earth, or the most expert Mariner can do upon the Sea; and like as a mighty Torrent falling from the Mountains, removes heaps of Sand which lye in its way, so did they sweep and cleanse the Countrey of these greedy Rovers.

6. They now plainly tell those, for whose deliverance they came, that they must not for the future, expect any such tedious and laborious Journeys from them; and that the *Roman* Legions, or such an Army, was not to be endangered by Sea and Land, for the driving away a sort of inconsiderable stragling Thieves. They bid them apply themselves to the study and practice of Arms, that by their own Valour and Conduct they may be able to protect their Countrey, their Wives, their Children, (and what should be more dear to them) their Lives and Liberty; to stretch out their hands, not naked and disarmed to be pinioned by the Enemy, but furnished with Swords, Spears, and such like Instruments of War ready to assault and slaughter these Nations, which could not be more valiant and powerful than themselves, except sloth and idleness made them so. They prescribed them the way how they should make another Wall, not according to the former Model, propounding courageous Exploits to a fearfull People, and a pattern to such as were not willing to write after it. Upon the Southern Shore where their own Ships lay at Anchor, and the Invasions of these Barbarous People were feared, they build watch Towers at a certain distance one from another, and bid farewell to *Britain*, as never more to return into the Island. They were no sooner gone, but Swarms of *Scots* and *Picts* again appeared upon the Shore, and like a Swarm of Caterpillars overpread the Face of the Earth; differing indeed in manners and Customs from each other, but both alike greedy to shed blood, having their Faces more covered with Hair than their secret Parts with Cloaths; and they confidently seized on the Northern part of the Island, as their own, from the utmost bounds thereof, as far as the Wall. Upon the Wall the *Britains* set a Guard, but fitter to Eat than to Fight, trembling at the sight of an Enemy, and pining away for the very thought of War. The Barbarians had certain Hooks, wherewith they would pull down to the ground, the unwary and helpless Defendant; who in so great a misfortune was in this respect happy, that he lived not to see those dreadful Calamities, which shortly after befell his Relations.

7. In short, the Guard e'er long quitted both the Wall and the Towns adjoining, and then followed the usual Flights and Dispersions of a poor sheepish and miserable People; for, to no other than such a preying of Wolves and wild Beasts, can this thing be compared; the miserable *Britains* running away, and when easily overtaken, being slaughtered like Sheep with Complaints, but no opposition. Those that remained alive, in another manner felt the dreadful effects of this Invasion, so severe a Famine following that havock which had been made of all things, that no food could be obtained, but what small pittance could be got by hunting. The miserable Remnant of the *British* Nation in this desolate condition, having cause to apprehend another Invasion, writes to *Agrius* a *Roman* Officer,

ficer after this manner. "To *Agrius* thrice Consul, the Groans of the *Britains*: Sect. 1.  
"then after a few Complaints: The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea  
"drives us back upon the Barbarians. Betwixt these two sorts of death, we  
"have either our Throats cut, or are drown'd. But no succour or relief could  
be obtained. In the mean time the Famine was so violent, that many gave up  
themselves to the cruel Enemy, purchasing a little bread with everlasting slavery;  
others more valiantly betook themselves to the Mountains, Caves and Woods, whence  
they made Salies upon the Rovers; and now first of all betaking themselves to  
Almighty God, and trusting in him, had for many years success against, and  
killed many of them as they ranged abroad for Booty. Now (saith our Au-  
thor) the boldness of the Enemy for a little time ceased, but not the wickedness  
of our People, it being ever, as it now is, the custom of the Nation to be weak  
to repel an Enemy (to blunt his Weapons as he expresseth it) but strong enough  
to support Civil Wars, and the heavy burthen of their sins; infirm to execute the  
effects of Peace and Truth, but able to practise wickedness and Lies.

8. The Ravenous *Scots* then return into *Ireland* for a short time. The *Picts*  
fixed themselves now in the Northern part of the Island, and there continued mak-  
ing some Incurfions now and then. During the Truce, the Scarr of the Famine  
was healed up, another and more virulent Scar secretly growing. For these Ho-  
stilities ceasing, to great a Plenty and abundance of all things followed in the  
Island as no past Age could parallel; and this was accompanied with every way  
proportionable as great Luxury. So greatly did this evil root sprout up and in-  
crease, that at this time it might be truly said, *Absolutely such Fornication is heard  
of, as is not reported amongst the Gentiles.* But not only this Vice, but all others  
that are incident to Humane Nature, and especially (which also at this time faith  
he undoes all) hatred of the truth, and them that speak it, lovers of Lies with  
those that forge them; the taking of good for evil, veneration of evil for good,  
the desire of darkness instead of the Sun, and the entertainment of *Satan* for an  
Angel of Light. Kings were anointed without any respect to God, but if there  
were any more cruel than their Fellows: And not long after they were murdered  
by those that anointed them, without any examination of the matter, and more  
cruel ones were chosen in their rooms. If any of them had but a shew of  
mildness or seemed the least inclinable to truth, the hatred and violence of all  
was upon him, as the Subverter of *Britain*. What was pleasing or displeasing to  
Almighty God, was all one and alike to them; but rather, what displeased him  
most pleased them: So that that Saying of the Prophet, may be well fitted to  
our Countrey, which was denounced against that ancient People. *Children ye  
have forsaken God without a Law, and provoked to anger the Holy one of Israel.*  
*Why should ye be smitten any more ye workers of Iniquity? All the Head is sick,  
and the Heart faint, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there is  
no health in it.* So they acted all things contrary to health, as if the Universal  
Physician afforded no Medicine to the World. And these things were not only  
practised by Secular men, but by the Lord's Flock and the Shepherds thereof,  
who ought to be an Example unto the People. They were debauched and grown  
fottish by Drunkenness, fell one upon another, with Contentious Brawlings, and  
Emulations, having no discretion to discern betwixt good and evil.

9. In the mean while it pleasing Almighty God to purge his Family, and by  
a Report only of Tribulation, to cure it of so michievous an Infection, a swift  
noise pierced all mens ears of the sudden approach of the ancient Enemy, who  
was now resolved to destroy all the Natives, and himself to plant and inhabit  
the whole Countrey. Yet for all this did they not amend their manners, but like  
to foolish Asses biting upon the Bit, Reason, left the right Path, and hurried  
on the broad steep way which leads to destruction. Therefore, as *Solomon* says,  
*When the Servant is not amended by words, the fool is whipped and doth not feel it;*  
for a dreadful Plague fell upon this foolish People, which in a short time, without  
any assistance of the Sword, did such execution upon them, that the living sufficed  
not to bury the dead. Neither yet were they ever the better, that the Saying of  
*Isaiah* the Prophet might in them also be fulfilled. *And God called them to sorrow  
and mourning, to baldness and the girdle of Sackcloth: but behold they fell to killing  
of Calves and slaying of Rams, to eat and drink, and they said, Let us eat and drink,  
for to morrow we shall die.* And why? the time approached wherein their In-  
iquities, as in old time those of the *Amorrhites* should be fulfilled. For they fell  
into a Consultation, what might be the best and most effectual course to prevent  
the so dismal and frequent Invasions of the forenamed Nations. Then were all  
the

All things  
tending to  
ruine.

Agrius ter  
Consul, geni-  
us Britanno-  
rum: Quod post  
pauca quae-  
rentes: Regem  
lunt Barbari  
ad Mariam  
ad Mare ad  
Barbaros, lacer  
has duo genera  
funerum cum  
ingulamur,  
et marginum.  
Hinc Agrius  
Beda vocat  
Agrius.

Isaiah 1. 5.

Isaiah 22. 12.



## Sect. I.

The Saxons  
are invited.Who Land  
here.But find fault  
with their  
Quarters.Making ha-  
voock of their  
Entertainers.

the Counsellours, together with the proud Tyrant himself, blinded, devising not a Protection, but the destruction of their Country; namely, that those most fierce and cursed Saxons, hatefull both to God and Man, should as Wolves into the Sheep-fold be sent for to repulse these Northern Nations. Than which nothing was ever more pernicious, nothing more bitter. Oh the grossest darkness of understanding! Oh the most desperate dulness and blockishness of mind! Those whom absent they dreaded more than death, these foolish Princes invited under the same Roof, giving as 'tis said foolish Council unto Pharaoh.

10. Then did a Kennel of Whelps in three Vessels, called by them *Cyale*, in our Language, faith he, Long Ships, rush out of the barbarous Lionesses Den, with a prosperous gale, and lucky Omen and Auguries, whereby it was foretold by a certain Prelate, *That for three hundred years they should possess that Countrey, unto which they directed their course; and for an hundred and twenty, or half that space of time, often waste and depopulate the same.* These having Landed, by Commandment of the unlucky Tyrant, first fixed their Claws upon the Eastern part of the Island, as with a design to protect it, but truly meaning to offer violence to it. And their forementioned Dam finding that her first Kennel prospered, sent after them a greater rabble of Dogs, which having passed over in Pinnaces, joyned with the former mis-begotten Crew. Thence it is that the Sprout of Iniquity, the Root of Bitterness, the Virulent Plantation, but suitable to our Deserts, springs up in our Soil, with their extravagant Buds and Branches. But these Barbarians being admitted into the Island as Souldiers, and such (so they ly'd) as were to undergo great hazards for their Entertainers, obtained what was necessary for their subsistence; which being allowed for a long time (as it's said) stopped the Dogs mouth. Howbeit afterward, they complain that they were but slenderly provided for, seeking for colourable Pretences to quarrel; and except their Allowances were increased, they threaten to break the Peace, and to hara's the whole Island. Without delay they back their Threats by suitable Actions. For the cause, viz. their wickedness still continuing the same, and being nourished, the fire by the hands of these Eastern Sacrilegious men, was kindled from Sea to Sea, and consuming the Neighbouring Cities and the Countries adjoining, ceased not, till having in a manner destroyed all the Land with a red and terrible flame, it touched upon the Western Ocean. In this violent Invasion, comparable to that which the *Assyrians* made into *Judah*, is also fulfilled in us according to the History, what the Prophet by way of Lamentation uttered: *They have burnt thy Sanctuary with fire, they have polluted in the Land the Tabernacle of thy Name.* And again: *O God the Gentiles are come into thine Heritage: they have defiled thine Holy Temple, &c.* Inasmuch that all the Colonies by the frequent battering of Engines, and all the Inhabitants together with the Prelates of the Church, the Priests and People, by Swords glittering on every side, and cracking Flames, were at once laid flat upon the ground; and which was a dreadful Spectacle to behold, in the midst of the Streets the stone-works of Turrets and high Walls, sacred Altars, and pieces of Carkasses, crusted over with a purple bloody Dye, as in one horrible Wine-press to be seen mixed together. Neither was there any Sepulchre other than the Ruines of Houses, and the Bellies of wild Beasts and Fowls; with Reverence be it spoken to Holy Souls, if many such were then found, which were carried by Angels up into Heaven. For that Vine which was formerly good, had so degenerated into bitterness, that according to what the Prophet says, Seldom could a Cluster, or Ear, be found after the Gatherers or Reapers.

11. Some miserable Remains being found upon the Mountains, were butchered by heaps: Others, almost spent with Fame, set up themselves to the Enemy in perpetual Slavery, if they were not presently killed, which was esteemed the greatest favour imaginable. Others went into Parts beyond the Sea, instead of the Mariners *Celestina* (or Song at their first setting out) howling and roaring under their spread Sails, this Ditty: *Thou hast given us, O Lord, as Sheep to be devoured, and hast scattered us among the Nations.* Others stayed in their own Countrey, but betook themselves to Mountains, to craggy places, and difficult of Access, to thick Woods, and the very Rocks of the Sea, ever trembling for fear, and having their safety in suspicion. A little time being past, when the cruel Rovers had retired, those that were left behind being strengthened by God, to whom now they fled from all places, as Bees to an Hive upon the approach of a Tempest, most heartily beseeching him, and sending up innumerable Prayers, that they might not utterly be destroyed from the face of the Earth; under

Item quoniam non effugerunt filii Regni contra nos. Propter membra vocis Gracia Pelegrini sunt Virgines aliquae per amantem Annas, sed menses ipsi. Ex quo lib de nocturnis in interpretari meret, i. e. Nidus fuit habitationis. Psal. 75. 7. Psal. 76. 1.

## Sect. I.

Conduct of *Ambrosius Aurelianus* a modest Man, who of the *Roman* Nation alone had survived this Calamity, having lost his Parents therein, who were clad with Purple, and whose Posterity has now degenerated from their Grandfathers goodness; under him they take Arms and Courage, provoke the Conquerors to Battle, and by the Assistance of Almighty God obtain the Victory. From this time forward, faith *Gildas*, now the Natives, and then their Enemies have the better, that this Nation might be tried, as formerly *Israel* was; whether it would love the Lord or not: even to the Year wherein Mount *Badon* was besieged, and the last defeat given to these Rogues, the forty fourth year (viz. of the Saxons their coming into Britain) as I well know, one Month thereof being past, the same as of mine own Nativity. But even now the Cities of our Countrey are not inhabited as formerly, but lye waste and desolate, for though External Wars are ceased, yet Civil ones are not. However the remembrance of the Desperate Condition of the Island, and of the unhop'd for Relief, stuck fast in the minds of those who were witnesses of both the Miracles: as in this respect Kings, publick and private Persons, Priests and Ecclesiastical Men, every one in his Order.

12. But they being dead, and a Generation succeeding which was ignorant of the condition of the time past, and had only felt the Serenity of the present, all Rules of Truth and Justice were so shaken and subverted, that I may not say no footsteps, but no marks at all of them remain in the late mentioned Orders, few, and they very few, excepted, who in respect of the loss of so great a Multitude which daily runs Headlong to Hell, their Number is so short, that in a manner our Venerable Mother the Church, cannot of those that lye in her Bosome, perceive which are her true and only Sons. After a few more words, he demands why that should be concealed, which not only is known, but upbraided by the Nations round about. Britain, faith he, hath Kings but Tyrants, Judges it hath but wicked ones; often fleecing and punishing, but Innocent Persons, vindicating and patronising, but guilty Persons and Thieves, having very many Wives, but these Whores and Adulteresses, often swearing but forswearing, vowing and then presently breaking, waging Wars, but those Civil and upon unjust Accounts, prosecuting Thieves mightily throughout the Countrey, and having some of them fitting at their own Tables, whom they not only love but reward, bestowing Alms liberally, but on the other side, heaping up vast Mountains of Wickedness, sitting in the Seat of Arbitrators, but seldom enquiring after any Rule of right Judgment, despising the Innocent and Humble, but as much as in their lies, and as opportunity serves, extolling to the Skies all bloody Persons, proud, guilty of paricide, unlawfull Company-keepers and Adulterers, the Enemies of God; and who with the very Name it self were to be destroyed and blotted out; keeping many bound in Prison, whom by their own Craft, they oppress and load with Chains, rather than for any thing, wherein they have really offended: continuing with Oaths amongst Altars, which within a little time they despise as dirty Stones.

13. After this, our Author comes to the Reprehension of particular Persons. First he accuses *Constantine* (whom he terms the Whelp of the *Pannonian Lions*) of killing, notwithstanding a corporal and most solemn Oath, some Boys of Royal extract betwixt the Altars. Of living many years before in Adultery, having put away his own Wife contrary to Christ's Command. He affirms that he had planted in his Heart, which was like an Earth unable to bear any good Fruit, a slip of Unbelief and Folly taken from *Sodom*, which being watered by many known, though Domestick Impieties, as to many poisonous showres brought forth to the offence of God, this impudent Crime of Paricide and Sacrilege, that still intangled in the Nets of his former Mischiefs, by his ancient faults he increases his present Enormities. \* After this, saying that he reprehends him as present whom he knows yet to be alive, by laying before him the Eternal Punishments which were to ensue, and the promises made for his Salvation, he earnestly exhorts him to the amendment of his sinful life. Now after him he takes *Aurelius Caninus* to task, whom he terms a Lion's Whelp, and demands of him whether he be not worse than the former; swallowed up in the Filth of Paricides, Fornications and Adulteries. Whether hating the Peace of his Countrey, as a Serpent or some deadly thing, by thirsting after Civil Wars and unjust Depredations, he do not shut against himself the Gates of Heavenly Peace and Refreshment. Seeing he was left alone as a withering Tree in the middle of a Field, he bids him remember the idle fancy of his Fathers and Brothers with their juvenile and immature Death. And bidding him not to think to live to the Age of *Me-  
chuselah*,

\* Ageam quia si praesentem arguo quem adhuc sperasse non nescio. f. 25. d. Quid in quoq; ut Propheta ait, Canine Leonine duxit? Alii Aurelium Constantium vocant, auctorem iustitiae nostrae Caninum ut hie quem docti vi- ti sequuntur. Ego eum de industria ita nomen misisse existimaverim, quod ingenio huius Me- Jayra Jatis quatuor.

As to particu-  
lar Persons.

Epl. 42. 12.

Sect. 1.

*thufalah*, by the same Arguments, as formerly excites him to a speedy Repentance. The next he undertakes is *Portiporius*, whom he compares to a spotted Leopard, for the Multiplicity of his Crimes and his gray Hairs, being from the top to the bottom, defiled with Paricide and Adulteries, the Son not of a good King, as of *Hezekiah* was *Manaffes*: He accuses him for putting away his own Wife, and burthening his Conscience with defilement of an impudent Daughter, concluding with the like Exhortation to amendment. Then falls he upon *Cunegafus*, whose Name in the Roman Language he faith importeth a *Yellow Butcher*, terming him a Bear, the Contemner or Opposer of God, who had wallowed in the Dregs of Wickedness from his very youth. He demands why he creates so much trouble to his Countrymen by his Civil diffentions, and to God Almighty by his infinite Crimes? why he had driven away his own Wife, and taken her wicked Cousin-German to his Bed, which had promised perpetual Chastity unto God. Then by proposing the like Terrors and Allurements, he endeavours to bring him to a better life.

14. But most pains he takes with *Maglocunus* the last in the Catalogue, but neither the last nor the least in Crimes, whom he calls by the Title of the Dragon of the Island, terms the Suppressour of many Tyrants, but the first in Mischief, greater than many both in Power and Malice, free in giving but more profuse in Sin, in Arms powerful, but more valiant in such attempts as destroy the Soul, as one who fortitiously wallows in the Lake of his old Wickedness, as drunk with Wine pressed out of the Sodomitical Grape. He demands of him, why he heaps such loads of Sins as so many high Mountains upon his Royal shoulders: and why he doth not carry himself better than others, nay why he behaves himself worse than others towards that King of all Kings, who had made him higher than all other Captains of Britain, as well in respect of his Kingdom as in Stature, and the Lineaments of his Body? He upbraids him for having by Fire and Sword destroyed the King his Uncle with most valiant Soldiers, the Countenances of whom seemed not unlike to those of the Whelps of Lions: but especially for devoting himself to a religious Course of Life, after his Violence had succeeded, and breaking those Oaths which he had taken to that purpose; and then returning as the Dog to his Vomit, to treat a Prosecution of vicious Courses as ever. He instances in his despising his own Wife, and loving the Wife of his Brother's Son, and the double Paricide which thereupon followed, and at last the Murder also of her by whose Suggestions his Wife and her own Husband had been made away. He farther upbraids him with being instructed by an excellent Master, and having produced many Threatnings to him out of Scripture, he then leaves off the Prosecution of the History of his Times, and to deter his Countrymen, as well those of the Laity as his own Profession, he proceeds in the Quotation of Scriptures full of Threats, and applies them to his Purpose. His *Latin* is Barbarous, and his Style vehement, and troublefomely Luxuriant, but such as discovers great Wit, and a mind full of Zeal both for his God, and for his Country.

15. His Zeal was no whit extravagant, but adequate to the mischief impending, viz. the destruction of his Country, and founded not only on pious, but political reasons; for Vice, as we could be infinite in shewing, has been the forerunner of the Ruine, both of States, Kingdoms and Families. But to come to our business, and to enlarge upon this Text of *Gildas*: The Romans having taken their farewell of Britain, the Natives were, we see, utterly at a loss, not knowing how to behave themselves, wanting both heads and hearts for the withstanding so great a Storm as fell upon them: The Country having been drained of all its Inhabitants, which had either Skill or Courage. Their heavy case required able and faithful Leaders; glad they were to accept of any that would undertake their Patronage, and to purchase their Conduct and Protection at what rate soever. Hereat it seems many took occasion to set up for themselves, and instead of Legitimate Princes and Fathers of their Country, their Country abounded with Tyrants, with Thieves and Robbers which owned the Title, but disowned the Duty of Rulers, were ravenous after the reward, but utterly careless of the work of Governours; Shepherds who spent all their time in Fleecing, never busied themselves about feeding or protecting the Flock farther than their own mere Interests carried them, to have some remaining over which they might domineer and tyrannize. That they had not one Monarch, but several Kings, appears sufficiently both from the story of those times whereof we now write, and of those which followed, and that this custome began near as soon as the Romans had quitted them, is very probable, when like a sick man they were glad

*Red monita  
tibi profecti  
tunc deserta,  
cum laboribus  
procreantem  
pend totius  
Britannie  
magnum e-  
legitorem. Ce-  
teris signis re-  
tibi quod a So-  
lomonie memo-  
rie ecclesia.  
Quod qui ex-  
citavit dormien-  
tem de gravi  
sonno, Ite qui  
excitavit Paulo  
Episcopum,  
Eccl. p. 53.*

Vortigern  
chosen King of  
the Britains.

His Character.

He calls a  
Council.

Who agree to  
require aid of  
the Saxons.

Accordingly  
Ambassadors  
are sent.

to shift from one side, and from one thing to another, restless, by reason of that misery which still pressed upon them. At length, harassed and tired out with the Insolencies and Cruelties of many Tyrants; some of them they opposed, others they flew; but still finding that seldom came the better, they thought it best to have one Supreme to curb and check, if need were, the other in their Extravagancies. The Issue of this Resolution was, that one *Vortigern* was chosen King, whom we can grant to *Polydore Virgil* to have been most eminent amongst them, for Authority and Nobility, but scarcely for Vertue; not to alledge any thing against his Valour.

16. Otherwise the Complaints of *Gildas* of the corruption of these times, must be interpreted rather too scant and narrow; for by the greater number of creditable Authors, he is deciphered to have been a proud and unfortunate Tyrant; and yet was he well enough beloved by the People, because his vitious Inclination suited so well with theirs. In War he was neither skilfull, nor in Council prudent, but as *Gildas* deciphers others, Covetous and Luxurious, as insatiable in Lust, as prone to all other Villanies; in Gluttony and Riot he wasted the publick Revenues, and no otherwise endeavoured to propulse common impendent dangers, than by an ungrounded confidence and supine security. Yet the frequent Inroads of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and the dreadful effects thereof, awakened the People, and the Clamours of the Multitude him, and caused him at length to summon a great Council, to consult how some better course might be taken, for prevention of these Northern Mischiefs. They had had all along great thoughts of their own Valour and Abilities (as all People have which are delisted to a Conquest) but the still continued smart was so great, which they received from so many reiterated blows, that it made them, though against their wills, feel their weakness and inability, to repell their Enemies. By general consent therefore it was resolved to call in some foreign Power to their relief, and hire an Army, which should repell these Rovers with such signal marks of their Valour, that they should not dare any more to look upon those grounds which contained the Carcasses of their so many slain Relations. The name of the *Saxons* was at this time very great, by reason of their several Exploits both at Sea and Land, their numerous Depredations and Invasions, they had made into most Countreys lying toward the Sea. It was resolved to invite some of them over. They thought them poor, and wanting Habitation. They imagined they would be glad of an Employment, to take off their superfluous numbers, and get them a Livelihood abroad. They concluded they would be satisfied with reasonable pay, their necessities were so great. At the most they believed they would take it as a mighty favour to have some share of the most barren and inconsiderable part of that Country to inhabit, which by their toil and the expence of their blood, they should protect.

17. Ambassadors are accordingly sent, and those of the most eminent of the Nation, with great Rewards. But this was but to desire their aid and assistance, over and above a strict League and Alliance with them. Though our *Britains* were poor-spirited enough, yet not so slavish and base minded as to offer them subjection, and the Dominion of themselves and their Country, can we believe, as the *Saxon* Authors for honour of their own Nation have recorded. One of them is so confident as to tell us the very Harangue the Ambassadors used, which was this: *Worthy Saxons, the distressed Britains tired out, and overpowered by a perpetual invading Enemy, and hearing the fame of your valour, have sent us hither to desire your aid. Their Country is both fertile and spacious, which they have offered us to submit to your Commands. Heretofore we lived with freedom under the obedience and protection of the Roman Empire. Next to the Romans we knew none more worthy than your selves, and therefore now implore your prowess for our relief. Let us not still be subject to our present Enemies. To any thing you shall think fit to impose we shall submit. Whatever the Ambassadors said or offered, the Saxons were very well pleased with the message, as being courted to that which they themselves had infinitely desired, and resolving not to be guilty of any miscarriage by their own delay, first return an obliging answer to the Ambassadors, as that the *Britains* might rest upon their friendship and fidelity, as such who would stand by them no less in their adverse than prosperous Estate. The Ambassadors return very joyfull, as expecting thanks for the success of their errand, and they are not deceived in their expectation, those that sent them now esteeming themselves made for ever.*

Sect. 1.

Plures judica-  
bans id decus  
deferendum  
Vortigero,

quod esset vir  
inter viros ac-  
tioritate, no-  
bilitate, vir-  
tute summus.  
Angl. Hist. lib. 5.

Nec manu  
promptus nec  
confilio bonus,  
tunc ad illuc-  
bras carnis  
promis omni-  
umque fere  
vicio comman-  
cipium: quip-  
pe quos solitu-  
tine aversitas  
insinaret  
Ipsarum, Eccl.  
Malinbar. de  
gestis Regum  
Angl. lib. 1.

Wittichind.  
Gest. Saxon.  
Lib. 1.

Germaniaudi-  
entes rem mit-  
te vobis peti-  
tam a se ultra  
expulsari,  
Eccl. Malin.  
ubi supra

Sect. 1.

Hengist and  
Horsa with  
the Saxons  
arrive.And are fe-  
sted in the life  
of Thanet.Another Com-  
pany follow.Rowen mar-  
ried to Vor-  
tign.

A third arrive

The Saxons  
and Britains  
quarrell.

18. It appears from what we have cited out of *Gildas*, that the *Pagan Saxons* in their way, were so Religious as to consult their Gods about the success of this expedition, who answered, that the Land to which they directed their course, they should hold for three hundred years, and half so much time spend in content and bickering with that Nation. From the three several forts of People called *Saxons, Angli and Jutes*, in three long Ships, by them called *Kynles*, were sent a select Company, not so much considerable for number, and the courage and dexterity of the Men, under conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist and Horsa*, of choicest Nobility amongst them, as descended in the fourth degree from *Woden*, from whose Loy most of these barbarous Nations derived the several Pedegrees of their Kings, and whom, for the renown of his Acts, they made their God, sacrilegiously, as our Author observes, dedicating to his memory the fourth day of the week, as the sixth to the worship of his Wife *Frea*. But they came not so willingly, but they were as joyfully received, the People running out to meet them, and offering them all acts of kindness and hospitality, and the King giving them his hearty thanks for the great pains and peril they had been pleased to undergoe for the sake of him and his Subjects. After some small conference and faith given and received on both sides, the Isle of *Thanet* is assigned them for their support, they engaging indefatigably to use their endeavours for protection of that Land, the Inhabitants whereof, as strictly engaged on the other side to give them ample rewards for their labours; within a little time they have full occasion to try their Metal. The *Scots* make their usual Inroads without any apprehension of more resistance than the pitifull *Britains* were wont to make. But they find a fresh Gamester engaged, with whom, after some tryal made, they think it not fit to meddle, but retreat back to their receptacles, and are very unwilling afterwards to grapple with him.

19. The *Saxons* (or *Angles*) were as much elevated with their success, as the *Scots* were discouraged at their unusual disappointments, and *Hengist*, a Man of excellent Wit, as well as Valour, perceiving with whom he had to deal, under other pretences, sends back some of his Companions to acquaint his Countreymen with the beauty and fertility of the Island, and the cowardice and forthness of the Inhabitants, as well King as People, inviting them to make themselves Masters of so good a fortune as now offered it self unto them. The Messengers easily persuaded such a Company to follow them as filled seventeen Vessels, and together with their Countreymen already landed, would make up a formidable Army. And along with them they brought the Daughter of *Hengist* (by the *Britains* called *Rowen*) for beauty a miracle of Nature, and by it as it seemed, as well as by her Father designed, as a spectacle for Men to gaze on, and therewith to be enamoured. They are invited to a Feast, and *Hengist* appoints her to wait at the Cupboard to Captivate with her looks the affections of the *British* King. His device as speedily takes as executed. For *Vortigern* being exceedingly given to Women by his own Inclination, was immediately wounded by the Darts which proceeded from her Eyes, and could think of nothing else, could no way be cured but by enjoying her, inasmuch, that out of hand he must be his Wife. *Hengist* pretends an unwillingness, as loath the King should dishonour himself by so unequal a Match, and at length seems unwillingly willing, being bought off by a gift of all the Countrey of *Kent*, (formerly Governed laudably by one *Gorengus*) which munificence of *Vortigern* he was not able to withstand. The Barbarian perceiving now he had got such hold of him that he might be bold, so far as to abuse his Impudence, as to persuade him to send over for *Oda and Ebissa*, his own and his Brothers Son (some say his Brother himself) that as he took upon him the Protection of the Eastern, so they might defend the Northern Parts from the violence of the *Scots*. By the King's leave then with forty Vessels they Coasted about *Britain*, and coming to the *Orades*, suppressed both the *Pills* and *Scots*, and in that part of the Island, which afterwards was called *Northumberland*, seated themselves, though without any Title or Name of Regality till the time of *Ida*, from whom the Kings of *Northumberland* descended. But this was not till long after.

20. Now the *Saxons* being numerous, and strong enough to accomplish what they had designed, take occasion to pick a quarrel. They complain they are much Arrair in Pay, and when this occasion is removed, after a little pause, they find that it is too little, not at all answering the pains and perils they undergoe, threatening War, and a seizure of the Land it self, except their allowance were augmented. *Guortimer* the Son of *Vortigern*, a young Man of far greater Sense and Spirit than his Father, could not any longer dissemble his Indignation, to see

Cire, al Co  
die, mudo  
fret. Kella.Customs  
or common  
Regi denis,  
Respectus  
que accipit  
mullatione  
lucum gl. d  
sillo die in  
Gadrius  
Maurandis  
sque in fe  
erum mudi  
confectura  
in Bractea  
quod in co  
suetu po  
re ad an  
dici dicit  
belli glia  
pse glia  
pse glia  
Dine dicit  
Gildas, R  
New. MCustoms  
or common  
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Respectus  
que accipit  
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dici dicit  
belli glia  
pse glia  
pse glia  
Dine dicit  
Gildas, R  
New. M

himself and his Countreymen so imposed on, and fully resolving to attempt the expulsion of these Strangers, broke his design to his Father, and obtained his consent for the putting of it in execution, and high time it was to doe it. For the *Saxons*, as we are informed by *Gildas*, making a League with the *Pills* and *Scots*, and issuing out of *Kent*, without any considerable resistance, wasted the whole Land in a manner as far as the Western Sea, making such havoc of all things, that Towns and Castles were overturned, all forts of People slain by heaps, and all places Sacred polluted and demolished. Such as escaped the Sword, either betook themselves to the Mountains, whither the same fate shortly after pursued them, or submitted to slavery worse than death it self, or fled to thick Woods and Rocks of the Sea; or else fled over the Sea into other Countries. *Guortimer* as strenuously as he could opposed himself; and the Monk of *Malmesbury* tells us, that after the *Saxons* had been in *Britain* seven years, the League was broken, and for twenty years Hostility continued amongst them, in which space many Skirmishes, or slight Engagements happened, but four set Battels, wherein both sides engaged with their utmost force. The *British* Writers here tell us, that *Vortimer* three times and besieged the *Saxons* in the Isle of *Thanet*; and when by reason of fresh supplies sent from *Saxony*, they broke through and elaped this danger; fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are specified by place and Circumstance. The first on the River *Darent*, the second at *Episford*, wherein *Horsa*, the Brother of *Hengist*, fell together with *Katigis*, the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third was in a Field by *Stonar*, called then in Latin, *Lapis Tituli*; where he beat them into their Ships with such Execution and Confirmation, that they ventured no more to Land for the full space of five years.

21. This might seem altogether incredible, but that *Gildas* tells us how, after so great havoc and destruction made by them, they retired, which others interpret of returning home, notwithstanding the seeming easiness of the Conquest. In this five years space they will have *Guortimer* to have died, who desired he might be buried in the Port of *Stonar*, periwaded that the secret virtue of his Bones would keep off the *Saxons*, from ever landing in that place, but they neglecting his Commands, buried him at *Lincoln*. The *Saxon* Annals relate these matters otherwise. As that in the first Engagement it was a drawn Battel in a place called *Eglefshrip*, where on one side fell *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist* (from whence *Horse* the place of his Sepulture took name) and on the other side *Katigis* the second Son of the King. In the rest, *Saxons* or *Angles* had the better, and the *British* were forced to come to Terms; *Guortimer* their Captain now dead, who being of a different humour from his Father's easiness, would have excellently gone, if Almighty God had so pleased; but he being gone, the Affairs of his Countreymen went quite down the wind. After the death of *Horsa*, *Hengist* his Brother took the Royal Title upon him in *Kent*, in which year *Matthew of Westminister* writes; that thrice he fought against the *Britains*, but not able to resist the valour of *Vortimer*, fled into *Thanet*, where he was daily vexed at Sea; and at length the *Saxons* left their Wives and Children behind them, and returned into *Germany*. And there they staid, according to what intelligence that Author had, till such time as they heard of the death of *Guortimer*, who was poisoned by procurement of *Rowen* his Father's Wife. With four thousand men *Hengist* returned into *Britain*, and with so great an Army so alarmed *Vortigern* and his Nobles, that they consulted how to oppose them, which being made known to *Hengist* by his Daughter, he sent to tell the King that he had no design against any person whatsoever, *Vortimer* excepted; who being now removed out of the way, he was ready to submit himself and all his men to his pleasure, to keep as many as he thought fit, and send back the rest into their Countrey. There are others that tell us how two years after the first Fight, wherein *Horsa* was slain in a Battel at *Cremford*, *Hengist*, and *Esce* his Son slew of the *Britains* four chief Commanders, and as many thousand men; the rest being totally routed and flying to *London*. That eight years after this, he renewed the War, and in a Battel at a place called *Wippedes-fleet*, slew twelve other Princes, and lost *Wipped* the *Saxon* Count, who he gave them such a Defeat, that they left Camp and Baggage, and all behind them.

22. So different are Writers in their Relations of what passed in these obscure times; but from all laid together it should appear, that for a time the Invaders were repulsed and forced to retreat, if not home into *Germany*, to some remote place of shelter and security; for the Battels were fought in *Kent* it self, and only

Sect. 1.

Nim.

Darentum  
non Eboraense  
villid hic in-  
videndum,  
appellat Jani  
cognomen.Annal. Saxo-  
nicis Perbor-  
nensis Re-  
gibus, dicit  
Eglefshrip,  
hodie Ailef-  
ford prope quem  
Guortimer ut  
quidam me-  
morie posu-  
erunt monu-  
mentum Kith  
Cuthpold  
vulgo appella-  
tum: neque  
Horsed pro-  
cul distans  
quod ab Horsa  
acceptum nomen.Terzio Coc-  
qui n. quidam  
volunt Horsa  
fuisse fuisse, sed  
Nimiepisford  
Henrico Hun-  
tindunensi  
Aethelred vel  
Elsie est di-  
ctum in Ori-  
entibus Cam-  
partibus fuisse,  
quod si quis  
dum tale locum  
existeret in  
quibus ab sua  
usque tempora  
Horsam voca-  
tum in bello à  
Britannis mo-  
numentum ha-  
buisset fuisse  
non videtur  
Bede Confes-  
sus.

only there, but upon the Sea, as the word *Wippeds-foet* intimates to us. But *Hengist* being landed, invites *Portigern* his Son-in-Law to a Feast, together with three hundred of his Nobles; some say the meeting was appointed for a Treaty, to order their Affairs. To be sure, he so ordered his matters, that having a number of his own men, sufficient to overpower these *Britains*, whom he knew to be the chief of those that could perform any thing either in Council or War against the *Saxon* Interest; he first caused them to raise a Quarrel, and then when they were warm with Wine, and more able to brawl than to defend themselves, the Watch-word was given, *Nemet Coar Scanes*, upon which they drew their Scimiters, and murdered all their three hundred Guests in the place. They had another kind of design upon *Portigern*, knowing he would easily be drawn to what they would have him. He was only bound and kept in custody, till for his Ranfome he assigned them three Provinces, which were afterward called *Essex*, *Suffex*, and *Middlesex*. After this, some Authours tell us, that *Portigern* returned to his solitary kind of Life in that Countrey, which from him was called *Gworbirgmauri*, and thence to a Castle of his own building in those parts, now called *North-Wales*, near to the River *Tiebi*; where living obscurely among his Wives, he was, as it is storied, burnt by fire from Heaven, at whose Prayer, whether *German* or *Aurelius Ambrosius*, it's not material to enquire. For the Reader must know that, according to the same Writers, he having committed Incest formerly with his own Daughter, was censured in a Synod, consisting both of Lay and Ecclesiastical Persons, and partly for that Reason, partly for fear of the *Saxons*, by advice of his Nobility, retired into that Countrey, now called *Wales*; where he built him a strong Castle (in *Radnorshire*) by advice of a young Prophet, by some called *Ambrosius*, and by others *Merlin*. His Son undertook the Government, and in his Absence reigned with great success. After his Death *Portigern*, either by the power of his own Faction, or by universal consent re-assumed the Government, which *Hengist* understanding, was encouraged to return and practise upon his Sottishness and Credulity, with that success as we have now related.

23. The *Britains* having lost the flower of their Nation in the Massacre, were much startled at it to such a measure, as they began to think of their wicked Courses, and whither they were now bringing them, and began to be more sober, and to betake themselves to Divine Affluence. They were encouraged by some other Retreat of the *Saxons*, upon what occasion it's uncertain, and by the great hopes conceived of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who being descended of *Roman* Ancestours, but such as had born Regal Dignity in the Island, and lost their lives against the *Pills* and *Scots*, had with their applause succeeded *Portigern*; who, if credit may be given to some Authours, as much out of fear of him and the *Romans*, as of the *Pills* and *Scots* themselves, first called in the *Saxons*. Under Conduct of this *Aurelius Ambrosius*, or *Ambrosius Aurelianus* (as *Beda* calls him) they took courage, and provoking their Enemies to Battle had the better of them. He is said (by the Monk of *Malmesbury*) to have made much use in his Wars of one *Arthur*, and what *Arthur* should this be, but him whom others make the Son of *Pendragon* his Brother. But so various and uncertain are the Reports of our *British* and *Saxon* Authours, that although much be written, yet very little of certainty have we either of the one or the other. As for *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, *Ninus*, as we lately hinted about *Portigern*, will have him to have been famous, before the coming of the *Saxons*; according to which Assertion *Siebert* begins his Reign with their coming into the Island, at the year of our Lord 446; and talks of his Reigning and Fighting against them, for full five and forty years, contrary to the Evidence of all History. Yet do some others tell us such Stories as yet farther call back his Reign into the 430 year of our Lord, which *Henry* of *Huntingdon* brings forward again to the year assigned by *Siebert*, wherein he writes, that at a place called *Arilestreu*, he led one Wing of the Battle against the *Saxons*, and *Gortimer* and *Catigern*, the Sons of *Portigern*, the two others. And this he accounts the seventh year after their coming into the Island. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* writes, that he burnt *Portigern*, who after the death of his Son *Portimer* had reassumed the Government; which *Matthew Florilegus* notes to have happened in the year 496, ending the Reign of *Aurelianus*, and his Life together, in the year 497. *Heilpr Boethius* the *Scotch* Writer, begins his Reign at 498, which he writes to have continued almost seven years. But his Countreyman *Buchanan* agrees with the *Welsh David Powel* in assigning 19 years to his Government, which he will have begun in the year 481, and ended July in 500.

24. But concerning *Ambrosius*, none is more out of the way than *Baronius* the Cardinal, who imagined, and that for many Reasons, he tells us, that he lived in Exile under *Odoacer* the King of the *Heruli* in *Italy*; whereas, not one tolerable shew of reason can be assigned, more than his very Name, of which there were several besides this our *Britain*, who (he says) took the Purple, but not the Name of Emperor upon him, which he himself first attempted, but not his Parents, as *Beda* hath it, who writes, that these things happened in the Reign of *Zeno* the Emperor. The Cardinal as to his matter was also imposed on by the false Copy of *Gildas*, published by *Polydore Virgil*, wherein the Singular number is pend instead of the Plural, which fault crept also into that Copy of *Beda's* Chronicle, which *Paulus Diaconus* used; and the error became so infective, that *Onuphrius Panninius* and *Oblivius de Strada* in their Catalogues of the *Roman* Emperours, talk of the Emperor *Caesar Ambrosius Aurelianus*, *Pius Felix*, *Augustus*, as who was saluted Emperor in *Britain* in the year 475, the 1227 of the City, and slain not long after. So much are we in the dark as to *Ambrosius*, whose Commendations yet we are told that *Gildas* an excellent Historian of the *Britains* wrote, above other Kings; nay, in an elegant style faithfully transmitted his Acts to Posterity. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* indeed writes, that he had a Book which *Gildas* the Authour intitled, concerning the Victory of *Aurelius Ambrosius*. It's to be feared the Title belied *Gildas*, but whatever it was, from it and a *British* Copy brought out of *Armenia*, and given him by *Walter* the Archdeacon of *Oxford*, *Geoffrey* tells a long Story of this matter, whereof learned *Jesher* thus gives us the Summ.

25. *Portigern* being dead, the *Saxons* betook themselves to the Parts beyond *Hamber*, where they were no sooner arrived, but *Ambrosius* was at their heels. In his passage he was much affected to behold the Countries so desolate, but especially at the sight of so many Churches laid level with the Earth, which he promised should be rebuilt if he got the better. *Hengist* brought into the field against him, about two hundred thousand Armed men, at a place called *Morsibeli*, but engaging in Battle was worsted, and he himself, near to the City of *Conan*, by the *Britains* called *Cair-Conan* and *Cuningburg* by the *English*, was taken Prisoner by *Eldole* the Duke of *Claudioester*. The City being also afterward taken, and they coming to consider what should be done with *Hengist*, *Eldole* the Bishop of *Claudioester*, the Brother of *Eldole*, a man of great Prudence and Religion, harangued to this effect. *Though all should agree to set him at liberty, I myself would cut him in pieces. For I would imitate the Example of the Prophet Samuel, who having in his power Agag the King of Amaleck, bowed him in pieces, saying: As thou hast made Mothers Childless, so will I make thy Mother this day Childless among Women. Doe ye in like manner to Hengist, who is another Agag:* Which said, *Eldole* led *Hengist* out of the City and slew him. This *Marlen*, the Flowergatherer, writes to have happened in the 489 year our Lord, adding, that to *Hengist* succeeded his Son *Osric* in the Kingdom of *Kent*, being surnamed *Ase*, from whom all the Kings of *Kent* to this day are called *Ase-kynges*. He differs but one year in his Account from *Ethelwerd* and the *Saxon* Annalists, who making no mention at all of the death of *Hengist*, neither of the many Victories which the *Britains* obtained over the *Saxons*, write that *Ase* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Kent* the year preceding.

26. *Geoffrey* proceeds, and tells us that *Ambrose* besieged *Osta* the Son of *Hengist*, who had shut up himself in *Tork*, and *Eusa* his Kinsman, who had done the like in the City *Alclud* or *Dunbritton*; and constraining them to yield themselves, granted them the Countrey lying near to *Scotland*. For all his Intent was, how to restore his Kingdom to its ancient condition, his study how to reform the Churches, renew the vigour and force of the Laws, establish Peace and the course of Justice. Thence therefore he went to *Gwinton*, to repair it as other places; which when he had performed, by the advice of *Eldade* the Bishop, he proceeded to the Monastery near *Cair Caradoc*, now called *Saleserie*, where lay the Consuls and Princes, whom wicked *Hengist* had betrayed. There in the Mount of *Ambrius* (the Founder in old time as is reported) was a Monastery of three hundred Friars. By others this is called the Mount of *Ambrose*, and said to be that place, now known by the Name of *Stakenges*, where the prodigious Piles of Stones were not, as *Polydore* affirms, raised by *Ambrose* in memory of these Princes, as is vulgarly believed, but by the *Britains* in memory of *Ambrose* himself, who at this place ended his life in Battle. He tells us this Monument is to be seen in the Diocese of *Salisbury* near to a Village called *Amfbery*, or rather *Ambfbery*, the Name

Portigern's  
Companions  
murdered by  
Hengist and  
his Saxons.

Essex, Suffex  
and Middle-  
sex, assigned  
to the Saxons.

Nim.

Malmesh. qui  
prius.

Overthrows  
Hengist in  
Battle.

Who is slain.

489

And succeeded  
by his Son  
Osric in the  
Kingdom of  
Kent.

Hist. lib. 1.  
c. 16.

Jaume-Tineo  
the spin-  
er's  
Dobry  
and Cyprian  
in Poem.  
Eccle. Briton.  
p. 447.

Hist. Scot.  
lib. 5. p. 9.  
in Scot. lib.  
in Reg. 45.  
in Briton. Reg.  
gun Cate. 3.  
24. But

Sec. 1.  
ad Ann. 476.  
477.

Pro induci:  
inductus legi-  
tur.

In Scoticus  
nico apud Cy-  
frinm, p. 449.  
lib. 4. c. ult.

Lib. 8. C. 3. a.

Hodis Cenif-  
burgh in agro  
Eboracensi, ad  
Dunelm vel  
Dunelm fere-  
tur.

Papal Virgil.  
Anglic. Hist.  
lib. 3.





Sect. 1.

*Pendragon* now lay sick, and therefore sent this Man whom he calls *Nathaniel* against the *Saxons*, who slew him and fifteen thousand of his *Britains*. But forasmuch as all the *Saxon* Annals unanimously call him a King, and do both *Eitelwald* and *Florentius Wigornensis*, and the Archdeacon faith he was the greatest King of the *Britains*; Learned *Usher* conjectures, that his Name might indeed be *Natanleod*, and that in respect of the great things achieved by him, he might have the Surname of *Uther*, viz. Admirable or Horrible, for so *Uther* signifies, *Mab Uther* being an horrible Son in the *British* Language, and *Arthur* an horrible Bear, or an Iron Mall wherewith the Jaws of Lions are broken. Could we fix upon this the Chronology of these obscure times might be made much clearer, and the beginning of *Arthur* his Son, that King of whom Writers so much talk, and so much differ.

Note Nino  
adjecta de  
Arthur, vide  
Eulogium in  
Primordis,  
p. p. 466, de  
Uz Graecis  
Apoc. ita  
Britanni  
dicit, Uxum  
notat.

30. Though *Cerdic*, (or *Certick*) obtained the Victory, yet with so much loss and danger, that finding still some difficulties, he was glad to admit of fresh Supplies. Six years after the Battle, came two of his Nephews *Stuf* and *Witgar* with three Ships, and landed at *Cerdic'sford*, where they found the *Britains* in a posture of warmly receiving them. For if *Henry of Huntingdon* be to be credited, the Captains had marshalled their men according to the exact Laws of War. When they marched with Advice and Caution, some on the Mountains, and others on the Vallies; as soon as the Sun arose and shone upon their gilded Shields, the very Mountains therewith glistered, and the Air it self became enlightened and resplendent, wherewith the *Saxons* were exceedingly affrighted. Yet drawing near to Battle with the two resolute Armies came to joyn, the valour of the *Britains*, became inferior, because (as our Writer takes upon him to judge) God had despised them, and the Victory was evident on the part of the *Saxons*, who hereby obtained places not a few, and the Prowels of *Certic* became terrible throughout the Country. These that came over still prospering in this manner, not a man there was in *Germany* who was either touch'd with a sense of honour, or not well satisfied with his present fortune, but must over into *Britain*, and accept of better, which so easily offered it self. Therefore not long after the War, whereof we write, many more flocked into the Island, and as *Huntingdon* tells us, seized both upon *Eastangle* and *Merce*, though they continued some time in confusion, not reduced under obedience of their respective Kings. For many Noble men there were who scrambled amongst themselves, and in great haste and Emulation snatched and seized on such Regions as they could. Hence innumerable Contentions and Battels followed against one another for such and such Territories, of which we are ignorant, as well as of the Names of these Cavaliers, so numerous they were.

More Saxons  
still came over  
hither.

31. But for all their success, it's certain they found great opposition, and were not feldom (probably oftner) defeated than the *Britains*, who were only tired out and overpowered by their constant swarming into the Island, there being no end of their Numbers; however the *Saxon* Writers conceal all that makes not for the enhancing of the Valour and Victories of their Ancestours. Great pity it is that, as is usual in great Desolations, the Ruines of *Britain* buried these Monuments in the Rubbish, which should have transmitted the noble Acts of its Captains to Posterity, if any such Monuments there were, if the prospect of Death and Banishment, of the loss of all that was near and dear unto them, did not divert their thoughts, and their deplorable condition afford them no other Ink than Tears, wherewith to describe these valiant Deeds, which how daring and gallant soever, were rendered at length useless and ineffectual, by the Crowds of a perpetual swarming Multitude. *Gildas* was no way partial for his Countrymen, to pay any great matters of their Valour, yet from that little he mentions of *Ambrose*, and of the Victory they obtained at *Mount Badon*, as also of the vicissitude of success betwixt the Nations, sufficiently evidence they had Commanders sometimes who gave sufficient proof of their Courage and good Abilities. Though as to the mentioning of any of these Captains, we are destitute of Authentick Writers (*Gildas* excepted) yet Fame, and the Report of some Authours (but such as wrote several hundreds of years after his supposed Reign) make a loud noise with the Name of *Arthur* the Son of *Uther Pendragon*, as *Geoffrey of Monmouth* is pleased to surname him.

To Uther Pen-  
dragon suc-  
ceeded Arthur.

32. Concerning the time of this *Arthur*, (suppose his Person to have been) there is more variety of Opinions than concerning that of *Ambrose*, so formerly related. (a) One placeth the beginning of his Reign, so high as to have it flourish in the year 458. (b) Another bringeth it down nine years, and placeth it at the

(a) Mox  
Elandi Annal  
l. 1.

467 year of our Lord, the eleventh of the Emperour *Leo*, and the last of *Hi-*  
lary the Roman Bishop. (b) Some say he flourished in the Reign of *Zeno* the  
Succellour of *Leo*, and another will have him but to have been born in the twelfth  
485 of this Emperour, which fell into the year 485. (b) All these were Foreign-  
ers. Of our own Writers, *William* (c) the Monk of *Malmesbury*, *Geoffrey* (d)  
of *Monmouth*, *Matthew* (e) of *Westminster*, and the Authour of (f) *Eulogium*  
would have him made King at fifteen years of Age; whereas (g) *Ralph of Cleefer*,  
*John* (h) of *Timmuth*, and *George* (i) *Buchanan* the *Scottishman*, defers this till his  
eighteenth, *Ralph of Baldec* was of Opinion, that he began his Reign in the  
515 year DXV, as also was *Thomas Radburn*; *Matthew of Westminster*, and *David*  
516 *Powell*, place it at DXVI; *Buchanan* at DXXVIII; and *Heitor Boethius* casts it  
back to DXXII. *William of Malmesbury* in another place writes, that *Cerdic*  
coming into *Britain* in the CCCXCXV year of our Lord, so beat and terrified the  
*Britains*, that he forced them to submit and yield themselves to his victorious Arms,  
and in the twenty fourth year after his coming into the Island, in the Western  
part thereof established his Monarchy. But in the place before cited, he writes  
that in the tenth year of this *Cerdic*, *Arthur* began to reign over the *Britains*;  
with whom several others, lately mentioned, concur; placing his beginning at  
528 the year DXXXVIII. To this one adds, that *Cerdic* often engaging, with *Arthur*,  
always came off with Victory, so that *Arthur* being tired out, after that *Cerdic*  
had been in *Britain* six and twenty years, took an Oath from him, and gave  
him the possession of the two Shires, *Hantshire* and *Somerfet*. *Leland* that re-  
nowned Antiquary, from other Authority affirms this done after *Cerdic* had been  
506 in *Britain* but twelve years, viz. in the year DVI. *Thomas Radburn* to his Ac-  
count, adds ten years more with this Note farther, that *Cerdic* for an Annual  
Tribute permitted to the Inhabitants of *Cornwall*, the free exercise of the Chris-  
tian Religion.

Several Battels  
between Cer-  
dic the Saxon  
and Arthur  
the British  
King.

33. But however, *Arthur* was beaten and tired out by *Cerdic* the *Saxon* King:  
There is great noise made of his overthrowing the *Saxons* in no fewer than twelve  
several Battels. The first of these, they say, was fought near the Mouth of a cer-  
tain River, called *Glenn* or *Glen*; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, near ano-  
ther River in the *British* Tongue called *Dulga* or *Duglas*; the sixth at a Rivers  
side called *Bassias*; and the seventh in the Wood of *Chalidon*, which in *British* had  
the Name of *Cattoit Celidon*. *Matthew of Westminster* bestows this Flower upon  
518 this Battle. In the year of our Lord DXVIII, *Arthur* King of the *Britains* (saith  
he) having got together a great Army, marched therewith to the City, called  
then, *Caerlindcoit*, and now *Lincoln*; where finding out the *Saxons*, he made an  
unheard of slaughter of them; for in one day there fell of them six thousand  
men, of whom some were drowned, others killed in the fight, or in the flight;  
for he left not off pursuing them, you must know, till they came to the *Calidonian*  
*Wood*, when they rallied and made Head against him. *Arthur* perceiving their Reso-  
lution, caused Trees to be cut down and the Trunks thereof so placed about them,  
that they should have no way to escape, resolving then to starve them to death.  
Of this they being sensible, begged leave they might return into *Germany*, though  
with naked Bodies, to which he consented, after he had spoiled them of all they  
had, and taken Hostages for the payment of a Tribute. But enough verily of this  
Battle. The eighth was fought near (not the River but) the Cattle of *Suinnoir*,  
where all the day he carried the Image of the Virgin *Mary* upon his Shoulders.  
The ninth in the City *Leogis*, in *British* called *Caerleon*. The Tenth in the shoar  
of the River, which we (saith *Huntingdon*) called *Traitebeuroit*. The eleventh  
upon the Hill *Brenoin*, by us (saith he) called *Cathbregion*, or *Cathregio*. And  
the last was fought at the Hill of *Badon*, where he himself, without assistance  
of any other *British*, slew four hundred and forty men. These Battels and the  
places thereof, saith the same Authour, doth *Gildas* the Historiographer set forth;  
all which places yet are to our Age unknown, which we think came to pass by  
God's Providence for the despising of popular air, flattering praise, and transitory  
fame. However many Battels were fought, wherein sometimes the *Saxons*, and  
otherwhiles the *Britains* had the Victory: But the more *Saxons* that were lost in  
fight, the more came to their succour, being invited by the Countries round  
about.

34. However true may be his Story of the Battels, the name of this Authour  
is false, for *Gildas* it was not, but *Ninius* that was his Relatour. For the ele-  
ven they must pass, and still continue as unknown, as the Names of the places  
where they were fought; but for the Battle at *Mount Badon*, that such an one  
there



Sect. 1.

there was at this Hill, is out of doubt from the certain Testimony of a true *Gildas*, whoever was then the *British* General. Here *Matthew* the Flowergatherer strews his flowers or his Romantick Stories about him, and joyning the matter of this In-agement, with that of the other in the *Caledonian* Wood, tells us, that it repented *Colgrin*, *Baldulph* and *Cheldrick* the *Saxons*, that they had made an Agreement with *Arthur*. Returning therefore into *Britain*, they landed at *Totnes*, and at last besieged the City of *Badon*. *Arthur* receiving the news, commanded their Hostages to be hanged, then hastning toward the Siege, commanded all to be in Arms. He having already on his Corslet, sets on his Head an Helmet, whereon is engraven the Image of a Dragon. On his Shoulders he hangs a Target, called *Pridwen*, whereon was painted the Image of the Blessed Virgin, which he often called to mind. Being also girt with the best *Caliburnian* Sword, into his right hand a Lance he takes, named *Iron*; and having given all convenient Orders, boldly sets upon the *Pagans*. They stood manfully to it all the day, and killed many of the *Britains*. The Sun growing low they seized upon the Mount adjoining, and for that Night used it as a Camp, whither the next Morning *Arthur* with his men ascended. But in ascending he lost many of them, the *Saxons* having the advantage of the upper ground. But the *Britains* having with great valour reach'd the Hill top, most dreadfully laid about them, and made as dreadful slaughter of their Enemies, enraged at their difficulty and loss. The *Saxons* courageously resisted, not fearing to stretch out their Breasts towards the points of Spears and Swords, and much of the day was spent, when *Arthur* having drawn his *Caliburn* or Sword, called upon the Name of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, and rushing amongst the thickest Troops of his Enemies, whomsoever he struck he killed without any more to doe; neither ceased he to slay till he had slain no fewer than four hundred and forty men. Here fell *Colgrin* and *Baldulph* with his Brother and many thousands of Barbarians. But *Cheldrick* perceiving the danger of his Companions, was so wise as to run away with the remainder of the Army, whom the King commanded *Cador* the Duke of *Cornwall* to pursue. Finding no place of security in stragling Companies, they came at last to the Isle of *Thanet*, whither yet the Duke followed them, and never rested till *Cheldrick* being slain, the rest gave up themselves into his Hands.

35. So doth *Matthew* tell the tale in conformity with *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, who setting it out at length, hath this Circumstance, that the *Saxons* having wasted the Countrey as far as the *Savern* Sea, thence took their way to the City of *Badon*, which they besieged: After that *Arthur* being entred then into the Province of *Somerset* and perceiving what was done, animated his Souldiers to Battel, who being cheered up by the Benediction of *Dubricius* Archbishop of *Caerleon*, first drove the Enemy up to the Hill, and the day following utterly routed them. This City of *Badon* is, as *John* of *Tinmouth* and others rightly observe, the same with that we now call *Bath*, to the *Britains* known by the Name of *Caer Badon*, as well as *Yr Exinant Twymyn*, in *Ptolemy* called *TAATA OEPMA*, in *Antoninus Aquæ Solis*, and by the *Saxons* *Bayanercetp* & *bat B-pan*, and from Discafed People which flocked to the Hot waters Acan cercep: In *Stephanus* we read it *Badica*, and in *Latin* by the name of *Barthonia*. The Hill seemeth to be no other than the very same, which now is called *Bannel-down*, over a little Village near this City, which they call *Bathstone*, on which there are Banks and a Rampire yet to be seen. And the vale which runneth along the River *Avon* is named in *British* *Nant Badon*, or the Vale of *Badon*. As for the time wherein the Battel was fought, *Gildas*, according to the best reading of his Text, tells us, that from that to the writing of his Epistle, had intervened forty years and one month, the Battel and his Nativity having fallen into the same year. This (as *Matthew* of *Westminster* tells us) was of our Lord the DXX, with whom consents the Chronographer of the *Britains*, who reckons from this Battel of *Badon* to the death of *Arthur*, two and twenty years. By which account *Gildas* must have been born in the said year DXX, and have written the Epistle, now extant, in the year DLXIII.

36. This is the last Battel said to have been fought by *Arthur* against the *Saxons*. But many other Exploits are told to have been done by him, as well within *Britain* as without. *Hovel* the *Albanian*, or King of *Scotland*, the Brother of *Gildas Albanicus* (not *Gildas* whose Epistle we have so much spoken of, but one elder than he) a young Prince of great valour and hopes he slew, which that we may not take for a Fable we are told, by one concerned for the *British* History, that in *Venedotia* the place is yet to be seen, which retains the memory of the Battel, where is erected a great Stone bearing the Name of the said *Hovel* according to the

the customs of the Ancients of perpetuating the memory of such like things. But *Matthew* of *Westminster* presents us with a flower which grew quite in another Garden. He talks of one *Hovel* or *Hael*, King of the lesser *Britain*, the *Al. Ana. Gra. 112. 517.* Sifters Son of *Arthur* by *Dubricius* the King of the *Armorican Britains*. That *Arthur* having besieged *Tork*, and frighted thence to *London* by the coming of *Cheldrick* with seven hundred Ships out of *Germany*, sent to this his Nephew to let him know the distressed condition of *Britain*, who, understanding the danger wherein his Uncle stood, with an Army of fifteen thousand men, and the next fair wind, arrived at the Port of *Hamon*. He tells us that *Arthur* received him with joy and honour, becoming his Quality and Relation; and for four years after hath not one word concerning him, till the year after the fight at *Badon*, he writes how *Arthur* received news, that the *Scots* and *Picts* had besieged him in the City *Alcibid*, where he lay sick. Hereupon the Uncle with all speed halted to relieve him; which when the Enemy heard, he fled to a place called *Mareif*, whither *Arthur* followed and besieged them. But they fled out by night, and got to the Lake of *Lumony*; whereupon he got four Ships together, and for fifteen days together besieged them in the Island, where being starved with hunger thousands of them died, which moved the Bishops of the Countrey bare foot and bare leg and with tears in their eyes to beseech him to have mercy on a miserable People, and permit them to inhabit some portion of the Countrey, though under the Yoke of perpetual servitude. *Arthur*, good man, overcome by the tears of the Bishops, whom all the water of the Lake could not before this mollifie, granted them pardon at their request.

37. Two years after this, when he had restored *Britain*, you must know, into its ancient Estate, he married a Wife called \**Guenhumara* (having now leisure enough to doat) one that was descended of the Noble Stock of the *Romans*, and educated in the House of the Duke of *Cornwall*, a Lady surpassing in Beauty all the Ladies of the whole Island. Now doth he invite all notable Persons from all quarters, and becomes so pleasant in his Houe, that both by putting on forsooth, and wearing his Armour, by speaking and his demeanour, he provokes at distant People to Emulation; inasmuch that the Fame of his Bounty and Honesty being divulged through divers Countreys, all Foreign Kings, either loved or feared him. And there was good reason; now behold his exploits abroad. With a mighty Navy he first Invaded † *Ireland*, the King whereof, *Gillamurg*, for all his Bravado's, being taken Prisoner, all his Grandes were forced to come and submit themselves. Then made he nothing of waltzing with Fire and Sword, *Holland*, *Juteland*, and the *Isles Orcaides*, all which he subdued under Tribute; which done he returned into *Britain*. || Here, it seems, he staid to breath himself a matter of 7 years. Then casting in his mind, and could you blame him, how to become Master of all *Europe*; he resolves to begin Northward, and drive all before him. He Sails to \* *Norway*, whither, when come, he finds *Siebelin* the King of the Countrey dead, who had left *Loth* the Sifters Husband of *Arthur* his Successour, being his own Nephew, and a young Man of admirable goodness and beauty. As young as he was, he had a Son by name *Walwane*, of twelve years of Age, sent to *Vigilius* the Pope to breed, from whence he received the Girdle of War. *Arthur* finding things at this pass, having subdued the *Norwegians*, advanced *Loth* to the Crown, and for Joy, would not follow on his Conquest, but returned again into *Britain*, and not without a desire to conquer *Gall* also, which he mightily, yea, exceeding mightily thirsted after. His thirst continued three years very vehement, and at length forced him to take the Sea to quench it, which having prosperously passed, with no more trouble than what the first Penner of the History was put to, he conquered *Neufria*, afterward called *Normandy*, and proceeding farther, wasted all the Provinces of *Gall*, killed *Frislo* a Tribune in a Duel, had surrendered to him the City of *Paris*, and toward the West, conquered all *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Gascogne*, and every Foot of *Aquitain*.

38. The † year following, being certainly out of breath, after he had Conquered all *Gall* almost at a bit, he came to *Angustodunum* or *Aulun*, and there met with *Lucius* the Consul of *Rome*, being thence come to oppose him; but he made nothing of killing both him and all his *Roman* Gallants near *Leugrie*, in a Valley called (as truly) *Seiffia*. In the second year after this, the Sun was darkened from its rising till nine a Clock, envious it seems and not willing to behold the Success of brave *Arthur*, who having now subdued all the Provinces about the *Alpes* prepared to go to conquer *Rome*. His Name by this time of day was become mighty throughout the World, whereupon Princes came far and near to live and

leaving  
 \* *Mathias* 1  
 † *Willelmus*  
 ‡ *Idem* ad 53.  
 § *Idem* ad 54.  
 || *Idem* ad An.  
 537.  
 \* *Legibus* El.  
 † *Idem* Confess.  
 ‡ *Idem* Confess.  
 § *Idem* Confess.  
 || *Idem* Confess.  
 \* *Idem* Confess.  
 † *Idem* Confess.  
 ‡ *Idem* Confess.  
 § *Idem* Confess.  
 || *Idem* Confess.

Camden in  
Somersetshire.

520

Arthur says  
Hovel King of  
Scotland.Vide Off.  
Primo.  
p. 677.In insula  
M. non fce  
dis  
glefia.  
pau. p. 678.





## SECT. I.

in one part of which was written, Here lies buried renowned King Arthur, in the Island of Avalonia. Then opened they the Queens Grave and found her Hair dishevelled, and lying about her shoulders, as if she had been but newly buried, which yet upon touch fell all to Asbes. The Abbat and Convent with great joy, and the greatest honour imaginable, took thence their Reliques, and bestowed them in the greater Church, in a Tomb which within was divided into two parts, and without nobly cut in a Rock, viz. the King's Body by it self at the Head of the Tomb, and the Queen in the Eastern part thereof, ever which they caused to be written, their merita adscribere, vel ab Epitaphis.

Illic quondam dominare. Item solus antiquior locus ille Britannici dicitur Type geydrin, hoc est Insula vitæ, pæper Ancon, scilicet quævis coloris in marisco circumfluentem: Et hoc hoc dicta est postmodum a Saxonibus terram occupantibus lingua eorum Glafstonia, Glas enim Anglicè vel Saxonice vitrum sonat. Girald. Cambres. in Specul. Eccles. distictu. 2. c. 9.

41. The Abbat, by whom these Bodies were found, was Henry Soliacensis de Soily or Sully, and by some called *Shinifus* (not *Henricus Blefensis*, the Nephew of Henry the First, as *Leland* mistook, confounding them together) who was made Abbat after the burning of the Church of *Glaffenbury*, which happened in the Year MCLXXXIV. afterward Bishop of *Worcester*, and died in the Year, MCXCV. He it was that placed their Reliques in a Marble Monument, and on it two \* Difficks for Epitaphs. But more than this *Giraldus Cambrensis*, describes the Bones of *Arthur* to us in this manner, having been shewn them by the Abbat of the place, together with the leaden Cross lately mentioned. The Bone of his Leg reared up by the Leg of one of the tallest men (as the Abbat experimented before the Author's face) and placed by his foot upon the ground, was bigger than the man's knee full three fingers. His Skull was prodigiously large and thick, so that between the Eyes and the Eye-brows one might lay their hand. In it appeared ten wounds or more, all which, one great one excepted, which gaped very wide, and situation was only mortal, were grown up and cicatrized. As for the leaden Cross he adds, that upon a broad stone, seven foot within the Earth, and three foot higher than the Sepulchre of *Arthur* was found such a Cross, not infered into the upper, but rather the nerthmost part of the Stone, having these Letters engraved, *Hic jacet sepulchrum inclitus Rex Arthurus in Insula Avalonia cum Veneraria uxore sua et secundum da*. This very Cross being taken from the Stone he saw, being shewn it by the said Abbat *Henry*, and read these Letters. But in this Inscription, the five last words seem some way to be added, for they are not to be found in the Monk of *Glaffenbury*, who tells this story in the very words of *Girald*, nor were they to be seen in the Cross it self, which was preserved in the Treasury of the Church of *Glaffenbury*, till the dissolution of the Monastery which \* *Leland* himself with meticulous Eyes, and careful Fingers viewed and handled, moved both by the antiquity and dignity of the object. It consisted of a piece of Lead about a foot long, and in large Roman Letters, but ill cut, contained these words, *Hic jacet sepulchrum inclitus Rex Arthurus in Insula Avalonia*. To conclude this Business, these Reliques were found in the days of *Henry* the Second, about the Year of our Lord MCLXXXIX. which may check the opinion of those who believed there never was such a Man (the Man we admit of, but the Romantick stories of him we abominate) and had it been known earlier, might have prevented that ridiculous humour of the *Britains*, who thought him still alive many hundreds of years after, and that so confidently, that should any Man have laid in the streets in *Armorica* or *Little Britain*, that he was dead, he should have had the stones immediately flying about his Ears.

44. *Arthur* being ready to dye, is said to have left the Diadem of *Britain* to his Kinsman *Constantine*, the Son of *Cador*, the Duke of *Cornwall*, who the year following had the better of the two Sons of *Mordred*, who rose up against him, and pursued them so close, that one of them he slew at *Winchester*, in the Church of *St. Amphibalus* before the Altar, and the other at *London*, where he was hid in a certain Monastery. In the third year they will have *Constantine* slain, and buried at *Stoneheng*, or the *Chorea Gigantum*, to whom succeeded *Aurelius Conanus*, and held the Monarchy of the whole Island, being a young man very well inclined, and every way worthy of a Diadem, only too great a lover of Civil Wars; for he imprisoned his Uncle who should have reigned after *Constantine*, and having slain his two Sons, obtained the Kingdom. *Geoffrey* writes that he died in the second year of his Reign, and that *Wortipor* obtained the Monarchy, who diligently and peaceably Governed the People four years, which done, he left his place

to *Malgo*. But here *Geoffrey* and his Companions cannot agree about their Verdict; for whereas he gives to the Reign of *Aurelius Conanus*, scarcely two Years, *Matthew of Westminster* allows him no fewer than two or three and thirty, and gives but three to *Fortiporus*. But both their Accounts are true alike, while they make them to succeed one another in the Monarchy of *Britain*, just like that *Theophilus of Antioch*, who makes those Kings to have succeeded one another in one and the same Kingdom, which *Moses* writes to have Governed several sorts of People. For *Gildas* speaks to them all personally, as living and reigning at the same time, in several Parts of the Island, and whereas they call *Constantine* Monarch of *Britain*, he terms him Tyrant of *Dammonia* or *Cornwall*. *Malgo* whom he calls *Maglocanus*, the last in the Catalogue, being another *Regulus* in *Venedotia* or the *Northern Wales*, to the *Cambro Britains* being known by the name of *Maelgun Guineb*, as by whom they call *Aurelius Conanus*, but *Gildas* *Caninus* rather, is by these Writers called *Kynan Wledic*, so is *Fortipor* *Gwyrthefyr*. As *Constantine* reigned in *Dammonia*, and *Malgo* in *Venedotia*, so *Fortipor* in *Demmetia*, *South-wales*, as *Carmarthen*, *Pembroke* and *Cardigan-shires*; and *Aurelius Conanus*, as is conjectured, in *Powis* or some other Province.

45. *Geoffrey* did like our late Writers of Romances, who take some real Subject, some certain Persons for the Basis of their work, but cloath these Persons with such circumstances, add so much of their own Invention, that in their story there's hardly one sentence of truth. Finding all these Names in *Gildas*, and wanting Successors for his *Arthur*, whom he resolved to extend to the seventh Generation, out of this store he resolved to furnish himself, not setting them all at one time as *Gildas* doth; but making them succeed one another in the Monarchy; which thing *Gildas* overthrows in that he calls *Constantine* no Monarch but Tyrant, or *Regulus* of *Dammonia*. In like manner, by either a wilful mistake, or otherwise came the story of the Church of *St. Amphibalus*. *Gildas* wrote that *Constantine* slew two Boys of Royal Blood, *Jub sancti Abbatis amphibal*, that is under the Gown-coat or Veltment of the Holy Abbat; for that *Amphibalus* was a sort of outward Velt or Garment, worn by Clerks and Monks; is very certain, hairy on both sides, so that it was doubtfull which was the outward or inward side of it, whence it had its Name. Now *Geoffrey* from this place frames a Tale of the Martyr *Amphibalus* and his Church at *Winchester*. Hence came the very text of *Gildas* to be corrupted so, that in some Copies was written *Jub sancti Abbatis Amphibal*, particularly in those which *Polydore Virgil* followed in his Edition of this Author. Hence also came the Fiction of the New *Amphibalus Gimeus*, Abbat of the Abby of *Amphibalus* the Martyr at *Winchester*, said to have written an Epistle concerning this horrid fact to *Gildas*, as *John Ball*, and from him *Pirseus* would have us believe. In like manner from some things charged upon these particular Princes by *Gildas*, he has raised particular stories. From his charging *Aurelius* with Paricides, and his being a lover of Civil War, he raised that of his Imprisoning his Uncle, and killing his two Sons. *Gildas* calls *Maglocanus* *Insularis Draco*, and a depoler of many Tyrants, another *Saul*, being taller than any other of the *British* Captains; and farther adds, that he was as it were drunk with the Wine that was pressed from the Sodomitical Grape.

46. Hence *Geoffrey* tells us, that his *Malgo* was the most beautiful Person of all *Britain*, that he was the depoler or driver away of many Tyrants, larger than others, and most famous for goodnefs. Because *Gildas* calls him an Island Dragon, he tells you that he obtained the whole Isle, and moreover, adds since other compromissal Iles to his Dominion, viz. *Ireland*, *Island*, *Goddland*, the *Orcaides*, *Norway* and *Dacia*, having conquered them, by most cruelly fought Battels. And because the same Author used this expetion, that he was Wet or Drunk with Wine, pressed out of a Sodomitical Vine, he represents him to you as guilty of Sodomy; whereas *Gildas* meant a general or universal heap of Sins and Iniquity, the phrase being taken from the Prophet and elsewhere, which he had formerly also used to set forth the wickedness of *Constantine*. As for *Cunegildus*, it's a wonder he past him over, for he might have filled up some room in the Monarchical Catalogue; it's to be fear'd, the Copy of *Gildas* he saw had not his Name, there being no Memory of him in the *British* History. But in reference to *Maglocanus* or *Malgo*, we find elsewhere, that under his Government a dreadful epidemical Disease raged throughout (a) *Cambria* or *Wales*, called the *Tellow Plague*, by the *Britains* *T Gall Velen*, from the yellow colour of those that were infected, but by the (b) *Centuriators* *Morbis Regius*, or the *Kings Evil*, as the *Iters* or *Jauudice*, is sometimes named by Physicians. As for his Uncle, whom *Gildas* writes, that he slew in his youth, he is by others called (c) *Cathwallain*, after whose death he Invaded the Kingdom

The dimensions of his Body.

Which was found in the time of Hen. 2. A. D. 1159.

Constantine succeeds Arthur.

Several Kings or Tyrants reign together.

Amphibalus quid.

## SECT. I.

De successibus Arthurii part impudenter mensura tribuere usq. ad septimum fere generatio nem Britannicam Gual. Neubrigenf. Vide Cambdenum in Brit. p. 552.

Lik. 11. c. 7.

Madiden.

Jerom. 23. 9. Den. 32. 3.

(a) Girald. Camb. Brit. 12. c. 1. Plures apud Efr. in Primord.

(b) Centur. 6. Inflic. in Indice Chronol. 1138.

(c) Centur. 6. Inflic. in Indice Chronol. 1138.

Sect. 1.

of *Venedotia*. In conformity with this his ravenous and cruel Disposition he is said being King of the Northern *Britains*, to have come (d) with an Army to subdue and prey upon the Southern, to have always been an Afflicter of the Saints, especially of St. *Paternus*, and to have been in particular (e) cursed by *Thaliefin*, viz. the Bard or Prophet. Yet is he memorable for something not ill; for erecting (f) a new City called *Bangor*, upon the River *Meanath*, or *Menai* (an Arm of the Sea rather) which is by no means to be confounded with the other *Bangor* of the Monks killed by *Ethelfrid*, which stood in *Wotton* upon the River *Dee*, not far from *Chester*. This he did, and all these things happened while he was yet but *Regulus* of *Venedotia*. But afterwards *Matthew of Westminster* tells us, he was made King of the *Britains* at the year of Our Lord DLXXXI; about eleven years after the death of *Gildas*, the Complainer, who died at or about the year DLXX.

581

570

At this time he is therefore thought to have been made King over the *Cambrian Britains* in General, the form of his Election being told us by *Humphry Lloyd*, an excellent Antiquary of *Denbigh*, as appears by his Fragment (a) of the Description of *Britain*, directed at the point of death to the Learned *Antwerpian Abraham Ortelius*. After that the *Saxons*, saith his (b) Authour, having overcome the *Britains*, had obtained the Sceptre of the Kingdom, and the Crown of *London*, to all the People of *Cambria*, assembled together at the Mount of the River *Dee*, to chuse them a King, and thither came the Men of *Gwynedd*, the Men of *Powys*, those of *Debenbarth*, of *Reynne*, *Elylluc* or *Sylluc*, and *Morganuc* or *Morgan*, and those of *Malgun*, whom others call *Maclocun Guened*. From this passage he collects, that *Cambria* or *Wales*, was then divided after the Destruction of *Britain*, into six Regions or Parts, viz. about the year of Our Lord DLX. But afterwards we meet with the King of \* *Dynetia*, falsely called *Demetia*, the Kings of *Guent Powys*, and *Northwales*, and mention is also made of the Kings of *Strat Clwyd*; whence may easily be collected, that this Country was subject to divers petty Kings or *Reguli*, till the time of *Roderick the Great*; who obtained the Monarchy of *Cambria*, about the year DCCCXLIII, and dividing it into three Parts, left it to be possessed by his three Sons, for to *Merwin* his eldest, he assigned *Gwynedd*, to *Anarand* (whom some make his Eldest) *Powys*, and to *Cadelb* his youngest Southwales. For the *Britains*, as *Welch* at this day, herein imitate the *Hebrews*, that as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right hand. This *Debenbarth*, thought it was in quantity larger, yet in respect of those Noblemen, by the *Welch* called *Tychelwyd*, wherewith it abounded; who were prone to rebell against their Lords, and dispute with them by dint of Sword, it was accounted much the worst. This Division of *Wales* (as generally all Divisions of Kingdoms) at length destroyed the Government, while the Posterity of these three Brothers consumed it self by intestine Wars, though each Prince was externally laid at by the *English*.

At length, and by Degrees were the poor Inhabitants of *Britain*, by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and especially the *Saxons*, outred of their Ancient Seats, and driven such of them as fled not over the Sea, to the craggy and mountainous Places toward the West of the Island, naturally fenced with Hills, and the Inlets of the Sea, whither their Ravenous Enemies could not easily follow them. Here they continued a very warlike Nation, as we shall have occasion in the Prosecution of our *English Saxon* Story to demonstrate, and for many years defended their Liberty, and though they were separated from the *English Saxons*, by a ditch or trench, cast by Offa King of the *Mercians*, yet stood they not only to the defensive part of War, but made many inroads into the *English* Pale, and by Fire and Sword wasted the Country. Their Success had been much better, but that they fell out amongst themselves, and as formerly when they lived in the Heart of the Land, so now also they groaned under the Yokes of their several *Reguli* or Tyrants, the Names of whom it will not boot much here to mention, and the Acts of whom as remarkable, respect chiefly the opposition they made against the *English*. Of the Parts into which they were driven, that called *Cambria* is most considerable, by them in their Language called *Cymbr*, and *Wales*, by the *English*, after the *German* Custom. For, as one \* observes, the Ancient *Ten-* tones or *German*s, calling the Strangers that lived near them on one side by the Name of *Galls*, or *Walls*, afterward to all Strangers, and Inhabitants of other Provinces they gave the same Appellation, as at this very day not only the *Galls*, but *Italians* and *Burgundians* they call by that Name, as all things strange or Exotic

The Division of Wales.  
560

843

The poor Britains driven from their Country.

Some into Cambria or Wales.

{Constantine, Malgo.

Sect. 1.

rick *Wallthe*: The *Wallons* in the Low Countries, the *Wallchians* upon the *Danube* have hence received their Denominations. At first they seized, and solely inhabited all this Region. Afterward it began to be inhabited by the *English*, as far as the Ditch of *Offa*, with whom they had innumerable Skirmishes, and contents till the days of *William* the Conqueror, under whose Son *Henry* some *Flemings*, who had been driven out of their own Country by Inundation of the Sea, received *Refuge*, a Province of *Demetia*, to inhabit, and notwithstanding all the Princes of *Wales* could do, most valiantly defended themselves, and still preserve their Language and Customs, different from the *Britains*. Afterward the *English* growing by Degrees upon them, seized several other Parts of the Country, and at length brought them into full subjection, upon which we must not now dilate. But those that inhabited this Country, the *English Saxons* called *Wpſepier*, or *British Welsh*.

Others into Cornwall.

Another sort they termed *Cernyealer* from *Cornwall*, in Latin *Cornavia*, in the *British* Language *Cernico*, into which another Part of the Remnants of the *Britains* were driven. These also use the *British* Tongue, all their words almost being radically the same with the *Welsh*; but in contexture of Speech, they do a little differ. Besides these Countries, we are farther told by the Learned Antiquary lately mentioned, that till about the year of Our Lord DCCCLXX, these Parts lying about *Carlisle* and *Galloway* it self as far as the River *Clud*, were possessed by the *Britains*, at which time being forely laid at by the *Scots*, *Danes* and *English*, and at length *Constantine* their King being killed in *Anaundra*, they were constrained to betake themselves to their Countreymen in *Wales*, where they beat out the *English*, which had seized on the Country *Tegenia*, (by the *Latins* called *Igenia*, but *Tegengel* by the *Welsh*, that is *Tegenia* of the *English*) lying betwixt the River *Dee* and *Conway*. They founded a Kingdom by the *Welsh* called *Strat-clwyd* (a) from the River *Clud*, on whose banks they fate down; for by the word *Strat* (b) added to a River, they understand the tract of ground lying upon or adjoining to the said River, as *Strad Alyn*, *Strad Towy*, and the like. Here they had often great bickering with the *English*, till at length *Dumallun*, the last of their Princes, despising his Principality went to *Rome*, at such times the *Danes* by their Inrodes, forely afflicted the Island about the year DCCCLXXI. where he shortly after died. Such alternative Successions were there in the places, whither the whole were driven, though as we e'er now signified, for the main they possessed the whole Country called *Wales*, especially that toward the North, viz. *Gwynedbarth* by *Latin* writers corruptly called *Venedotia*. As for the other called *Debenbarth* by them, and *Southwales* by us, the *English* having passed the River *Severn*, by degrees seized on all the Land betwixt it, and the River *Vaga*. So that all *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire* and *Shropshire*, are though beyond the River *Severn*, this day inhabited by the *English*.

This River, together with *Dee* of old, divided *Cambria* from the other part of *Britain*, called *Lboegria*, and some do farther observe, that all the greater Towns which are built upon their Eastern Banks, were first raised for this very end, to restrain the Irruptions of the *Cambrians*, or *Welsh* into *Lboegria*, like as the *Romans* very politically erected very stately Cities upon the Western Banks of the *Rhine*, to hinder the Inrodes of the *German*s into *Gall*, and the last *Wall* which the *Britains* made, was by the Advice of the *Romans*, drawn by considerable Towns the more to strengthen it. But to pursue our business, these Countries lately mentioned, together with some Corners of *Flint* and *Denbigh*, were in times past subject to the Kings of the *Mercians*, and to this day the Inhabitants of them are known to the *Welsh* by these words, *Guyr y Mers*, or the Men of *Mercia*. For *Offa* the most potent King of the *Mercians*, as we hinted before in the year DCCCLXX, to distinguish, and fence his Limits from those of the *Cambrians*, caused to be digged a very deep Ditch with an high Wall upon it from the Mouth of *Dee*, a little above *Flint* Castle, through most high Mountains, as deep Vallies, Fens, Rocks and Rivers for an Hundred Miles, as far as the Mouth of the River *Vaga*. This Ditch retaining its old Name, (for by the *Britains* it's still called *Claudio Offa*, or the Ditch of *Offa*) is clearly yet to be seen in all these Quarters; and almost all the Cities and Towns seated on the Eastern side of it, have their Names ended in *Ton* or *Ham* which makes it evident, that in old time *Saxons* there did inhabit. Yet again the *Cambrians* or *Welsh*, retracted themselves beyond the Ditch (on this side as we write) in all places toward *Lboegria* or *England*, and the Inhabitants of these parts in their own Language are called *Cymbr*, in the pronouncing of which word the force of the letter *b* is scarcely to be perceived.

770

Ur illu iu Gallia Galpesaler.

Llwydus quo supra, fol. 26. b. &amp; 36. a.

(a) Mariane.

(b) Mariane.

(c) Mariane.

(d) Mariane.

(e) Mariane.

(f) Mariane.

(g) Mariane.

(h) Mariane.

(i) Mariane.

(j) Mariane.

(k) Mariane.

(l) Mariane.

(m) Mariane.

(n) Mariane.

(o) Mariane.

(p) Mariane.

(q) Mariane.

(r) Mariane.

(s) Mariane.

(t) Mariane.

(u) Mariane.

(v) Mariane.

(w) Mariane.

(x) Mariane.

(y) Mariane.

(z) Mariane.







## Sect. I.

55. We find them therefore at this time in *Armorica*, but still the Controversie remains undecided, how first they came there. One who was born in that very Country, lived near to that very Age, and wrote the Life of *St. Winalof* the Confessor, committed this also to writing, that *A Progeny of the Britains embarked in Flores, arrived in that Land on that side the British Sea, at such time as the Barbarous Nation of the Saxons fierce in Arms, and untried in Manners, possessed their Native and Mother Soil. Then (saith he) this dear Off-spring seated themselves close within this Nook and secret Corner. In which place, wearied with travail and toil, they sat quiet for a while without any Wars. But our English Writers report it as a truth, that long before this time our Britains seated themselves in this Tract of Gall, and particularly at such time as Maximus usurped the Roman Empire. The Monk of Malmesbury relates, that Constantinus Maximus being saluted Emperor by the Army, carried away with him a great Power of British Souldiers, through whose Courage and Industry having attained the Empire, such of them as were past Service, and had done bravely, he planted in a certain part of Gall, Westward upon the very Shoar of the Ocean; where at this day, saith he, their Posterity remaining, are wonderfully increased even to a mighty People, in Manners and Language somewhat degenerate from our Britains. True it is that Constantine concerning Military men made this \* Edict, Let the old Souldiers, according to our Precept, enter upon the Vacant Lands, and hold them for ever freely; and possibly here they might be placed to help to restrain the then frequent Inroads of the Saxons. Yet doth he also affirm a Colony of Britains to have been planted in *Armorica* by Constantine the Great; and another will have the same thing done by Constantinus Chlorus his Father. Generally those that write the British History, are confident that Maximus there placed his British Souldiers; but others as earnestly contend, that there was no Plantation there till after the coming of the Saxons.*

56. This indeed makes something against the other Opinion, that *Gildas* speaking how Maximus drained the Island of its Men, mentions nothing of his planting them in *Armorica*. But neither doth he speak of this Country when he tells us how the distressed Britains were driven beyond the Seas, though it was above forty years from the Victory at *Badon Hill*, to the time of his writing his Epistle, and consequently the Colony, or Commonwealth of the *Armorican Britains*, must have been grown up to that eminency, as provokes him to make mention of them; if any thing could divert that angry and querulous Writer from his Theme. Some might be planted there by Maximus, as others think, and the Children of these old Souldiers might gladly receive these distressed Britains that fled out of their Country under Conduct of *Rional*; but the truth is, such Authors as fix the time of the Britains settling there after the Invasion of the Saxons, are rather of better credit and more considerable. Whenever they came thither they turned within a little time the edge of their Weapons most ingratiously upon those their Friends that gave them harbour, as evidently appears from their Testimonies, and by these words of *Regalis* Bishop of *Vannes*, We living in Captivity under the Britains, are subject to a grievous and heavy Yoke. The Native *Armoricans* being by little and little subdued, the Name of Britains grew so great where they were newly seated, that generally all the Inhabitants passed by degrees into their Name (as of other parts of Gall into that of the *Franks*) so that the whole Tract was called *Britannia Armorica*, and by the French Writers *Britannia Cismarina*. In the first times they courageously maintained themselves under petty Kings, and afterward under Dukes and Counts against the *Franks*, as we have already shewed out of their Writers, particularly *Gregory* the Bishop of *Tours*, in which Author we meet with the Britains in Gall, but never before the time of *Childerick* the First, who began his Reign much about the same time as did *Hengist* in Kent, over the Saxons. It seems their Quarter was not much better than what their Countrymen obtained, whom they left behind them in the Island. For their Wealth, as one writes, was only Immunity from publick Taxes, and plenty of Milk. And if you will believe our Monk of *Malmesbury*, *Glote* Rel. 4. A kind of People they were, needy and poor in their own Country (in his time, and he lived some 550 years agoe) being hired by foreign Money, and purchasing a laborious and painful life. If they be well paid, they refuse not so much as to serve in Civil War one against another, without all regard of Right or of Kindred, but, according to the quantity of the Money, ready with their Service, for what part soever you would have them.

Who destroy  
most of the  
Natives.

Whence the  
Country is  
called after  
their Name.

Their Cha-  
racter.

## Sect. I.

57. This Description of them as to their Manners and Disposition suits well enough with what *Gildas* and others write of their Countrymen. However so Industrious and Valiant they were, as to bring under all the Inhabitants of that Tract, and had they had as constant Supplies out of Britain, as the Saxons had out of Germany, might have done as much for the rest of the People of Gall, and been before-hand with the *Franks*. In this they equalled them, that as they gave Name to the places they conquered, so did they. But herein they exceeded them, that whereas the Language of the *Franks* being German, was swallowed up, and devoured by that, then spoken by the Provincials, or by the *Ballard Latin*, we now call improperly *French*. Theirs either quite conquered and overcame that of the *Armoricans*, or finding it much the same with it self, as we said the British and ancient *Gallick* were the same, preserved it self and it unmixt and uncorrupted. Our Welch men hence prove that the *Cornish*, and the *Armorican Britains* were the same Nation, because the Names of their Kings were alike to both, as *Couanus*, *Meriadoc*, (by which Name a part of *Denbighshire* in *North-Wales*, is still to called) *Hovel*, *Alan*, *Theodore*, *Rynwallon*, and the rest; and almost all their words are the same, although they differ a little in Syntax of Speech, as often it happens in the same Country. The Country it self is by our Britains called *Llydaw*, which *Cambden* interprets, coasting upon the Sea, and so signifying the same in British, as doth *Armorica*. But it seems it's no proper British word; for *Lluid* thinks it came from the Latin word *Littus*, as being a Region of the *Gallian* Shoar. For as the Latin Writers in our words (saith he) turn *D* into *T*, so our Countrymen in like manner change *T* into *D*, and *L* in the beginning of words they always write with an aspiration. For Example, *Lhadrion* with us signifies *Robbers*, the word being borrowed from the Latines.

They preserve  
their Lan-  
guage unmixt  
and uncor-  
rupted.

Another Com-  
pany of the  
Britains  
plant them-  
selves in Hol-  
land.

58. But as some of our distressed Britains fled over Sea into *Armorica*, which they called *Little Britain*; so we are told that others of them went into *Holland*, where at the Mouth of the *Rhine*, as it falls into the Sea, near to *Canwyck*, they divided their Sails: and there they built a most strong Castle, which they called *Britain*, and subdued unto themselves the Neighbouring People. This Castle in the Teutonic Idiom, as we are told by the same Author, is called *Die burck te Britten*, as if you should say, Britains Burge, or the Castle of the Britains; being in the same sense at this day, by the Neighbouring *Hollanders* called *Het Huys te Britten*, or The House of Britain. This Castle was placed in the *Batavian* Shoar, at the middle Mouth of the *Rhine*, and the Ruines thereof are to be seen at a very low Water. It was built four-square, and took up the compass of two Roman Acres. And that it was indeed a Roman Fort, besides other things, the ancient Coins, Stones and Bricks, which here were found with Inscriptions, do demonstrate; with the view which *Hadrianus Junius* in his *Batavia*, and *Petrus Severinus* in his Tabulary of *Holland* Antiquities hath presented us. As therefore it cannot be granted this Chronographer that the Britains built this Castle, (which might be called *Britten Huys*, because it stood over against Britain) so might it, being now left desolate by the Romans, be seized by the Britains, who might also, as he writes, subdue the Neighbouring People. That this may not be thought incredible, a place of *Procopius* is cited, who in the time of *Justinian* wrote, that *Brittia*, distinct from Britain, was inhabited by three most numerous Nations, the *Angles*, *Trifones*, and the *Britains*, who had the same Name with the Island. And if what he saith be true, that it was placed in the Ocean just over against the Mouth of the *Rhine*, this could be no other than the Island of *Batavia*.

59. Neither ought it to be wondered at that here the *Trifones* inhabited; so far as much as it's certain, that not only in the time of *Pliny*, and *Tacitus*, the *Frifji* here p. 419. had their Seats, but in later times part of *Frifja*, the Province of *Utrecht* was also accounted, and the Western *Holland*, which still retains the Name of *West Freiseland*, and in time past gave to the Earls of *Holland* the Title also of Lords of *Frifja* or *Freiseland*. But whence the *Angli* or *Angiti* should thither come, is to be considered. \* One Historian of that Country reports out of their Annals, as a \* *Suffrida* certain truth, that a great Number of *Angli* came out of Britain into *Frifja* under certain truth, that a great Number of *Angli* came out of Britain into *Frifja* under Conduct of *Hengist*. † Another from the like Authority relates, that the City of *Leiden* was first founded on the Bank of the *Rhine* by *Hengist*, the Son of the King of *Frifja*, being beaten out of Britain, and having built a Castle upon the Eastern Bank of the said River, made Governour thereof or *Borchgrave* one *Dibald*, to procure safe Passage to Travellers, with free Access and Recess to Merchants; whereupon the City in the *Vulgar* Tongue had the Name of *Leiden*. But *John Gerbrand*,

John Gerbrand  
Chron. Belg.  
lib. 1. c. 17.

Vide Camb.  
ancient Coins,  
do in Brit. Usser.  
in Primord.  
p. 413.

Offer. ibid.  
p. 419.

\* *Suffrida* Pro-  
terius de Orig.  
Frifjorum, l. 2.  
c. 11.  
† *Corn. Kem-  
pius* Res. Fri-  
s. l. 2. c. 11.

Sec. 1. *brud*, who himself was born at *Leiden*, relates the Original thereof with more Circumstances. Having said, that *Hengist* gathered Military men together out of the Lower *Saxony* or *Frifia*, his own Country, and with the *Sclaves* or *Hollandenfes*, having passed into *Britain*, after this relates what was done by that part of the Army which returned home. The *Saxons Frifons* with the *Slavens*, that is, the *Hollandenfes* being returned home, the rest being dismissed, when they had now no employment, neither knew what to do, nor whither to turn themselves; they went along to the *Feirce Wood* with a strong hand, and there at the Courfe of the River *Rhine*, built a great Castle, which now is called *Leids*. In the same Castle of *Leide*, by consent of the Elders, they ordained and appointed for the Custody of the Forest, a certain *Burchgrave* or *Castellane*, a *Vall* man, with many others like himself, to defend and secure the Merchants going and coming from the said Castle to that of *Wiltensborch* and *Slavensborch*: And therefore that Castle was called *Leyden*, that is, *Dutio* or *Leading*. The common Chronicles of *Holland* relate the same also concerning the *Burg De Burch*, built by *Hengist*. For we must not be so injurious to that Noble City, as to conceal that *Lugdunum Batavorum* was much antienter both from *Ptolemy*, and the Itinerary Table.

60. That a considerable part of *Hengist's* Army, after the defeating and dispersing of the Inhabitants, returned out of *Britain*, we have already shewn from more ancient Authours, as *Gildas* and *Beda*. But whereas some will have *Hengist*, a *Dane* by Original, (which we shall hereafter discuss) it would if it could be known whether he being beaten out of *Britain* with his *Angli* (as the *British* Histories affirm) or being Victour, and pursuing the flying *Britains*, planted here a new Colony, and built a new Castle to keep in awe and bridle that sort of People, viz. The *Frifans* being *Indigina*, and the *Angli* and *Britains* being new Comers made up one People, but signifies that each of them was subject to their own Kings: and indeed from *Brittenburg* or *Huyts te Britten*, that *Burg* is distant but about two hours Sail, (so they of these Countries reckon, and not as we, by Miles) from which the *Bargaves* of *Leiden* of old had their Title. Yet another \* Authour will have it not built by *Hengist*, but by one *Mandeth* the Son of *Lemann*, the first of that Name King of the *Batavi*. *Philip* † *Claverius* also thinks it was built by the *Romans*, the Stones of it seeming as ancient as those of *Brittenburg*. And || others think it to have been the work of the *Normans*. But these seem more singular in their Opinions. However, finding that our distressed *Britains* were, by Authours of this Country, said hither to have fled for Refuge, and settled themselves; we thought our selves to let the Reader know so much, whom we leave Judge of what on all sides hath been said.

61. We thought we had now done our part as to the Text of *Gildas*, (the best course we could take to write the History of these obscure Times, small credit being to be afforded to other *British* Writers) but due favour and respect both to the dead and the living violently calls upon us to take some consideration of that part also of his Epistle which so vehemently inveighs against the Manners and Dispositions of the ancient *Britains*. What he says of the Layety we have already seen of late, and how he paints out the Manners and Behaviour of those of his own Rank, the Reader may see in the Account we give of Ecclesiastical Matters. Most profligate he makes both sorts, as well the one as the other, and as to those we have at present to deal with, he charges upon them breach of trust and perfidiousness, perpetual Emulations, Factions, and Tyranny over one another, makes them to be of a sleepy Nature, as easie to be beaten as ready to rebel, given up to all manner of Riot and Debauchery, and what he says seems not to be meant onely of that time when he wrote, but of their general temper and demeanour in all precedent Ages, whereof he pretends to have the knowledge, viz. as far as, the Invasion of *Julius Caesar*. Hereupon several modern Authours have been emboldened to vilifie the *British* Nation, *Polydore Virgil* in particular, who taxeth it as mean and cowardly in the general course of its Actions and Concernments: And some learned Men of that Original are very much concerned to wipe off that dirt he throws upon it. In this endeavour they urge that *Caesar* found them at his landing so courageous and Martial, that they put him fore to it, forced him to contain himself in his place, and indeed put him to flight, which in his own behalf cunningly expresth, by drawing back the Legions to their Camp; for that a flight it was, they thence prove, that a little after Midnight being past, he stole to his Ships and so departed. But here was not the strength

In Cluver.  
Belgic. l. 1.  
Co. 9. 1c.

\* Corn. Hien.  
radus in Be-  
ravica.  
† Auct. Germ.  
l. 2.  
‡ Johan. Lati-  
nus in Descript.  
Holland. c. 5.

Caesar alioq.  
fendens be-  
stem & Con-  
mirendum  
praelium alio-  
man esse vo-  
nus arduum  
sunt loca con-  
tinuis. Clu-  
ver. compari-  
tatem horum  
in Co. 9.  
rebat.

not

nor courage of all *Britain* employed, onely a small Company of those of *Kent* hastily gathered together. From *Caesar* himself it's evident, that they fought with great earnestness from their Chariots, fell with violence upon his Camp, and so discouraged the *Roman* Cohorts, that having lost *Labienus* the Tribune, it's said, they made a safe Retreat. Now what doth this Retreat signifie, but that they escaped away by flight? He confesses that *Caesariellum* when he sent Ambassadors to him about Peace, was thereto moved by the Revolt of *Mandubratius* and others his Countreymen.

62. They farther use the Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, who writes, that the *Britains* being *Aborigenes*, and living after the manner of the Ancients, used Chariots in Fights, as the ancient Greek Heroes are reported to have done in the Siege of *Troy*. That as to Manners they were simple and upright, being far remote from the craft and cunning of those to whom he was related. That they contented themselves with simple and mean food, being absolute Strangers to the delicious living of Rich men. *Tacitus*, they plead, doth wonderfully extoll the Acts of *Caratacus*, and confesses, that after his Captivity the *Romans* were often beaten by onely one Nation of the *Silures*. He writes that *Venusius* (whom he calls fierce, and an utter Enemy of the *Romans*) beat not onely the *Romans*, but the *British* Auxiliaries also. He denies not that the Queen *Boadicea* (by *Dion Cassius* called *Bundica*) being exasperated, put to the *Roman* seventy thousand of the *Romans*: And both he and *Dion* with long and evident Speeches celebrate and extoll the more than Manly courage of this Woman and her Facts, which may be compared with those of the most famous Emperours. In the Life of *Agricola*, his Father-in-Law, having told us, that the *Galls* and the *Britains* were very like in their Ceremonies and Superstitious Perswasions; and that their Language differed not much; he adds, that betwixt them there was the like boldness in courting and setting upon dangerous Enterprizes; when Dangers were come, like fear in refusing: But that the *Britains* made shew of more Courage, as being not then mollified by long Peace; for the *Galls* (saith he) were once also as we read, famous in War, till such time as giving themselves over to Idleness, sloth crept in, Shipwrack made both of Valour and Liberty together, which also befell to those of the *Britains* that were subdued of old, the rest remain such as the *Galls* were before. Their Military strength consisteth in their Foot, some Countries fight in Waggon also; the more considerable Person guideth the Carriage, and his Dependents fight. In former times they were governed by Kings; now by their great men they are drawn to Factions and Parties: Neither is there any thing that more benefits us when we have to do with the most powerfull Countries, but that they do not unite and consult together. Seldom it happeneth that two or three States agree together to propulse the common danger; so whilst each fight for themselves apart, all are overcome. A little after he adds: That *Britains* endure Levies of Men and Money, and all other Burthens imposed by the Empire, patiently and willingly, if Injuries be forborn; these they cannot endure, being subdued to remain as Subjects, not as Slaves. Again; The Noble Mens Sons, he (meaning *Agricola*) took and instructed in the Liberal Sciences, preferring the Wits of the *Britains* before the Students of the *Galls*, as being now desirous to attain to the *Roman* Eloquence, whereas they had lately rejected the Language. After that our Habits began to grow into Esteem, and the Gown was much used among them; and by little and little they proceeded to the Provocations of Vices, to Galleries, Baths, and exquisite Banquettings; which things the Ignorant counted Civility, being in reality a part of Bondage.

63. They urge farther, that *Dion Cassius* in the Account he gives of *Caesar's* Expedition into the Island, delivers such things as make for the honour of the Inhabitants; and namely this, That they did not accept of Peace before they had oftentimes experienced adverse Fortune; that he so set forth his Actions at his return to *Rome*, with Glosses and Flourishes, that a Supplication was decreed upon this account, for twenty days together; elsewhere this same Authour reports Passages tending to the repute of the Nation. So doth *Herodian*, giving this Character of it, that it was most Warlike and greedy of Slaughter, contenting it self as to Arms with a narrow Target and a Lance. *Eutropius* in like manner speaking of *Caesar's* Adventure, saith he was tired out with bitter fighting, and being seized by a Tempest, returned into *Gall*, whence returning again into the Island, at the beginning of the Spring following, his Horie at the first Incounter was routed by the *Britains*, and there *Labienus* the Tribune was slain; and in a prosperous Fight at length, but with great loss of his own men, he beat and put

Sec. 1.

Boadicea  
apud Xiphil.

As to their  
Courage.

As to their  
Manners.

A Comparison  
betwixt the  
Gall and Bri-  
tains.

An account of  
their Valour.

An Asperion  
upon the Bri-  
tains.

Which is  
largely con-  
futed from  
the best of Au-  
thours.

Sect. 1.

them to flight. *Suetonius* farther tells how *Vespasian* conquered two most powerful Nations in point of War, and fought no fewer than thirty times with the Enemy; signs not of cowardly and effeminate, but of a most valiant People. And *Eutropius* writes, that *Caracaus* the *Britain* having been in vain attempted by Arms, at last, as the greatest defence against a man most skillful in War, a Peace was made. *Sextus Rufus* reckoning up the Legions of the *Roman* Empire mentions the *Britannici* and *Britannici*; the second the *British* Legion, and amongst the Legions of the *Majesty Equitum of Gall*: the *Britones* twice; with the *Comes Hispaniarum Invidios* *juniores Britones*, and with the *Comes Britanniarum Velociores* *juniores Britannicos*. But what need is there, say they, to turn over the Writings of so many learned Men to discover the glory of *Britain*? When so many most valiant Kings, so many Invincible Captains, so many famous *Roman* Emperours issued from the *British* blood, have abundantly evinced what kind of men this Island brings forth. To what purpose should I, faith *Lhud*, make mention of *Brennus* that Conquerour of *Romans*, *Greeks*, and of almost all the stoutest Nations of the whole World? Why *Cassivelaun*, to whom as *Lucan* expresseth it, *Cassivelaun* shewed his affrighted Back? Why *Caratacus* that distressed the *Romans* by a War of nine years continuance? Or *Boudicca* that most valiant *Pirago*, who procured the destruction of 70000 *Romans*, with the terror of which Woman *Rome* and *Italy* were so mightily struck, that as one writes, they were not so much concerned for the coming of *Brennus* or *Hannibal*? Or *Arviragus*, that unconquered King of *Britain*, preserving his Liberty in despite of the *Romans*, the Lords of the World? Or those most courageous Captains who thirty times engaged in Battle with *Vespasian*, and broke the heart of that valiant Emperour *Severus*, because he could not bring them under? Why (faith he) should I make mention of these, when *Britain* bestowed upon the World *Constantine* the Great, not only a most valiant and most happy Captain, but what is more, the best Man and the first Emperour of the Christian Religion, in which he was instructed by his Mother *Helena* a *British* Woman?

64. How much do *Gall* and *Italy* owe to *Britain* for this man born in this Island, being freed from the rage of cruel Tyrants by his means? And much Christian Religion, thus he proceeds, all do well know, except one *Polydore* and his Master *Gulielmus Parvus*, lately published by some ill willers of *Britain*, although unworthy to see the light. And because a late Frenchman, and an ancient Greek Authour, of a greater Name, affirm *Constantine* born at *Dyrrachium*, I will produce the words of a most ancient Panegyrist, spoken in the presence of *Constantine* himself: "O fortunate *Britain*, and now more happy than other Countries, who first sawest *Constantine* Caesar. De-fervently hath Nature endowed thee with all good things belonging both to Air and Soil, in which is neither too great cold in Winter, nor heat in Summer; wherein is such abundance of Corn, that it hath sufficient of the Gifts, both of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*; in which are Woods without Savage Beasts, Land without noxious Serpents: On the other side an Innumerable Multitude of gentle Cattle defended with Milk, and loaded with Fleeces, "with other things desirable for Life; very long Days and no Nights without some light. For that extreme Level of the Shores doth not raise Shallows, and the view of Heaven and the Stars transcends the limits of Night, so that the Sun, which with us seems to set there, appears only to pass by. Good God what means this, that always from some last end "of the World, new Divinities of the Gods descend to be worshipped by the whole World! Why should I mention (now *Lhud* proceeds) *Bonofus*, who from a Duke of the limits of *Rhetia*, became a most valiant and fortunate Emperour; why *Caracaus* *Augustus*, who seven years together, though fore-against the wills of *Jovius* and *Herculeus*, wore the Purple? And why *Allectus* *Caesar*, for the Conquest of whom *Maximian* seems to prefer *Maximian* before *Julius* *Caesar*. After him, was Emperour *Maximus* a *Britain*, the Kinsman of *Helena*, a valiant and honest man, and worthy of the Title, had he not spoiled *Britain* of its Youth, by which he overthrew *Gratian*.

65. He by his Wife *Helena*, Daughter of *Enda*, left a Son *Victor* *Augustus*. *Britain* also, as writes *Paulus* *Diaconus*, owned *Marcus* and *Gratian* for Emperours. *Constantine* also with *Constant* his Son, were made Emperours in *Britain*, (*Gratian* their Countreyman being kill'd) against whom their Captain *Gerontius* (concerning whose death most ancient *British* Rithms are extant) set up another *Maximus* for a Rival. After these the last Emperour of the *British* blood

And other famous Men.

*Ambrosius Aurelius* is reckoned by *Parvinius*. Besides these twelve Emperours, *Britain* produced to the World *Arthur* that most invincible King, whose unmatched glory and most illustrious Acts, our *Leland* by infinite Testimonies, and most invincible Arguments, hath made more eminent against the snarling and Vainian hatred of dotting *Polydore*, and the great gutted Monk of *Rheicall*, more conversant in the Kitchen than in the Histories of the Ancients. Neither do our Countrey-men alone, but the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *French* and *Suedes*, (as one relates out of their Histories) found forth his Acts in their Books. *Cadwallan* also made from a Prince of *Gwyneddia* King of the *Britains*, and his Son *Cadwallo* (whom *Beda* styles a Tyrant) because he purified the *Saxons* with cruel Wars in the declination of the *British* Government, most valiantly reigned. And after the destruction of *Britain* it self in *Cambria* or *Wales* there were men not to be defrauded of due praise; as *Roderick* the Great and his Nephew by his Son *Howel*, surnamed the Good, both of them famous for matters relating to War and Peace. *Graffith* also the Son of *Lewelin*, the Son of *Gefyl*, most valiantly defended their *Wales*. And after him *Owen* Prince of *Gwyneddia*, resisted *Henry* the Second, the most potent King of the *English*, who had thrice invaded *Wales*, and his Son being slain in *Anglesey*, a great part of his Army he destroyed. *Lewelin* the Great, was his Nephew by his Son, whose innumerable Triumphs as writes *Mathew* *Paris* an *English* man, require particular Treatises to set them forth according to the exigency of their worth.

66. Neither only these but the Remainders of the *Britains* in *Cornwall*, as they are the most robust of all the *British* People, so are they to this day famous for Military Exploits. Neither have the *Britains* in *Gall* the Offspring of the same Nation degenerated from their Ancestours, having not only defended their Possessions obtained amidst valiant People for many Ages, but overthrown the *Goths* and *Franks* in most bloody Battels. They valiantly resisted *Charles* the Great, that most potent Prince. The Army of his Son *Ludowick*, the Emperour sent against them under Conduct of *Murman*, they put to flight; *Charles* the Bald in like manner, Emperour and King of *France*, in open Battle they defeated twice, and caused to run away, leaving his Pavilion and all his Royal Furniture behind him, when *Numenius* was their King. *Herispans* the Son of *Numenius* compelled the said *Charles* to make an ignominious Peace with him, whom *Salomon* the Son of *Herispans*, a Courageous and skillful Warriour, compelled to retreat as he marched against him. This *Salomon* being dead, the *Britains* (as writes *Siegebert*) out of desire of reigning, waste themselves with Intestine War, and so unwillingly they cease to doe mischief to *Gall*. Wherefore should I make mention (faith *Humfrey* *Lhud*) again of *Ursand* that most invincible and most strenuous Captain, his Acts against *Hasting* the *Norman*, and *Pastiguitan* the *Britain*? Wherefore *Judicael* and *Alan*, who repelled the *Normans* from their Borders, as they miserably wasted all *France*? Wherefore should I insist upon the Wars which long after being assisted by the Aids and Supplies of the *English*, they waged against the *French* Kings, when as to all men it is evident that this was ever a most valiant Nation? Thus much *Lhud* by way of Testimony out of his great, and to be commended, Zeal for the Reputation of his Countrey. He closes all with a direct answer in reference to the Person of that Authour, whence so much matter and evidence for the Accusation of his Countrey-men is usually fetch'd.

67. That at last (faith he) I may stop the Mouth of *Polydore* with his *Gildas*, this I say, that this man, if indeed the Work be his, was not an Historiographer, but a Priest and a Preacher, who are ever wont too sharply to inveigh against the Vices of their People. If therefore with *Polydore* we fetch Authorities from Sermons, what Parish, what City, what Nation, what Kingdom shall escape Infamy? What hath *Bernard* written of the *Romans*? He calls them Impious, Infidels, Seditious, Immodest, Traytors, Braggars of much, but small Doers. These things say Divines, that these Vices might be shunned, and life be reformed, not that indeed the *Romans* or *Britains* were the same, although according to the Customs, such they be called out of the Pulpit: Neither doth any man, except he be an impudent Sycophant, make infamous any Society, City, or People, by reason of the Speeches of Priests, their words being wrested to the world. Avant therefore all cursed Detractors, and let the true glory of *Britain* appear to the World: Neither (Good Reader) account my Tongue too sharp. For (so let God love me) neither Envy to another Man's Name, neither the desire of a little pittance of glory, neither

Sect. 1.

The several Emperours of the British Nation.

Ambrosius

Sect. 1.

hatred to any Nation, but the love of my Countrey, which undeservedly is ill spoken of, and the desire of illustrating the truth, have caused me to write what I have written. In such like words, and very modest, doth *Humphry Lhuid* of *Denbigh* end his Epistle to *Ortelius*, or his Fragment of the Description, a Piece the Author of which deserveth what the Publisher hath put into this Title Page, that *The Reader will admire his Diligence and Judgment*, and pity it is that with it he ended his Life, and had no longer time to study and publish more, which he seems to promise. His Zeal is to be commended, and if it caused him to believe such Stories, as perhaps upon another Subject he never would (for he useth the silence of *Roman* Writers to confute the Fables which *Beetbius* uttereth, and never considers this in his own *Arthur*, and other Passages of his *British History*) his love to his Countrey, and his Virtues lately mentioned, may easily procure his Pardon.

68. As to that work of *Gildas*, and this Person's endeavours to beget a contrary Opinion of his Nation; Prudent and Moderate Persons, as in all such Cases, will scarcely chuse either of the Extremes but the middle way. That Age whereof *Gildas* wrote, was undoubtedly very corrupt, effeminate, and debauch'd, and made way for the Ruine, which is ever ushered in by such Practices. But that *Gildas* was a Priest and a Preacher, and used such a Pious Art as others of his Profession for the amendment of their lives, to whom he wrote, we can easily yield and add, not of what another Countreyman of *Lhuid* hath written, though not of the general design of his Book. He (*viz. Gildas*) seems to have propos'd this onely thing to himself in this little Book, that he thought at least his *Britains* would blush and repent, if he rather collected all that was blame-worthy in them, and set it before their eyes, than if he should mind something worthy of Commendation, which either they themselves or their Ancestours had performed. Therefore he partly overwhelms them with all sorts of Accusations, partly smites them with the Divine Oracles, that none might suspect he did it out of hatred to them. And if the Ghost of *Lhuid* will permit the Name and Testimony of *Polydore Virgil* here to be used we shall add what he himself saith in this Case as to the decay of Religion amongst the *Britains*: That a few retained the true sense of Christian Religion, whom *Gildas* calleth Good Men, the rest of them, and especially the Priests erring so through the iniquity of the Times, he chastiseth and labours to reduce into the way. This was to be said in this place, that every one might know that *Britain* did not beget evil Priests, but that the Cruelty and Impiety of men was the cause; so far as this first of all Provinces received the Christian Religion, and at all times (saith he) and even at this time, hath had and hath a most Religious People. Thus far *Polydore* ascribing this decay of Religion amongst the *Britains*, to the ancient Persecutions of the *Romans*. Here now we must leave our poor *Britains* in the Mountainous places of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, or else shifting for themselves in strange Countries, and now come to those Intruders who possessed themselves of their Countrey, and drove them out, whom retaining the old word they still call *Saiffon*, and their Language *Saiffonaeg*, not knowing what *Englishtan* or *Englismen* call *Saiffon*, *England* means. First therefore let us see what these *Saxons* and others that invaded *Britain* in Conjunction with them, were. Then let us come to a view of the several Kingdoms they erected in the Island. And of these in their places.

The Countrey called *Saiffon*, and that Language *Saiffonaeg*.

## S E C T. II.

## S E C T. II.

The Original of the Saxons, Angles and Jutes, which planted themselves in Britain.

Their first Seat.

1. THE *Gotes* or *Goths*, as we have formerly shewed out of *Scandia*, in most ancient times, not onely made Inrodes into the *Chersonesus*, but into several Parts both of the *Asian* and *European Sarmatia*, and *Scythia*, whence driving out the Inhabitants, they there seated themselves, as well as in *Thrace* and several other Provinces. In the *Asiatick Scythia* or *Sarmatia*, was there a City called *Asgard*, as the Northern Writers tell us, the Inhabitants whereof *Agardiani* are by some thought the same with those whom the *Greeks* knew by the Name of *Aspurgiani*, both sorts of Authors placing them near to the Lake *Mæotis*, where the River *Tanais*, with great fury empties it self into it, and if some have not wrongly apprehended him, *Ptolemy* the Geographer himself, called the City by the very Name of *Ascard* or *Asgard*. The Countrey in which this City stood was in a peculiar way called *Asia* by *Strabo*, and the People thereof *Asai*, and *Asota* by the other Writers. As for the Names of *Asgard* and *Aspurg* they denote but the very same thing, *Gard* to the *Goths* signifies the same which *Purgos* did to the *Greeks*, *viz.* a Tower or Castle. Such of the *Goths*, as inhabited this Countrey were also called *Turca* or *Turks*, as *Mela* witnesseth, who makes them the same with the *Tyrygetæ*, those that at this present bear that Name having long time after entered into these Quarters deserted by the *Goths*, after they returned back into *Europe*. These *Aspurgiani* had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extended to the farther Mountains of *Scythia*, within *Imaus*, where the *Safones*, *Syebi* and *Iote* inhabited, whom *Strabo* comprehends under the very Name of *Aspurgiani*.

Woden their King.

2. Of this *Aspurgia* or *Asgardia* was King, amongst the rest, one *Orbin*, as an ancient Chronicle of *Norway* calls him, though he has many other Names different in found yet easily to be apprehended of the same Original, for *Gothick* they all are though variously written, and pronounced according to the several *Gothick* Dialects. The Reader will find him called *Orbin*, and *Orhen*, *Oden* and *Voden*; *Godan* and *Guodan*, *Eowthen* and *Euoden*; sometimes concisely written *Wode*, *Ode* and *Othe*, *Gode* and *Guode*, *Wsen* and *Goen*, but most commonly we find him *Woden*, and from him is the third day of the week named *Wodenſdach*, (our Wednesday) as also *Woenſdach* and *Gorenſdach*, neither are there wanting other Names and Epithetes, whereby he is known. He is reported to have been a stout and expert Captain, atwell wife and cautious, as hardy and daring, and famous for the Art or Faculty of foretelling. Some will tell you, that he was expert in the Art Magick to such perfection, that he would change his shape into that of a four footed Beast, Bird or Fish as often as he list'd; in the twinkling of an Eye could remove himself into what place he pleased; with his word alone could restrain the heat of Fire, the fury of the Sea, and do many other things which far exceed the Power and Capacity of Man, whereby he procured to himself no small Esteem, and Reverence; even as much as was attributed to the highest Deity. This well fitted him for the place of Chief Priest, which he bore in his Countrey, where very frequent Sacrifices were offered to Idols. Twelve of the chieftest Senators he chose from amongst the rest which excelled in Goodness and Wisdom, and made them Overseers not onely over Religious matters, but Ministers of Justice to the People. They were called *Diar*, that is Gods or Divine, and *Drotuar* or Lords, and the People by turns were bound to assist and serve them in their Ministration. While they governed the People at home, he conquered many Kingdoms and Countries abroad; being so prosperous in all his Enterprizes, that in none he failed. When to his Captains he committed any Expedition or other sort of Service, he laid his hands on them, and as it were consecrated them to that Affair, who thereby concluded, that as by a certain Spell they were rendered incapable of

Q 2

any

Who chuses 12 Senators to be Overseers in sacred and civil Affairs.

Sect. 2.

Lib. 2.

Turci quos Tauricos à monte Taurus, ad cuius Regni dicebat habitabant, eos dicuntur vocat non nemo.

Apud Scythiam.

SECT. 2. any Misfortune, especially if at time of danger they made but mention of his Name.

He makes war upon the Scythians.

Who after several Battles deliver Hostages on both sides.

3. He had two Brothers, the one called *Ve*, and the other *Velir* or *Vuli*. He being abroad and buied in his Wars, they preided over the Kingdom of *Asgardia*, and took care of all publick buisness, as of his Wife *Friggera*. He returning, they reitored to him his Wife and Government, which he presently again leaving in the same hands, undertook an Expedition against the *Scythians* of *Tanaïs*, called *Vamer*, who made Valiant Resistance, notably defended their Countrey, and making his Victory often very ambiguous, retreated still with safety to their places of Succour, and constrained him not seldom to procure safety by a seasonable return. Many damages did they receive on both sides, whereof at last being weary, they gave Hostages mutually, and came to an agreement, which ended in a firm and lasting Peace. The *Scythians* gave up to *Woden* two notable men, *Niord*, Surnamed the *Rich*, and his Son *Troi*: And the *Asians* were not below them in their choice, delivering to them in exchange one *Heimer*, a Person fit for the management of all matters relating both to Peace and War, and *Mimer* the most wife of all Mortals, whereat the *Scythians* were so touched, that out of a sense that they were overcome in this particular, they delivered up to balance him another Heroe called *Quafir*, who to them seemed the wisest of all living Men: *Heimer* presently obtained the Sovereignty over the *Scythians*, and having at his Elbow so able and faithfull a Counsellour as *Mimer*, did nothing without his advice, who taught him Rules and Methods which he should use in all publick buisness; but afterwards wanting him when Causes were brought before him, which he was not able to decide, he would often say, *do you agree amongst your selves, and advise together such of you as are skillfull, for from me you can have no assistance*. The *Scythians* now perceiving themselves deceived by the *Asians*, in an unequal exchange of Hostages, cut off the Head of *Mimer* and sent it to them, which *Woden* receiving, caused it to be preserved with Balsam, with Magick Rhimes made it Vocal, so that it would reveal to him any sacred or concealed thing. *Niord* and *Troi* he reckoned amongst the *Asiatick* Deities, together with *Troia* the Daughter of *Troia*, who having learnt Magick and Incantments of the *Asiatics*, therewith wonderfully pleased the *Scythians* her Countrey-men. As for *Niord*, he returning home, married his own Sister, which their Laws allowed, where amongst the *Asiatics* it was esteemed the greatest wickedness for any to join in Wedlock, which were so near in blood.

4. But, very high and craggy Mountains, running in length from North to South, separate the greater *Scythia*, as it were by a natural Fence and Limit, from the adjoining Countries, whereof such as lay toward the South were all subject to the command of *Orbin*. At this time the *Romans* being Masters of all, had subdued Innumerable Nations, far and wide, with their Victorious Arms having reduced under the Yoke of their Empire, most vast Kingdoms, most Valiant People, most flourishing Cities, and famous Commonwealths; whereupon many Princes and Governours, forsaking their own Countries, delivered up their Subjects into their Hands. But *Orbin* being a famous Magician, and endowed with an especial faculty of Divining, and thereby knowing that he and his Posterity should for a long time Reign in the Northern Parts of the world, committed to his two Brothers, *Ve* and *Velir*, the Government of *Asgardia*. He himself went into *Russia*, and thence proceeded into *Saxony*, which having subdued, he delivered it over to his Sons, of whom, *Skioel* he set over *Dania* or *Denmark*, wherein he made *Lethra* his Regal Seat. *Orbin* after this having discovered that *Gothia Sue-tica*, or *Swethland*, over which presided one *Gylus*, with Royal Authority, was a Countrey fertile, and able to entertain numerous Inhabitants, he betook himself to *Gylus*, and having made a strict League and Alliance with him, obtained leave to plant himself, and as many as he pleased in these Quarters, for the other was afraid lest by refusal, he should irritate and provoke the *Asiatics*, to whom he sufficiently knew himself to be inferior in power. Now do *Gylus* and *Orbin* thrive who shall excell in Magical Incantments, in all which contest, yet *Orbin* bore away the Victory, and this done, went and Inhabited on the River *Lager*, where he adorned the City *Sigtun* (of which name faith our Authour, there was a Town in *Sweden* in the days of our Ancestours) and built a most magnificent Palace, where he ordained a course of Sacrifices, according to the Rites and Customs of the *Asians*. Having seized on all this Region, he planted as it were a certain Colony of their *Deusiri*, to which he assigned certain Places and Chapels, so to *Niordfell Moatum*, to *Frey-Upsal*, to *Theron Trudungar*, to *Heiner Hundberg* and

He goes into Saxony, and subdues it and Denmark.

He makes a League with Gylus Governor of Swethland.

and to *Balder Broedeblick*. At length *Orbin* with a Troop of his Idols, going back to the Northern Parts of *Suedia*, exercised himself in working wonders by his Magical Art; and thereof, as it were, set up a publick School, there being formerly no use of it in this place.

His Character and cunning in Magick.

5. As for this Person, his countenance, words and carriage, shewed him to be cheerful, pleasant and facetious to an high degree, most agreeable to his friends, but terrible in all respects to his Enemies; for, *Proteus* like, he could change himself into all forms and shapes. He had such a perfwative Tongue, so eloquent as could not be resisted, and the more for that with his Oratory, he mixed Rhimes and Sonnets, whereupon he and his Companions were called *Schialdri* and Poets. By his Magick, he was wont to deprive his Enemies of all sense, and strike them with a pannaick fear; nay, joyning Battel with them by his Charming Verbes, he could dull the edge of their Swords, insofmuch that his Soldiers, without either Shield or Breastplate, like so many fierce Dogs or Wolves, would wound, tear, and rend their Enemies, which were but like so many Sheep before them, they themselves in the mean time being utterly out of danger. Thence was this kind of fierceness, afterward called the Onset of the *Berserkers*. Farther, then this *Orbin* was so cunning in deceiving the Eye, that he would cast himself down as dead, and his Body would seem to be changed into the several shapes of Fishes, Birds and Serpents. Returning to himself, he would affirm he had been viewing Countries far distant, and knew exactly what was therein done. With one word he could extinguish Fires, lay Tempells, stop Inundations, and command the boisterous Winds. The Spirits of dead Men he could fetch out of their places, and confine them unto certain Hills, whereupon he was named *Dronga Drotten vel Hunga Drotten, the Lord of Hobboblins*. He had two Crows which he had taught to speak, which would fly into other Regions, and relate to their Master what Accidents had happened. By his Magick he would open Mountains, and thence from the Veins of the Earth, fetch as much Gold and Silver as to him seemed convenient, and without any ones telling find out Treasures that had been hidden. In sum, *Orbin* by his Rhimes, Songs and Incantments (called *Caldran, Seid, Lind* and *Frolkinga*) did such incredible things, that his Name became famous, and the Renown of his Wisdom and Power, as also of his *Asians*, reached all Countries and Nations. By this means he so afrighted his Enemies, that they dared not to attempt any thing against him; on the contrary, he so retained his Allies and Friends in their Fidelity, that seldom or never, did they revolt from him.

6. Thence came it to pass, that the *Sueci* and other Northern Nations solemnly sacrificed to him and his twelve Associates, and paid to him that Duty and Devotion, which was due to the Lord of Heaven and Earth alone. Their Names they gave to their Children newly-born, calling some of them *Audun* and *Odun* from *Orbin*, *Thord*, *Thore*, *Toraren*, *Stemtor* and *Hastor* from *Tor*, some of which faith the Chronicler are still in use amongst the *Norwegians*. *Orbin*, farther, made many Laws, amongst which these are reported the most memorable. The Bodies of the dead or such as were slain in War, he ordained should be consumed with Fire, together with their Choice Goods and Ornaments, the Ashes either buried in the Earth, or cast into Rivers. That Hillocks should be raised in memory of Great and Noble Persons with Monuments upon them, to transmit the fame of their Actions to Posterity. That thrice every year they should offer solemn Sacrifice, in Winter for the Happiness of the year, in Mid-winter for the fruitfulness of it, and at the end of Winter for Victory. The *Scythians* every year paid him a *Denarius* a Head in way of Tribute, he being to protect them from their Enemies, and propagate Superstition amongst them: *Niord* had to wife one *Skade*, which leaving him married a little after to *Orbin*, and by her he had many Sons, the Name of one of which was *Semming*. Then did new *Scythia*, viz. *Suecia* get the Name of *Manheim*, and the Great *Scythia* of *Gudheim*. At length, *Orbin*, when he had lived long enough, died in *Suecia*. Being near his end, he commanded all his Members and Limbs to be marked with nine Scars, which the Ancients called *Geirs Odde*. He farther commanded, that such as were beaten down in Battel should be sacrificed to him, as the most acceptable oblation that could be. After his death he appeared to many, especially if some considerable Battel was at hand. For many he obtained Victory; others he invited into the Palace of *Pluto*, called *Val-balden*. His Body was solemnly burned, and a Funeral-Banquet together with Sacrifices were instituted to the Honour of the deceased: Such is the Account we have concerning the Life and Death of this *Woden*, and his Expedition out of *Agardia* into

SECT. 2.

He dies.

**Sect. 2.** into *Saxony*, from an Ancient Chronicle said to have been written by *Snorro*, the Son of *Sturlay*, an eminent Man in *Iceland*, about the year of Our Lord 1220. And with this Relation, for the main, agrees the *Edda of Iceland* a most Ancient Monument, *Johannes Martini* an Ancient Writer also, as *Joh. Meisenius* hath it, and another old *Sueo Gotick* Chronicle published by the said *Meisenius*, from several Manuscripts which agree in all things almost with the Relation made by *Snorro* the Son of *Sturlay*.

7. The *Edda* makes mention of *Odin* his making a long stay in *Saxony*, that he possessed the Country far and wide, and distributed it amongst his Sons, whereof *Vegdegg* obtained the Eastern *Saxony*, *Begdeg Westphalia*, and *Sig Francia*. It adds that having done this, he himself went into another Country called then *Reigotoland*, afterward *Jutland*, of which he had to himself as much as he pleased, and over it set his Son *Skjold*, who was Father to *Krideiss*, whose Posterity was called *Skjoldungar* or *Skjoldrades*, from whom the Kings of *Danemark* are descended. Afterwards relating how he went into *Swithiod* or *Suecia*, it adds that he built the City from him called *Sigtun*, and now enjoying Royal dignity, called himself *Njord*. Therefore in the Annals it is found, that the first King of *Suecia*, was *Njord*, because *Odin* the most magnificent King, there reigned, though before him other Kings there ruled. Lastly it relates how *Odin* continued twelve Persons, for administering of Law to the People according to the *Turkish* Customs, in imitation of what was done at *Troy*. *Johannes Martini* tells the Story how *Woden*, with twelve Judges of the Kingdom called *Drotarii*, his Wife *Frigga*, and Children, and a great Army went into *Ryfland*, over which having happily conquered it, he appointed Governour his Son *Bo*. His Affairs having so prosperously succeeded in *Ryfland*, he sailed over the Sea into an Island of *Denmark*, called *Oden Soe*, which to this very day faith he from *Woden* his inhabiting there keeps its Ancient Name. Having also made some stay in the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, and from a certain Cunning woman called *Geston*, learnt how fruitful and beautiful a Country was *Suecia*, having left *Hilfaria* under the Rule of seven of his Sons, he departed thither and a long time lived at *Sigtun*, where he obtained great Fame and Veneration amongst the *Sueones*, who were amazed at the things formerly related which he did by Magic, and particularly at this, that he could pass vast Seas in a little Skin or Pelt which he was wont to fold up together like a Bag. Dying at last at *Sigtun*, he was with much Honour, and no small Quantity of Gold and Silver burnt, and by how much higher the smoke ascended from the kindled pile by so much they esteemed him placed in an higher degree, in the other World. The *Saxo Gotick* Chronicle relates, that *Woden* being Prince and also Priest of *Asgardia*, killed and offered Men as well as other Animals unto Idols. That coming with all his *Diarii*, and a great multitude of other Men into *Ryfland*, thence he proceeded into *Saxony*, which he committed to the Government of his Sons, and by Sea passed to a certain Island called *Odenfæa* in *Fronia*, at the writing of that Book. Having understood, that there was a good Land near *Lagere*, thither he went with his *Diarii*, and took a piece of ground to himself which he called *Sigtun*. *Njord* placed himself at *Nuburg*, *Freyar* at *Ufsal*, *Hymdel* at *Hymburg*, *Thora* at *Trundwagn*, and *Balder* at *Bredelike*, where they introduced the Customs of sacrificing. Here is to be understood, that after *Woden* and his *Diarii* came into the Northern Parts, Art Magic came in use, but prevailed especially in *Finnmark*. Concerning his wonders performed by this Art, his death and honours, he relates the same with *Snorro* the Son of *Sturlay*.

8. Such is the Account we have of the return of the *Getes* or *Goths* into *Germany*, under Conduct of *Woden*, from these most ancient Northern Writers: a story the Reader cannot but a little startle at, as favouring of such Poetical fancy, and Romantick humour, as usually covers the Originals of Nations, under the Veil of Obscurity. That such fancy and humour is prevalent in this Story cannot be denied, especially as to the Persons and Practices of our wonderful *Woden*. We must confess, that these Northern Parts have abounded with Tales inserted into their Magical Songs and Incantations, and that *Edda* the ancient Monument, we have cited, was no other but a Store-house of Allegories and Fancies, a shop out of which Poets were to gather materials, and furnish themselves with, fit Concepts, for their Superstitious Ditties. And to speak the utmost, it's to be feared that these ancient Chroniclers from it and Tradition had their greatest Collections. Indeed as *Kramzus* observes in his History of these Northern Countries, it's difficult for any Man to write the Original of any Nation, and not to touch upon some Fables; not only the *Greeks*, but each other People have their Heroick Story. Yet

His Body is burnt.

as in these of the *Greeks* as most think, is involved much also of truth, and real things covered with fictions, which may be discovered to have been real, by consent of other Circumstances of times and places; so perhaps upon disquisition we may find the same in this Subject, whereon we now insist. In the first place, to grant such Stories as are told of Magic to have been general Fables and Rumours of the People; yet this we must say, that to any one who has either travelled into these Parts or hath been conversant in the Histories of these Northern Nations, it will appear, that they have been in former time (whatever they are at present, and let this be considered) most prone to Inchantments, direfull Imprecations and other Magical Charms and Tricks. Many Monuments of their ancient places of burial with their *Runic* Inscriptions, sufficiently testify enough of this matter at this very day.

Magical Inchantments much used.

His Surname was As.

His Country Asguria.

Part whereof was called Turcia.

9. But to put our velutary or weaker Arguments in the Front of our Engagement, that *Woden* and his Companions came from *Asia*, bears some resemblance of truth; because his surname is *As*, and they have that of *Asi*. *Æfer* in the plural is the same as *Asiatics*, whereof the singular is *As* or *Aas*, given to *Woden*, in an extraordinary manner with too great an Adjunct, as *Den Almegste Aas*. This is more evident from that ancient form of an Oath, which in old times was used in *Norway*, *So help me Frier*, and *Njordar*, and *that omnipotent As*, meaning *Woden*, whom they sacrilegiously elevated into the place of the highest Divinity. Hereupon the Ancient *Goths* to witness their descent from these their Deities, *Woden*, *Thor*, *Skjold*, and the rest, were wont to add the word *As* unto the Names of their Children, it signifying with them as much as Divine or Saint. As *Asbiorn* (or as the *Danes* write it *Esbene* (we *Osborn*) *St. Beare* or *As Beare*, *Asgeir*, *As-Speare*, *Asgrimur*, *Aswalf*, *Askeil*, *Asdog*, *Aslakur*, (the *Danes* call it *Axell*) that is *Dius Farnalus*, or *As servant*, and as these and others belong to Men, so some there were that appertained to Women. Farther, that in *Sarmatia Asatica*, there was really such a place called *Asgardia* or *Aspurgia*, and People known by the Name of *Asiots*, and *Asiani* a Country by *Strabo* expressly and peculiarly called *Asia*, we have already seen. Hence when *Woden* and his Followers came into *Germany*, was the Name of *Asburg*, or as now it is called *Asburg*, given to an ancient City there mentioned by *Tacitus*, this being far more probable than that it should be founded by *Ulysses*, it being the Customs of these *Gotick* Nations, to give the Names of the places from whence they came, to their newly acquired Conquests. In the Preface to the *Edda*, the Country whence *Woden* came, is called *Turcia*, and *Mela* witnesseth that the Inhabitants of *Aspurgia*, were some of them called *Turce*; being the same with those *Goths*, called *Turjagetar*, who from the Mountain *Taurus* might receive some denomination. And as such like Denominations, when they come to be fixed upon Nations or Families commonly stick; so probable it is, that after the *Saxons* came into *Britain*, the Name of *Turk* still continued, though the reason of the Name might be in the dark. For in the County of *Lincoln* upon the *Trent*, some four or five Miles from *Gainsborough*, there is a Town now called *Torksey*, which the *Saxons* in their Language called *cup-eyss* or the Island of *Turks*. But as we said before the present *Turks* came into these parts of *Asia* long after, when the *Goths* returning into *Europe* had forsaken them.

10. Farther, that *Woden* came into *Ryfland*, is made probable from the proper Names of several Places there. In the Borders of *Livonia*, formerly accounted part of *Ryfland*, was a Province from him called *Odenpoe*, as much as to say, *Upon Woden*, denoting as some think, that all their Hope and Expectation was upon him. In the Bay of the *Sarmatian* Sea, is also a certain Island from him called *Wodeholm*, by the *Danes* *Odesholm*, and *Vodeholm*. *Woden* leaving *Ryfland*, left King over that Country, his Son *Bo*, as both *Saxo Grammaticus*, and *Johannes Magnus* relate, calling the said *Bo* King of the *Rutheni*, the Land of whom by the *Goths* was called *Ryfland*, *Roxiliana* in the *Latin* Tongue, and in times past *Russia* extending from the Mouth of the River *Vistula*, as far as the Bank of *Mæotis*, and *Tanais* with the *Riphean* Mountains, in the Circle of which are at this day contained *Prussia*, *Livonia*, and a great Part of *Muscovy*, with other Countries. Now that from *Ryfland*, *Woden* by Sea came into the Northern Parts of *Germany*, besides what is said by *Johannes Martini*, other Circumstances render very probable. First it has been the constant opinion and tradition of the *Saxons* themselves, that thither they came not by Land but Sea. Then as in other Places, so in these Quarters of *Germany*, *Woden* left several marks of his Name. From him otherwise called *Wodan* and *Godan*, *Sialand* formerly called *Wetalabeer*, received the Name of *Goda*.

Series his Son Bo in the Kingdom of Ryfland.

Sect. 2.



## Sect. I

*Godanonia*, or *Codanovia*, as also all the Straits beset with Islands, that of *Sinus Godanus* or *Codanus*, the Bay of *Godan* or *Codan*. Then it seems very probable, that *Woden* brought Poetry and the Runick Letters in use with the *Goths*, because of old they called the *Runick* Speech by the Name of *Afsal*, or the *Afsan* Language; which is preserved in *Iland* more pure, than in other Places. *Fimbul*, who is reported to have been the Scribe and Prophet of *these Afsa*, is indeed said to have invented the *Runick* Letters or Characters; but *Woden* is said to have cut them, and taught the People the use of them, for which reason he was called *Runofind*, or the Head, Principal or Chief of the *Runas*, which were imagined to have wonderful Power and Operation in Prayers and Imprecations. But of these more, in a more proper Place.

Stephanus in  
Præf. ad Sax.  
on. Gramma.  
ticum.

11. The Removals and Travels of the *Goths* out of the more Northern Parts into *Germany*, and the adjacent *Ilands* are farther made out by the Incriptions in *Runic* Characters, which are extant both in the said *Ilands*, and in *Sweden*, as well as by the content of the *Annals* of these *Quarters*. Great *Pillars* were in *Sweden*, not long since to be seen, which the Incriptions upon them manifested to have been erected by them in memory of their *Worthies*, which had lost their lives in *Greece*, *Thrace*, or other places. From *Woden* and his Companions who were *Scythians*, came *Sueicia* to be called *Nova Scythia*, and the Inhabitants of the *Cherfoneus*, or the *Cimbri* to be called by the *Greeks* *Celtescythæ*, being first to them known by the Name of *Cimmerians*, and why by this, but that because they were first in *Scythia* called *Cimmerians*, and into *Germany*, and those Parts travelled from *Bosphorus Cimmerius*. But to come near to our matter, we know that our Ancestours came out of *Germany*, consisting of *Jutes* ( *Gutes* or *Getes* ) *Saxons* and *Angles*, three of the most valiant People of that Country. Now from *Ptolemy* it appears that in *Scythia* or *Cimmeria*, there were three several People which were known by the very same Names. He speaks of *Jote*, lying upon the Sea of the *Rhymnii*. Of the *Safones*, under the *Mæssæan* and *Alan* Mountains. Now though he mentions not the *Angles*, yet the *Suebi* he doth, or *Suevi*, part of which Nation the *Angli* are rationally thought to have been; being so called from the *Angle* or Corner on which they seized in *Germany*. This is accounted no small Argument, that these People came into the Maritime Parts of *Germany*, at no other time, nor under any other Conduct than that of *Woden*, because before the time of his Expedition, no such Names as these do occur in Northern Writers; but after this they became famous, especially the *Saxons*. In the *Sweogothick Annals*, those of *Norway* and *Danemark* their Memory flourishes, but amongst the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Writers, the *Saxons* are known; as also the *Jutes* by the Name of *Cimbri*, though the *Suebi* by that of their own.

12. In *Sarmatia* are many Towns, especially in *Livonia*, which it appears plainly have borrowed their Names from the *Saxon* Tongue. *Refuel* signifies a place where two Seas meet, *Riga*, *Riches*, and others there are whole Terminations, and are mainly *Saxon*. And as for the Maritime Parts, there they speak that Language to this very day, which are perfumed manifest figs, that these Countries were formerly subject to *Woden* and his *Saxons*, part of whom such as there took not up their abode, passed over the Seas into *Germany*. Let that farther be confirmed that when *Woden* came thither had the Name of *Reidgotaland*, but afterward received that of *Futia*, and whence should this change come but from the *Goths*, *Jotes* or *Futes*, who came and feizing on this Country inhabited, especially the Western Promontory thereof? But we had almost forgot what in course should before this have been remembered, that not only our Ancestors, *viz.* the *Futes*, *Saxons* and *Angles*, but others the Principal Nations of *Germany*, had their Names *Futes* in *Scythia*. *Strabo* places the *Macropones* or *Longbards* in *Chimmaria*, near to which *Woden* is said to have reigned in *Alpurgia*; it may be true indeed that other Colonies did afterward go out of *Scandia*, but yet before these Migrations, that such of this Name inhabited part of *Germany*, both *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* may assure us. All know that in *Germany* there are the *Trieres*, *Alouenres*, or those of *Triers* in *Saxonia* die *Trerer*, and such there were in *Scythia*, although the Chatti lived in *Germany*, under the Mountain *Reizibotus*, not far from the *Suevi*; and *Angli* and *Camani*, and *Ptolemy* places them also in *Scythia*, next the *Maffages*, without the Mountains *Imai*.

13. Yet still this doth mightily (especially in conjunction with the other Arguments) enforce the probability of this Plantation, that the *Gothick Nations* or *Cimbri* in their manners, and Inclinations much suited with the *Asiatick Scythians* Both the one and the other esteemed it Noble to dye in war, but disgracefull to

De his omni-  
bus vide Se-  
ringham  
ubi prius !!

be sent out of the World, either by Old Age or a Disease. By bloud (drunk or sprinkled) both entered into Leagues and Confederacies. Their Women with both, together with the Men, engaged in battel, and fought against the Enemy. The Amazons themselves were the Off-spring of the Scythians in Asia. And such Goths as inhabited in Europe on this side Tanais, and the Rhiphaean Mountains as far as Germany, called with some variety Gothones, Gottones, Samogites and Savaomates, and part of them Alans, had their Amazons also, which for warlike enterprizes, equalled the Men themselves, and as those in Asia had their Right Breast burnt off, whereupon from the Greeks they received the same Name, and were not suffered to marry till they had killed three Enemies. Women both of warlike Dispositions and Actions, like to these, Saxo Grammaticus relates Denmark once to have bred. Another though barbarous Custome both agreed in; and that was to make Cups of the Skulls of their Enemies, and drink out of them; this being accounted by the Goths the Sum of all Felicity, that after death in such kind of Vessels they should drink Nappy Ale with Woden. But nothing more evinces the thing we are about to prove, than the mixture of the Greek Language, and others of the Asiatick Tongues with the Saxons, viz. Armenian, and those of the Turks and Persick Nations. Now how could they reach so far as into the Cimbrick Chersonesus, but as they were transmitted by such as were once Neighbours to these Nations, and afterwards travelled into these Quarters? Moreover the most ancient Names both of places and Persons were the same, and many of them to this day continue amongst us, Erick, Berig, Filmer or Fulmer are frequent enough in England. And as for the proper Names of the Grand Ase themselves, as Woden, Thor, Sigge, Skjold or Scyld, they are here also sufficiently known, and of them we have the Names of Towns compounded, as Wodensbury, Thorsby (not to speak of days) Sigston, Skilton or Skipton: and many others an industrious Man might find.

Hippocrates de Acute Lib. 7.  
Cimbrick Gothic

Both Nations  
proceed from  
one Original.

14. Such are the Arguments brought for this Opinion, that the *Astiatik Goths* with *Woden*, came back into *Scandia*, and settled part of them in *Germany*. And though some of the Books out of which they are fetched abound with Fables, yet we must needs confess several things there are which laid all and confidered together, will at least enforce a Probability. Likeness of Speech argues ever the Speakers to have been of one and the same descent, and where two several People bear the same Name, a vehement suspicion it is, that though at present they are yet, they have not ever been separated from each other. A Tradition it was amongst the *Saxons*, that by Sea they came into those *Quarters of Germany*, but no Footsteps of any other Invasion or Migrations, are to be found besides this of *Woden*. Let this Opinion then stand at least as Probationer, and let him receive his deserv'd thanks of all that affect Letters, who has lately taken so much ingenious pains to make it out. What shall we say as to the time of this Migration? Some make it to have happened four and twenty years before the birth of Christ, about the time when *Pompey* waited *Syria*. But *Woden* is said in the Preface of the *Ed-da*, to have delivered over the Government of *Jutia* to his Son *Skjold*, whence the Kings of *Denemark* were anciently called *Skjoldinger*, now this *Skjold* according to the *Danish* Chronology, lived almost a thousand years before *Pompey*; and accordingly *Woden* with his *Saxons*, *Suevans*, *Gotes*, and other People of *Scythia*, must about the pretended beginning of the *Danish* Empire have entered the *Chersonesus*, and the adjacent places, and to *Saxony*, *Suevia* and *Jutia*, have given these as their proper Names. And one there is who will have the *Saxons*, to have given occasion to the rise of the *Danish* Kingdom, and to have invaded the *Danes*, who then endeavour'd to shake off the *Gothick* Yoke, with whom the *Danes* not able to grapple, were constrained to crave aid of *Hovel King of the Goths*, who sent them for King his Son *Dan* (from whom *Dania* received its Name) who by his Valour repressed the *Saxons*. But these things are uncertain.

The time of  
their Migrati  
on 24 years  
before Christ

15. By this last Account the beginning of the Danish Kingdom, should fall into the 2910 year of the World, and Woden must have been something Ancienter than Homer. But how will this conflict with the Genealogies of our English Saxon Monarchs? Kings, the Founders of the seven Kingdoms, all which are derived in descent from Woden: Hengist and Horfa his Brother are said by the Monk of Malmesbury, to have been but the Anebotes or fourth in descent from Woden; and Cerdic, the Founder of the Kingdom of the West Saxons, the Tenth; but how could this be? For this Chronology will have Woden, live and flourish 1038 years before Christ, and Hengist came not into Britain, till about 449 years after his Birth, the Great Grandfather, Grandfather and Father of Hengist, must at this rate have been nigh as long lived as Methuselah, supposing them to have generated in the middle

2910  
Mundi.  
  
1038  
449

29 IC  
Mundi.

103  
449

The *Jutes*,  
*Saxons*, and  
*Angles*, came  
into the Nor-  
thern Parts of  
Germany, un-  
der Conduct  
of *Woden*.

The Names of  
their Towns  
the same.

Being very  
much alike  
all things.

## Sect. 2.

Three that bore the Name of Woden.

middle of their Age. Some therefore tell us, that as amongst the Greeks there were several that bore the Name of *Hercules*, but that they were all confounded together, and what was done by one was ascribed to one; so also it fell out as to the matter of *Woden*. There is one that thinks there were three of this Name all deified: the first descended from *Saturn* and the *Trojan Kings*, called *Affanus*, and *Odin bin Gamle*, or *Woden the Ancient*, who never came into *Carpoe*, but his Name and Rights were hither brought by others. The second of *Opfal*, to whom in *Suedeland* was a Temple dedicated, which was very sumptuous shining with Gold, who was also called *Affanus*, but a stranger of the *Scythians*. The third was called *Metbodinus*, or *Middle Woden*, of whom *Saxo Grammaticus* maketh mention, who, the other *Woden* being abroad, took occasion to feign himself a God, but after his return relinquishing his Prestigiatory tricks fled away into *Phaonia*, there to lurk; but was slain by the Concourse of the Inhabitants. Another produces a fourth *Woden*, who being beaten by *Pompey* out of *Asia*, into the Northern Parts, taught the People the Arts and Laws of the *Africks*, and was therefore had in especial Honour. But his flight is from the Romans also ascribed unto him of *Opfal*, although they are reported to have lived in far different Ages. In these obscure matters it's difficult where to fix. If such was the Descent of our *Saxon* Conquerors, there must be a *Woden*, much later than that first we have spoken of, nay later than the last of all these mentioned. But it's a usual thing with Ethnicks to father such upon their Gods as they are at a loss with, as to their Pedigrees. Or some notable Warriour, the more to aggrandize his Name, might assume to himself or have given to him that of *Woden*.

16. Let us admit then of this story of *Woden*, and the great Army of *Saxons*, *Gotes* and *Suebi*, that came with him into *Germany*. Now let us see what there they did, let us take a view of these several sorts of People, there supposed to be planted. *Nicolas Cifner*, a Learned Lawyer of *Spira*, in his Preface to *Krantzius* his History of *Saxony*; having brought the *Sace* and the *Saxons* (sprung from them) out of *Asia*, whence from the East they betook themselves Northward, and from the North by Degrees into Countries nearer to these parts of the World, is of opinion, that most of the People of *Germany*, as the *Suevi*, *Catti*, *Alani*, *Cimbri*, *Daci*, *Dani*, *Getae* and *Goths* almost in the same method and manner, powered themselves into *Europe*; so that what Neighbourhood was amongst them in *Asia*, the same almost continued with them in *Europe*. But, the old *Saxons*, or those that first invaded *Germany*, seated themselves in that Country, which at present contains *Holstia*, properly so called, *Dithmarsch*, *Stonnar* and *Wagria*: the breadth of it lies from the City of *Sleswick* to that of *Hamborough* (placed in the utmost part of *Saxony*) the length from the Western to the Eastern Sea, or from the *German Ocean* to the *Baltick*, having old *France* adjoining to it, between the Mouths of the *Elbe*, and the *Rhine*. For *Ptolemy* places the Southern Border of *Saxony*, betwixt the Mouth of the River *Albis* (now *Elbe*) and *Chalusus* (or *Trane*, which runs by *Lubeck*) the Northern Border as *Adamus Bremenfis* fixeth it was the River *Egdom*, which separated the old *Saxony* (from lying North of the River *Elbe*, called *Nortalbingia*) from *Dania*. Of the People inhabiting this *Saxonia Transilviana*, the same Author makes this distinction. Of the *Transilvian Saxons*, there are three People: the first are the *Dithmarsch* upon the Ocean, whose Church is inhabited by the *Metropolis* is lofty *Hamburg*. With this division agrees *Helmoldus* in his *Slavonian History*. The old *Saxony* was not therefore *Westphalia*, as *Krantzius*, and several others were of opinion, but that which at this day is called the *Dukedom of Holstia*.

17. But afterward by their Conquests our *Saxons* so enlarged their bounds, that several other Divisions came in use. For all these Maritime Parts as far as the River *Scheld* and *Flanders*, were called *Saxony*; then came up Names of *Saxonia Cifrenhana* and *Saxonia Inferior*, as for new *Saxony*, or that which bears the Name at this day, it's but a small Pittance of the other. All these though distinguished enough amongst themselves in *Germany*, were first known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the name of *Cimbri*, as the Sea from the *Cimbria Chersonesus*, as far as *Flanders*, having been called *Mare Cimbrium*. Though the *Saxons* brought their Name out of *Asia* with them, and were by it sufficiently known at home, yet *Ptolemy* is the first Author that makes mention of it; and after it became known, and

Bronchus  
Saxones E.  
pifopus S.  
haterfus in  
Confectu  
del Saxo  
Gammu  
ex verisfig.  
ma tabula  
Genealogis  
Escriba Ca.  
thodici au.  
bitini.

Angulus ju.  
nat.

Adamus Bre.  
menfis Hist.  
Saxoni. l. i.  
cap. 9.  
Egdomm ni.  
am Krantzio  
dictur ab  
Holo Sylos &  
Saxon Inest.  
longitudinem  
Sylvestris in  
cola. Alii  
dicunt Regi-  
nem Gama-  
nia fuisse E-  
tam Olfass  
veterem Saxo-  
niam, in acie  
quae fuit in  
mufcipio  
Choracii.

The Seats  
of the Angli  
where.

and famous to *Greeks* and *Romans*, by it they understood that Part of the *Cimbri* inhabiting betwixt the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elbe*, which had been conquered by our ancient *Saxons*. So much for the Seats of our ancient *Saxons*, now let us see if we can find that of the *Angles*, and we are pointed to it by *Ethelward*, and our own Monk of *Malmesbury*, who tell us, that *Old England* was situate betwixt the *Saxons* and *Gotes*, having its Capital Town, in the *Saxon* Tongue called *Sleswick*, but *Haithaby* by the *Danes*. Betwixt an Arm of the *Baltick*, of old called *Slia* and the Bay of *Fletehoicke*, did this Countrey lie; which still, by its Inhabitants is called *Anglen*; by *Krantzius* and others that write in Latin *Anglia*. The Inhabitants were more anciently called *Suevi*, being part of the Nation which *Cesar* witnesseth in his time to have been the greatest and most Warlike of all the *German* Nations. *Ptolemy*, though others mention more, distinguishes them into three sorts of People, viz. The *Suevi Longobardi*, the *Suevi Semnones*, and the *Suevi Angli*, whom *Tacitus* and other Historians contractedly call *Angli*. But some make a great doubt, others deny that the *Saxones Angli*, and these *Suevi Angli*, were the same Nation; and upon this ground, because *Beda* calls the *Angli*, *Saxons*, but the *Saxons* and *Suevi* were not the same Nation, being Nations distinct both as to Name and Place. To this others answer, that so it was indeed at their first coming into *Germany*; but afterward part of the *Suevi*, with their Seat about the *Elbe* was conquered by the *Saxons*, and after this retained both their own Name, and yet got that also of *Saxons*. So the *Normans* and *Britains* retain their old Names in *Gall*, and yet in a general acceptance, are called *French*. And as we said before, the *Saxons* passing over the *Elbe*, pierced as far as the *Rhine*, nay, the *Scheld* and all People in this compass obtained the surname of *Saxon*, especially such as lived within the two former Rivers. Now that part of the *Suevi* were seated betwixt these two Rivers, *Srabo* is a sufficient Witness, who also testifies that the *Suevi* were a restless People, and wont often to change their Seats. Therefore though the *Suevi Angli* in the days of *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy*, inhabited the Inland Countrey, yet some time after they might remove, being not wont in *Cesar's* time (as he assures us) to stay any longer than a year or two in a place.

18. Being invited by the *Saxons* to join with them in War against the *Danes*, they mixed with them in the *Chersonesus*, or in *Jutia*, the *Danes* being ejected, who sometimes again recovered their ground and expelled them. But hence the *Angli* received the Name of them under whose Patrocity they were, being when amongst the *Suevi*, called *Anglo Suevi*, when amongst the *Saxons*, *Angli Saxones*, in *Pomeravia*, *Angli Pomeravi*, in *Frisia*, *Angli Frisij*, and some were called *Angli Germani*; but the *Angli Saxones* became most eminent, because they came over into *Britain* in Conjunction with the *Jutes* and true *Saxons*, the Name of which *Beda* gives to both the other, which argues this People to have been then under their Jurisdiction. This doth much make for this Opinion of their changing their Seats, that neither *Ptolemy* nor any after him till they came into *Britain* makes any mention of the *Angli* in the *Chersonesus* or *Jutia*, and when they come to be mentioned as inhabiting the *Chersonesus*, none speaks of their living upon the *Elbe*, a great sign they were thither removed. Neither after this time doth any Geography speak of two sorts of *Angli* separated as to the place of their Habitation. But, in making this discovery of the Place of the *Angli*, we have light upon that of the *Jutes* too, who inhabited *Jutia*, which still retains its Name being a most known and remarkable Member of the present *Danish* Kingdom. A Geographer speaking of the Parts of the said Kingdom, tells us, that *Gothia* is most spacious and Populous, in the place of which Name, the former Syllable being omitted, one near to it is retained, and it is called *Jutia*; But that the Name of *Jutia* or *Jutland* was ancient, not only *Adamus Bremenfis*, but *Saxo Grammaticus* witnesseth, as also *Beda*, who more than once calls the Inhabitants thereof by the Name of *Jute*. For a very learned man affirms to us that all the Manuscript Copies of that Author which he consulted, so read it, and not *Vite*, where with also concur, *Florentius of Worcester*, *William of Malmesbury*, *Henry of Huntingdon*, *Matthew of Westminster*, *Ralph of Cbesler* and others. *Fabius Ethelward* the *Saxon* Writer calls the Countrey *Giota* and the People *Giote*; the *Saxon* Annals of *Peterburg* geatum and iocum. Agreeable to this is the mention which *Afserius Menevenfis* makes of *Olfac* the Grandfather of King *Alfred* by the Mother, that He was a Goth by Nation being issued from the

Sect. 2.  
Malmsh.  
Lib. 2. c. 2.

Dr. Angli Co-  
piat ejus Cij-  
nerus in Pref.  
ad Krantzium.

Vide Suffri-  
dum Petrum  
de Orig. Fri-  
gior. lib. 1. c. 11.  
Sheringham  
mon qui fu-  
it, p. 2.

Uffersius de  
Brit. Ecclesiar.  
Primordis.  
pag. 391.  
Saxones Re-  
gis Alstith  
verfus habet  
geacum  
Chronologus  
Saxonicus  
7. c. 11.



## Sect. 2.

They lose the  
possession of  
Juteland.

22. The next King of the Saxons mentioned by *Krantzius*, is *Sifrid*, who lived in the time of *Fladding King of the Danes*, with whom he had some skirmishes, but still he kept possession of *Jutia*, which was lost by *Hundinck* his Son, who was worsted in a single Combat, to which he was provoked by *Roe the Danish King*, who founded *Rofchild* a Town once famous in *Danemark*. From this time the Saxons never had the entire possession of *Juteland*, though sometimes the Dukedom of *Slefwicke*, the principal part of it was in their Dominion. The next Adventure made by our Saxons was about another Love business, liking it seems in such to intermeddle. *Flather*, you must know, the King of *Sweden* had a Mistress he much affected, and a Rival one *Balder*, his Subject by Birth, and so in this respect his Inferiour; but Superiour to him in the Opinion of the People, which for his Magical tricks, as it seems, had fanned him to be a God. To War they went, a supposed God, for a Mortal Woman; and he did not so confide in his Divinity, but that judging himself too weak for his King, he fought to *Gelder* the King of the Saxons for aid, a Person that very readily complied with his Demands. Though the Saxons had now lost *Jutia*, yet their Ships they had not, which had transported them into *Sweden*, but that that King's Fleet met them by the way and freight engaged them. Now, as our Author observes, a supposed Divinity could not prevail against the Arms of poor Mortals. *Balder* is beaten and runs away. The Saxons stick to it, and are slain every Mother's Son: Which the Enemy perceiving, made a fair Funeral Pile of their Vessels, and therewith most nobly and gently consumed them. A Fact, doubtless to be compared with that Generosity which *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* shewed towards slain *Marcellus*. The next Act of the Saxons shewed but little of Generosity. They would have hec'tor'd *Wermud* the King of *Danemark* out of *Jutia*, being now very old and blind, and having a Son, in whom for his reputed Stolidity, he had no pleasure. The Ambassadors in a jeering way offer a Combat betwixt this Son and their Masters, which contrary to all expectation, the Fool accepts; nay, offers to meet in the Field both him and his Squire, and that with such success, that he first doughtily slew the Squire, and then his Master.

23. By this means the proud Saxons were forced to submit their own Necks to the Yoke which they had been sitting for others, though not long they continued in that condition. For shaking off the Yoke of Servitude again, in the days of *Dan*, the third of that Name, King of the *Danes*, they sent another proud Challenge to them, either to pay Tribute, or to expect them to come and fetch it; but in this Adventure our daring Saxons were once again beaten. Here *Krantzius* satisfies the wonder of his Reader, why he should so much hear of Sea Expeditions, and nothing of the Mediterranean Parts; why the *Danes* should still come off with Victory, and the Saxons ever with loss and discredit, a thing which did not so fall out in after times. He tells him there's no Body has written of these Matters but *Saxo Grammaticus* an Islander, one who made it his design to extoll the *Danes*, as all other Writers *Greek* and *Roman* have done by their Countrymen; had *Saxo* been a *Saxon* by his Country as well as by Name, he would have done the quite contrary, and not obtruded these Fables upon the World, but perhaps others as bad on the contrary side. Doubtless he is very fabulous and partial, and for that cause we refer the History of these Northern Kingdoms to another Period, when he may have something certain whereon to fix; but when we have certain footing as we have in the case of the *Britains*, *Saxons*, and others, then judge we it necessary to give the Reader an hint of Fables, though Fables, which by that habit we dress them in, and that distinction we put upon them he may easily discover from rational and probable Stories. Then comes *Krantzius* to write the History of the *Cimbri*, which made War in *Italy*, and other places, which we have heretofore dispatched in the Accounts we have already given of those Nations, against which they made War. We have already told the Reader, that unto the *Greeks* and *Romans* the Saxons were first known, as well as others, by the Name of *Cimbri*; but so were all down to *Gall*, and even the *Galls* themselves, of which Nation these *Cimbri* that invaded *Italy* and *Greece*, seem to have been. And whereas *Krantzius* saith they were Saxons, we shall grant them so to have been, in a large acceptation, as their Name was also communicated to all that inhabited, even as far as the *Scheld*.

24. After this he reassumes his Story of the War betwixt the Saxons and *Danes*. They paid Tribute to *Fronte* the Great, who reigned when our Saviour was born, and to his Son *Fridleue* as valiant and victorious as himself, but grudging to do so to his Son *Frotho* a Child of but twelve years old. They rebel, and

And are beaten at Sea by the Danes.

Another defeat.

They have the  
worst again.

the Armies meeting, the Controverſie is referred to another Duel between one *Starcar* on the ſide of the *Danes*, and one *Hama* on the *Saxon* part, who came by the worth, having his head cloven afunder, from whom the Writer gueſſeth the Town of *Hamburg* might receive its Name. Yet ſtill would not the Saxons reſt, but ſhortly after paſſing the *Elbe* (for they had loſt to the *Danes* all lying beyond that River) they were again overcome and loſt their Captain *Haneſ*, from whom he thinks *Hanoſer* might alſo receive its Name; and truly one as likely as the other. But for all this *Swerting* the other Captain of the Saxons would not be diſcouraged, and preſuming he ſhould do nothing by force, betook himſelf to Wiles and Craft. He invites the King of the *Danes* to his Houſe, and then ſets it on fire, willingly therein periſhing like another *Decius* or *Samſon*, that thereby he might deſtroy his Enemy. The Sons of this *Swerting* took off his Son and Succellour from revenging his death, by giving to him their Siſter in Marriage, which procured ſo good an underſtanding betwixt them, that they lived lovingly with him in his Court for a long time, till ſtout *Starcar* returned thither. He (you muſt know) ſo rated the poor young King for harbouring theſe Snakes in his boſome, that to prevent ſtinging he knock'd them on the Head, notwithstanding what their Siſter and her Children could do to preſerve them. Yet could not he get any Tributes from the Saxons, who now flood upon their guard and ſtoutly defended their Liberty.

They pay for  
their Leache-  
ry once more.

25. What was done in the mean time in the Iſland Countries by the Saxons, *Krantzius* complains that we are ignorant, blaming *Tacitus* for being too much tacitus in this Particular. He then mentions in ſhort what was done in *Germany* by *Drufus* and *Germanicus* in the time of *Auguſtus*, concluding, that thoſe they had to do with were Saxons, although ſuch they be not called. After this he tells us another Tale of one *Sinar* a Nobleman amongſt them, who had got the conſent of the young Queen of the *Danes*; but one *Haldan* of *Norway* who had had a Months mind to her, but was diverted, by ſome Wars he waged with the *Ruffes* hearing of the Wedding, came as *Gram* had done upon them on the very day, and cruelly ſlaying the Bridegroom, took the Bride away with him: And theſe are the *Saxon* Antiquities (and goodly ones they are) which *Saxo* the *Daniſh* Writer (in Name alone being *Saxon*) hath communicated to us; the reſt are buried in Oblivion. From theſe goodly Antiquities he paſſeth to what was done againſt the *Batavi* in the time of *Velpaſian*, but inſiſts on this Subject but little, as unproper by his Confeſſion. Next he falls into a grievous Complaint that none hath tranſmitted to Poſterity the Actions of the Saxons in the Inland Countries, not doubting but that ſuch as had been ſo ſtout at Sea, would not be Cowards Land, but have acted ſomething againſt or with the *Turingi* and *Vandals*. He doubts not but they had an hand in that War of the *Marcomans*, in the days of *Marcus Antoninus*, which affrighted the *Romans* no leſs than the *Carthaginian* Wars had done. But neither any of the *Marcomans* nor Saxons committed any thing relating hereunto to writing; we only enjoy what the *Romans* wrote, which they did, as all other Stories, for the advantage and grandeur of their Empire, only being ſilent as to the valiant deeds of their Enemies. We ſee a Man hath plainly the advantage of a Lion, becauſe a Man was the Painter. Could a Lion have painted, we ſhould have ſeen another kind of Picture. Of theſe things we may complain, but cannot amend them. Thus *Krantzius* Wittily.

26. He farther obſerves, that till about three hundred years after the Birth of *Chriſt*, there is no mention made of the Saxons in any *Roman* Writer. The firſt that mentioned them, is *Eutropius*, and after him *Oroſius*, in the Reigns of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. *Eutropius* relates how *Carauſius* being appointed to clear the Coaſts of the *Armorican* and *Belgiſh* Seas, which the *Franks* and Saxons infeſted, though he often took many Barbarians, yet neither gave up the Booty to the Provincials, nor ſent it to the Emperours, was ſuſpected for favouring of the Pirates, that he might rob them as they paſſed by, and for this reaſon being commanded to be ſlain by *Maximian*, took upon him the Purple at *Bononia* or *Bulleign* in *Picardy*. This is related by *Oroſius* in well nigh the ſame words, and by *Beda* in his *Britannia*, as he calls it. Here our Author inſults upon two ſorts of Writers, as well he may; Firſt, ſuch as fetch the *Franks* from the Lake of *Maoris*, in the time of *Valentinian* the Emperour, who was not yet born; then over thoſe who deduce the Original of the Saxons, from the times of *Theodorich* King of the *Franks*, who was neither in being two hundred years after: This is to be taken ſpecial notice of, that in theſe days the Saxons exerciſed Piracy upon all theſe

## Sect. 1.

DrOrig Ham-  
burg viſit Cif-  
tern in Pref.  
Krantzius ſa-  
tisfied Lam-  
berts Origines  
Hamburgienſis.

Sect. 2. these Coasts, and that as well the *Britiſh*, as the *Gallick*; ſo falſe is that which ſome have affirmed, that before the coming over of *Hengiſt*, they were known to the *Britains*. For *Claudian* the Poet, inveighing againſt (a) *Eutropius*: about the year of our Lord 400, makes mention of their Inſeſting the Sea in general, (b) in another place of the *Orchades*, and in (c) another introduces *Britannicus*, ſpeaking how *Stilico* had Fortified her both againſt the Invaſions of *Piſts*, *Scots* and *Saxons*. Moreover, (d) *Sidonius Apollinaris*, about the time of their coming into the Iſland, deſcribes moſt elegantly their Piracy, both in his *Epitile* to *Lampridius*, and in his Panegyrick to his Father-in-Law.

27. Moreover, in the *Notitia* of the Dignities of the Western Empire, we have mention made of the *Comes litoris Saxonici per Britannias*, of the Count of the *Saxon* Shore throughout *Britain*. Now the *Saxon* Shore was all that Tract from the *Cambrica Cherſoneſus* on that ſide the Sea, as far even as the Western Part of *Gall*, where the *Saxons* were wont both to rove and rob upon the Sea, and alſo land and make depredations on the Continent; and from this Shore it is, that a very Learned Man of our own will have the Count of the *Saxon* Shore throughout *Britain*, to have received his Title, denying that this Shore of *Britain* could be called the *Saxon* Shore, becauſe here they never landed, but only robbed off at Sea. In a matter of truth we muſt be impartial, and affirm him ſtrangeſy overſeen when he ſaith that, \* We read not any where that the *Saxons* had at that time, either ſetled themſelves upon the Shores of *Britain*, or were wont to ſail thither, or that they infeſted any thing of *Britain*, except the Sea. From the verſes of *Claudian* lately cited, it ſufficiently appears that *Britain*, as he brings her in, did not fear the *Saxon* roving, but the *Saxon* coming, and how could he properly ſaid to come to her except he landed? But *Ammianus* himſelf, whom that Learned Man ſo often cites, ſufficiently clears the controverſie, where he relates that a meſſage came, how *Britain* was extremely vexed by Conſpiracy of Barbarians, that *Neſtaridius* the Count of the Maritime Tract was ſlain, and *Buchobandes* the Duke was circumvented by their Hoſtile lying in wait; now what Barbarians theſe were, is evident from his words which follow, that the *Saxons* were at this time wont to Conſpire with the *Attacotti* and *Scotti*; and in another place he writes, that as the *Allemani* did depopulate *Gall*, and *Rhetia*, and the *Sarmatae* and *Quadi* *Pannonia*, ſo the *Piſts*, *Scotti*, and *Attacotti*, vexed the *Britains* with continual miſeries. Can we imagine that theſe Rovers would not land any where, where they could get booty; and that *Britain* ſhould be ſo poor and beggarly, that it ſhould not afford them Incouragement, as well as the waterliſh places of *Holland*, and the barren Coaſts of *Brabant*: their aim, if they rightly underſtood their Trade, ſhould be to prey at Sea upon the *Batavians*, whoſe ground could ſcarcely maintain them, as at this day, and plunder the Land of *Britain* more fruitfully, affording more incouragement than the other. We find by *Claudian* they landed in the *Orchades*, and were the *Orchades* Iſlands more tempting than the Iſland of *Britain*? As for the opinion of *Pancirollus*, that the *Britiſh* ſhould be called the *Saxon* Shore, becauſe the *Saxons* were before called in by *Vortigern* to aſſiſt the *Britains*, and there inhabited, in thoſe times, it is a mighty overſight alſo, the *Saxons* being called in long after there was a Count of the *Saxon* ſhore throughout *Britain* in the times of the *Romans*. But it was but an overſight not worthy to be ſo charged with ignorance by that Learned Man, *Pancirollus* being ſufficiently known to have been excellently ſkilled both in Hiſtory, the ſeries of Times, and other Learning.

28. That our *Saxons* then were great Pirates and Rovers at Sea, it's granted on all hands; but as one of our Learned Men denies they landed or made any abode in *Britain*, ſo another as eminent in things of this nature alſo, will not yield that before the coming of *Hengiſt*, they had ſo much as paſſed the *Elbe*, and ſeated themſelves upon that Shore betwixt it and the *Rhine*, ſo commodious for Riding of Ships and Navigation. He grants that in the time of *Domitian*, through the Tract of *Belgica* and *Aremorica*, they infeſted the Sea, as *Eutropius* witneſſeth, and that the *Saxons* were a Nation alive, in Piracy on all the Coaſt from the River *Rhine* to the City *Donia*, now called *Danemarck*; at ſuch time as they were called into *Britain*, as *Fabius Eihelwerdus* affirms in the ſecond little Book of his Annals. He denies not that they exerciſed Piracy in that Maritime Tract: but cannot yet, he ſaith, find that they fixed any where in the Continent of that Tract: For, whereas it is read in *Zozimus*, that the *Quadi* Part of the *Saxons* ſeiſed upon *Batavia*, having thence beaten the *Franci Salii*, and that *Julian* taking upon him the defence of the *Salii*, reduced the *Quadi* into obedience, he cannot

aſſent to it firſt, becauſe the *Quadi* were no part of the *Saxons*, and then becauſe (a) *Eunapius Sardinus* (whoſe Hiſtory (b) *Zozimus* rather tranſcribed than wrote one himſelf) neither ſaid they were *Quadi*, neither *Canchi* (whom *Cluverius* would ſubſtitute in their Rooms) nor *Saxons*, but *Chamani*; (c) *Julian* himſelf in his *Epitile* to the Senate and People of *Athens*, ſetting forth what he had done to the ſame purpoſe. But to this may be oppoſed, firſt, that they made many Inrodes, and theſe Inrodes made by them were not ſmall and contemptible, but to ſome extent; for (d) *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that in the days of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, the Coaſts of *Gall* were waſted by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, bordering upon them, each making excuſſions as far as they could by Land or Sea, with grievous plunderings, firings, and ſlaughters of ſuch as they took Priſoners. And farther, the *Saxones Baiecaſſini*, or the *Saxons* of *Baienx*, are mentioned by *Gregory of Tours*, as ancient Inhabitants upon the Shore of *Aremorica*. It's not the opinion onely of *Krantzius*, that the *Saxons* long before their coming into *Britain*, had enlarged their Borders from *Holfatia*, on this ſide the *Elbe*, almoſt as far as the *Rhine*, but *Aventinus* placeh the *Saxons* between theſe two Rivers, even in the days of *Auguſtus Caſar*. Some Eaſtward extend their Dominions through all the *Sarmatian* Sea, even almoſt as far as the River *Tanais*, which ſeparates *Europe* from *Asia*. And an ancient Chronicle in *Rhine* alledges from other Books, much more ancient, that all the Country beneath *Neomagus*, was in old time called the lower *Saxony*, and that the River *Scheld* taking in its Waters from the *Meuſe* and the *Rhine*, was its Western Border. To be ſure that after the removal of the *Franks* into *Gall*, by degrees they ſetled themſelves in their Seats, and not onely poſſeſſed the Maritime Coaſt betwixt the *Elbe* and the *Rhine*, but pierced into the inward Parts of *Germany*, on all hands is agreed. Theſe things ſpeak the extent of the *Saxon* Power; which indeed was ſo terrible both at Land and Sea (wherever they planted) that amongſt all other Nations, in the decay of the Empire, they by the *Romans* were moſt feared.

Are chiefly feared by the Romans.

29. We have now preſented our *Saxons* ready to take Ship, or their Keels for *Britain*, to which Voyage they were ſufficiently inclined, doubtleſs from the knowledge they could not but have of the Iſland. And ſo great inclination they had, that ſome there are who ſpeak nothing of an Invitation, but ſay like unweelcome Gueſts, as they proved, they came abſolutely without ſending for; yet partly becauſe they could not ſtay at home. For *Ninius* will have them driven by their Relations out of *Germany*, which another limits unto *Frifa*, as the *Galls* of old when their Country was not able to maintain their growing Multitudes, ſent out as to travel, three hundred thouſand of their Brood, to ſeek out new Habitations; ſo *Geoffrey of Monmouth* would have us believe it to have been the Cuſtome in *Saxony*, to ſend out their Numbers by Lot, to free themſelves from a ſuperfluous Multitude. But we have good ſecurity from *Gildas*, *Reda*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and many others, that they were ſent for over by *Vortigern*, whom *Gildas* calls a proud and unlucky Tyrant, and *Witichind* makes a formal Embaſſy to be ſent, as we have before related. Therefore *William* the Monk of *Malmesbury* will have both Cauſes to have concurre'd, which is not improbable. It pleaſeth them all (ſaith he) to ſend for the *Saxons* and *Angli* out of *Germany*, being valiant at their Arms, and a wandering People. Hereby would accrue double profit, for being irrevocable, they would eaſily beat back their Enemies; and hitherto being uncertain where to fix, they would take it for a mighty favour, if they might have but ſome rough and barren Soil, ſome dry and hungry Heath to inhabit. They never imagined they would do any thing againſt their Country, the freſh memory of this favour would ſo oblige them and ſoften the ſevereneſs of their Diſpoſition. This Advice being approved, Ambaſſadors are ſent into *Germany*, men really of quality, who would worthily diſcharge themſelves of that publick Charaſter. The  *Germans* hearing they were courted to a thing which they themſelves a thouſand times had deſired, quickly conſcended; the pleaſure they took in the Enterprize, ſpurring them on to all expedition imaginable. Bidding therefore farewell to the Places that bred them, and renouncing the Affections of their Parents, they commit themſelves to the favourable Ggle of Fortune and the Winds, which in three long Ships, which they call *Ciules* or *Keels*, waſt them into *Britain*. Now at this time and afterward they came from three ſorts of People in *Germany*, viz. The *Angles*, *Saxons* and *Jutes*.

30. For, almoſt all the Land which lies under the Northern Pole, becauſe it doth germinate ſo many Men (ſo the Monk plays with the word) is not udeſervedly called *Germany*, though diſtinguiſhed by many Limits of Provinces. Wherefore in like manner, as they whoſe work it is, are wont to cut off the Luxuriant boughs of a

Sect. 2.

Casting Lots  
 who shall goe.

*Hengist and  
Horsa arrive  
with a small,  
but valiant  
Company.*

*Tree, that it may have Juice enough wherewith to keep in Life the remaining ; so do the Inhabitants by the Expulsion of some of their Number ease their Mother, left by feeding so numerous an Off-spring the should be exhausted ; but to prevent grudgings and discontent, they use Lots for deciding the Controverſie, who ſhall be ſent away. Thence it is, that the Men of that Land have made a Vertue of a Neceſſity, that ſuch as were driven from their Native ſoil, might by their Arms make themſelves room in foreign Countries, as the Wandals who formerly overran Africk, the Goths who poſſeſſed Spain, as the Lombards which ſtill inhabit Italy, and the Normans poſſeſſing that part of Gall, which they had won with their Arms, have called it Normandy. Out of this Germany then came fiſt into Britain a ſmall Band of Men, but ſuch as made good uſe of ſmalneſſe by its Valour, two brothers of hopefull Inclinations, and not ignoble in their Country, viz. Hengiſt and Hoſia, being their Captains. For they were the Abnepotes, or Great, great Grandchildren of that moſt ancient Woden, from whom almoſt all barbarous Nations derive their Pedigree, and whom the Nations of the Engliſh, madly fancying to be a God, have by a perpetual Sacrilege conſecrated to him the fourth day of the week to this very time, and the ſixth day to his Wife Frea.*

31. This is to be observed from what we have formerly said, that such as came over into *Britain* were of the Ancient *Saxons*, viz. those peculiarly so called whose seats we have shewn, and of the *Futes* and *Angles*. *Ninius* will have *Hengist* to have come out of an Island called *Ogubol*, whereby by it he means the whole *Cimbrick Peninsula*, or as Learned *Oderus* found in one Copy *Angul*, that is that part of the *Cherfonesus*, which at this day is called *Anglen*, and gives a certain representation of the whole *Peninsula*. But (a) others from the Chronicle of *Leyden*, will have *Hengist* a *Frisjan*. *John* (b) of *Leiden*, in his *Belgick* Chronicle, affirms him to have been King of *Frisjor* *Freiseland*, which he says was called Lower *Saxony*. *Suffridus* (c) *Petrus* contends, that he was the Son of *Udolph* *Herro*, the seventh Duke of the *Frisjans* by *Suana*, the Daughter of *Vetigis* Prince of the *Saxons*; and adds that he led forth two several Colonies: the former in the two and twentieth year of his Age into old *England* near *Guia*, where for sixty two years he continued sustaining his Company, partly by Tillage, and partly by a piratical kind of War: the second in the eighty fourth year of his Age from that *England* into *Britain*, where he lasted not above four years dying in the eighty eighth year of his Age, which was of our Lord the four Hundred fifty third. But whatever he fondly talks of Books written in those days upon these subjects by the Father of *Hengist*, and two I wot not what Dukes, our Learned Primate very rationally concludes, that if *Hengist* and *Horfa* were *Frisjans*, they were born rather in the *Danish* *Frisia*, than in that which borders upon *Holland*. For in *Danemarc* there is a *Freiseland*, which in respect of the other *Saxo Grammaticus* calls the isles in the beginning of his History, being the most Southern Part of Southern *Juland*, having on the East Old *England* or old *Anglia*, and on the South the Ancient *Saxony*, and separated from both by the River *Eidore*, from which its Inhabitants are called *Eiderstedes*, as from the shore they inhabit *Srand* *Freiselanders*. That these People were a Colony of the *Frisjans*, the Agreement both of their Name and Language do testify, as the same *Saxo* writes, and *Vibbo Emmius* affirms, that still they retain through so many Ages their Speech uncorrupted, having so much affinity with the *English* Tongue, that it comes not nearer any Language of their Neighbours.

32. Now if the *Frisians* were of one and the same Origin, and agreed in their Speech both betwixt themselves and the *English*, it's the less to be wondred faith the Primate, that the *Frijones* are also with other Nations, which gave Origin to the *English Saxons* reckoned by *Beda*; the other are, besides the Ancient *Saxons*, the *Rugini*, *Dani*, *Hunni* and *Borduarri*, some of which might poibly come over amongst the conflant supplies which were sent to *Hengst*, and thereto out of *Saxony*; for that the main Body of the Colony consisted of the three Nations, *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes* is universally accorded. Neither is there any other Testimony besides this of *Beda*, that the *Anglosaxons* were of *Frisian* descent, for as for that which *Emmius* produceth out of *Marcellinus*, in the life of *Suidbert*, that *Marcellinus* is a forged Authour, discovered to be such by *Stephen White* (one of the most knowing not only in the Antiquities of his own *Iland*, but of other Nations also) as *Maulaw* the Great Patron of that Book himself confessed. But he produces another Proof out of *Procopius*, who writes that the *Iland of Britain* was inhabited by three most numerous Nations, over each of which commanded its own King, these are called Angli Frilones, and Britones, having a Name near a-kind to the

(a) Vorper  
Thaborit. Hif.  
tor Frif. l. i. c. 8.  
(b) Johan. Ger.  
brand.  
(c) In Apol.  
pro Antiquit.  
Frif.

*Y In Print*  
p. 397.

Hist. lib 14.  
Hist. Frisc.  
lib. 2.

Lib. 1. Hist.  
62. 10.

## CHAP. II.

*Island it self.* And what can you now farther require faith *Ubbu* & *Bud* *Procopius* meant nothing less than *Britain*; he wrote of *Brittia*, which in the fult place in plain words he distinguishing from *Britain*, placing it betwixt *Britain* and *Scandonaui*, which he calls *Thule*. This shews us how to correct that Passage of *Iaac* *Tetzels*, the Scholiast upon *Lycophron*, which faith, *that in the Ocean is the Island of Britain placed betwixt Britain which lies Weltward, and Thule towards the East.* And whatsoever the two *Tetzels* Brothers, *John* upon *Hesiod*, and *Iaac* upon *Lycophron*, have fabled concerning the Souls of the deceased, they being carried into *Brittain* (as we read it.) *Procopius* writes all this with Relation to *Brittia*.

33. We land therefore our Saxons in Britain, being such as were defended from those properly to be called from the *Angles* and *Jutes*, though some of other Nations might possibly intermix in some of their supplies, and now let us enquire what time it was they were sent for over. Those of *Holland* and *Freisland*, say their Passage happened in the three hundredth and eighty fifth year of Our Lord. Out of the Ancient *Welfs* Chronicles, *Price* in his defense of the History of Britain, presents us with this Chronology: *From the time of Guorthigirn, till the Batel of Badon, when Arthur fought with and vanquished the Saxons, passed 128 years: then from the Batel at Badon, to the Batel of Camilan, wherein Arthur was slain 22 years more are reckoned. Now the death of Arthur in the British History is placed at the Year 542, out of which Number first 128 and then 22 being deducted, 392 will remain to have been the Year of our Lord. ...But at this time the Britains were under the Command of the Romans, the yoke of whom though Zozimus writes that they cast off, and made themselves a free People; yet if it is was this was but a rebellious fit of theirs fuitable to what *Gildas* writes of them, for the Saxons came not to their assistance till they had petitioned again the Romans for Relief, and wholly submitted themselves to them again, and yet they were forsaken by them, and left to shift for themselves. This is certain whatever *Irenicus* a German hath written, that the English Saxons on a sudden passed over into England (Britain he means) in the Days of *Valentinian*, and killed the Romans every Mothers Son of them; their opinion is absolutely to be allowed, who write that under *Theodosius* the younger, or else of *Martian* his Successor, this great Alteration happened in Britain.*

34. Therefore an Interliner of *Niniv*, who ever he was, hath placed the coming  
of the Saxons in the year CCCCXXVIII, at the Consulship of *Felix* and *Taurus*,  
in which Consulship the *Franks* their Neighbours lost to *Ætius*, the Count, part of  
*Gall* lying upon the *Rhine*, on which they had seized. To pay by other foreign  
Accounts, which deserve no credit, because they contradict what *Gildas* clearly  
hints, that before the third Consulship of *Ætius*, the Saxons were not called hi-  
ther, *Siegeber* placeth their coming in the very year of his third Consulship, of our  
Lord CCCCXVI. But the *Latin* Saxons Annals left by *Cambden* to *Cottor's* Library, 30  
refer it to the year CCCCXLVIII. *Fabius Ethehwald*, and with him the *Annals*  
written in the *Englisch* Saxon Tongue, published by *Wheelock* lately, and by him called  
a Saxon Chronology, *William of Malmesbury*, *Henry of Huntingdon*, *Alanus de*  
*Insula*, *Matthew Florilegus*, and others assign it to the year CCCCXLIX, induced  
as *Tyler* believes by those words of *Beda*, that in the year CCCCXLIX, from the  
Incarnacion of our Lord (so the Manuscripts have it, not as the Printed Books, CCCCX)  
*Martian* being the forty fourth from *Angustus*, together with *Valentinian*  
obtained the Empire, and held it seven years. Then the Nation of the English or Saxons,  
invited by the forefaid King (*Vortigern*) passed over into Britain in three long  
ships. But it being evident, that *Martian* came not to the Government till the year  
following, their coming is either to be referred (as *Florentius of Worcester* doth  
it) to the Consulship of *Valentinian* and *Avienus*, that is to the year CCCC,  
as it is in the Common Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus* to the Consulship of *Hercu-*  
*lanus* and *Asperatus*, which, as appears from the *Fasts*, fell into the year CCCCIII.  
For *Beda* doth not mean, that jult in the year that *Martian* was advanced, but  
within the compas of the seven years he reigned, the Saxons arrived in the Island,  
or rather within the five years, wherein he jointly governed with *Valentinian*.  
For in the Epitomy of his History, *Beda* signifieth, that in their times the English  
were sent for by the Britains.

35. What number they were which *Hengist* first brought over with him, is no easy tale where told us, but coming over but in three Vessels by them called *Cinles*, by us *Keels*, by the *Freilanders* *Schieulen*, they could not be very many. They first landed, or as *Gildas* says, set their terrible Claws, on a place called *Hipwinestor*, as both the *Saxon Annals* or *Chronology*, and *Ethelward* do call it, thought

Where they  
landed.

§ 2

to





## S E C T. III.

*The Kingdom of the Jutes in Kent, from the first founding of it by Hengist, to the Conquest of it by Egbert King of the West-Saxons.*

*The space of three hundred seventy four Years.*

Sect. 3. <sup>456</sup>  
<sup>455</sup> **H**engist the Son of *Vilgise*, whose Father was *Pitta* (*Peta, Wehta, or Withar*) the Son of *Woden*, after the death of his Brother *Horsa*, was made King of *Kent* by his Followers, in the year of our Lord *CCCCLVI*, as *Mathew Florilegus* writes, or as all the *English Saxon Annals* consent in the year *CCCCLV*; the same wherein the *Battel* was fought betwixt them and *Vortigern* the Son of *Vortigern*, about the very same time that *Childerick* the First, King of the *Franks*, of the Race of the *Merovingii*, or the Son of *Meroveus* began his Reign; the Affairs of the *Romans* now every day more and more going down the *Wind* in these Parts, and the *Goths* and *Suevi* being together by the Ears about the shares of that Country.

Is beaten to his Ships by Vortimer.  
2. This same year he is said thrice to have fought against the *Britains*; but as the said *Flowergatherer* tells us, was not able to resist the skill and prowess of *Vortimer*, but was glad to flee to the Isle of *Thanet*, where being daily vexed with Sea Fights, at length the *Saxons* being scarcely able to recover their Boats, leaving their Wives and Children, returned into *Germany*. *Henry of Huntingdon* writes, that once he fled to the Isle of *Thanet*, and once to his Ships, and sent in to his Country for such as were gone away. If these Writers say he was beaten, we may be assured *Ninius* the *Britain* will swear it, who plies you with his Verbs *Conclussit, Obsedit, Percussit, Commiuit, Tenuit*, meaning *Vortimer*, (or *Guorthemir* as he calls him) his *Welsh* Blood being up, as it had reason to flee out against these Infidels, these that were wretched Unbelievers themselves, and like Miscreants had broken all Faith and Covenants, and of Hirelings and Servants turned Tyrants and Masters; who being called to protect, were now turned Destroyers, and with Fire and Sword prosecuted the *Britains*, the true and right Proprietors of the Country. But being thus beaten, he faith, they sent Messengers into *Germany* to bring more Keels full of a great number of stout and lusty Warriours, and afterward fought against the Kings of our Nation. Sometimes they overcame and enlarged their Borders, other whiles they were worsted and driven back. And *Guorthemir* greedily fought four Battels against them, whereof the last was by *Lapis Tituli* upon the Shore of the *Gallick* Sea (still called *Stonar*, as we said, in the Isle of *Thanet*) where the Barbarians were overthrown, and he remained Conquerour. They ran away to their Keels, and got fearfully into them like so many Women, and he died not long after. He of *Huntingdon* agrees with him as to the death of *Gortimer* (so he calls him) with whom, he adds, that the hope and success of the *Britains* died. After this, *Hengist*, and *Aesc* his Son having received fresh Supplies out of their Country, and being much encouraged by the death of *Gortimer*, prepare themselves for another Battel at *Creganford*. The *Britains* bring forth against them four Bodies of men, each conducted by a most valiant Captain; but coming to the Engagement, find themselves over-matched by the Numbers of their Enemies. For those that were newly arrived being fresh, and all of them choice men, with their Axes and Swords so laid about them, that they made great slaughter of the *Britains*, who yet left not off till they saw their four Captains dead upon the place. Then being frightened and discouraged beyond belief, fled from *Kent* as far as *London*, and never after durst come thither for to fight. That this Battel fought at *Creganford* (a Village in *Kent*, so called, because situate upon the River *Creke* or *Crey*, about a Mile and an half from *Dartford*, in the Bailiwick of *Sutton Dartford*, Hundred of *Little and Lefness*, lately of *Sutton at Hone*, West Division of the County, and at this day called *Creiford*) was fought in the year *CCCCVII*, wherein *Leo* the Elder began his Reign. *Fabius Ethelward* also testifies, besides *Florence of Worcester*, the *Saxon Annals* both of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*, and the

the other of *Peterburgh* continued, although in others it be referred to the preceding year.

3. But *Ninius* tells us another kind of Tale of what happened after the death of *Guorthemir*, and after the Return of *Hengist* with his Troops. The *Saxons* then began to consult how they might craftily circumvent King *Guorthigirn* and his Army. They sent their Ambassadors to make a Peace and a perpetual League and Amity with them. Hereupon *Guorthigirn* called his Council, and consulted what was to be done; the Result whereof was, that they would accept of a Peace, and with this Answer the Messengers returned. After this a friendly Meeting was agreed on, and Caution was given, that neither *Britains* nor *Saxons* should come to the meeting with their Arms; the more to suffer their Minds and Affections to unite and strengthen. But that most wicked *Hengist* commanded his Followers, that each of them should carry his short \* Sword with him, saying, when I call to you and say *Nemet cour Saxen*, then draw your Knives (or Swords) and fall upon them courageously. But kill not their King, but for my Daughters sake, whom I gave him to Wife, keep him safe, that he may redeem himself. The place was appointed, and they met together. The *Saxons* cunning Foxes seemed very kind, giving marvellous good words, and they fate down man by man very sociably. But *Hengist*, as he said, gave the word, and all the three Hundred Noblemen (*Seniores* † he calls them) of *Guorthigirn* were slain, he alone being taken Prisoner and put into Chains. And for his life he was constrained to give them large Countries, viz. *Basssex, Southsex* and *Mid-dlesex*. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* tells us, that this Meeting was near the Convent of *Ambrist*, not far from *Salisbury*, where † four hundred and sixty Persons were slain, the Bodies of whom were buried by *Eldade* the Bishop of *Gloucester*, with Christian Burial, not far off in the ordinary place. The Chronicle of *Leiden* mentioned that three hundred Princes of *Britain* to have been slain, which account another of that Country follows in his Chronicle of the Low Countries, though he mentions in another place twelve, whom he calls *Duces Britanniarum*, as being the chief in Place and Dignity. But these Outlandish Writers confound the Affairs of *Britains* and *Saxons*. What they say concerning *Hengist* his being beaten out of *Britain*, and his founding the City or Castle of *Leiden* upon the Bank of the River *Rhine*, let the Reader remember what has been said before, that we may not here again repeat it.

4. In the year *CCCCXLV*, *Hengist* and *Aesc* his Son again engaged with the *Britains* at a place called *Wippedfleet*, and therein indeed slew twelve Captains of their Nation, as both *Fabius Ethelward*, *Florence of Worcester*, and the *English Saxon Annals* do testify, these they might mistake, for having been slain in the *Primad*. *Maffacre*. But still about that *Maffacre* there is more variety of Stories. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* talks of *Hengist* his having associated himself for this Enterprize, or Evil Merry-day, no fewer than three hundred thousand men. As to the number of the slain, our *Caxton* and *Johannes Major* in his *Scotch History* will have *Hengist* to have entered *Britain* with fifteen thousand men, and *John Harding* will have the *Saxons* to have killed there near *Salisbury* treacherously, one thousand and three score of the *British* Noblemen. A certain *Scotch* Chronicle agrees with *Geoffrey* in the number of four hundred and sixty; and *William of Malmshury* sides with *Ninius* in the smallest number of three hundred. As for *Hengist* he having been the death of so many *Britains*, at length was slain himself at *Corningsburgh* near the River *Dun* in *Torkshire*, as we have told already, if that be true which the *British* Writers relate of him. There is a great suspicion he came to some such kind of end, because the *English Saxon* Writers say nothing of his death, as neither of any of the Victories obtained by the *Britains*; what made against the honour of their Countrymen they conceal, but are zealous to publish their Conquests and Trophies. *Mathew* the *Flowergatherer* placeth his death in the year *CCCCLXXXIX*, and from him *Ethelward* and the *English Saxon Annals* differ but in one years computation. According to both their Accounts he reigned then thirty and three, or as *Florentius Wigorniensis* hath it thirty and four years; so false is that which *Suffridus Petrus* writes of his being but four years in the Island. He was by consent of all, a most stout Warriour; cruel enough, and as cunning as courageous, knowing very well, in case the Lion's skin was too scant, how to piece it up with the Fox's. As his Brother had his Name from that Noble Creature we still call an *Horse*, so he from the Male of that Species intire as Nature leaves him, without any mutilation of Members. And he being a man deserving Honour in his Country, from that great

A Maffacre.

Hengist is slain at Coningsburgh in Torkshire.

## Sect. 3.

Oferic his Son  
succeeds.

Plantation he settled in this Island, his Countreymen the Saxons might possibly give in memory of him that Animal for their Arms, which formerly were two little Swords or Seanes born crofs or Salter-wife.

5. To *Hengist* succeeded his Son *Oeric* or *Oferic* firnamed *Afe*, as *Beda* informs us, from whom the Kings of *Kent*, saith *Matthew*, to this day are called *Ase-kynges*. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* tells a story, how when *Hengist* was taken and killed in *Canisburgh*, *Oeta* his Son shut himself into *Tork*, but was forc't to yield himself up to *Ambrose*, who granted to him, and to *Eosa* his Kinsman, who had also fortified the City of *Alclud* or *Dunbritton*, a Countrey near to *Scotland*; but though *Oeric*, *Oferic* and *Oeta* being something, yet this seems not the same with the Eldelt, who came into *Britain* with his Father, with whom he was invited by *Vortigern*, as *Beda* writes, and who is said to have begun his Reign also together with his Father over the Saxons (*Jutes* who by a general Name were so called) in the Kingdom of *Kent*. There is little or nothing more spoken of him, than that he reigned twenty four years, though some add ten to this number. The Monk of *Malmesbury* says he reigned quietly, *Florentius* of *Worcester*, gloriously, being content with the Dominions his Father left him, rather than striving to enlarge them, though *Henry* of *Huntingdon* saith he did this too; but most dark are these times whereof only the main things, as great Battels and notable Successions are mentioned, so as Memory and Tradition could transmit them from one Generation to another. For who should relate the many and considerable Actions which happened in this great Revolution? the poor *Britains* were massacred and driven from House and Home: the Saxons were Heathens, nothing of humanity, nothing of civility or letters amongst them. They took care how to get and hold their Possessions, nor thought at all how to transmit the method and course of their Exploits to Posterity. They thought they should do bravely if they but left goodly Inheritances to those that should come after them; how they came by them they cared not whether ever they knew, seeing they should leave them possession, nine points of the Law, and a title written by the Sword's point.

After him  
reigned Otha  
and Ermenric.

6. To *Oferic* succeeded his Son *Otha*, to whom Sir *Henry Savil* in his *Fasts* gives twenty years, although *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us that *Oferic* had for Successors his Son *Otha*, and *Otha*'s Son *Ermenric* more like to him than to the Grandfather and great Grandfather: that to them both are ascribed fifty three years in the Chronicles; but whether they reigned apart or jointly together it's uncertain. But the *Fasts* now mentioned give to *Ermenric* nine and twenty years.

Then Ethelbert.

After them followed *Ethelbert* (or *Egibert*, or *Aethilbryht*, as some Copies read) (him) who at his first coming to the Government was very contemptible in the eyes of his Neighbours, and engaging in War with some of them, was once or twice worsted, particularly by \* *Ceaulin* and *Cutha*, who beat him back into *Kent*, and slew, in a place called *Wibbandune*, two of his Noblemen, *Oslac* and *Cnebhan*, and with much ado could defend what was left him by his Ancestours. But when he grew older, and came to more experience in the World, he grew more skillfull in military matters, and so plied his business, that he obtained Victory where-ever he engaged, and quarrels arising betwixt him and the other petty Kings, as one gave occasion unto another, he subdued them all one after another, and by continual success brought under all the *English* *Saxon* Nations except those of *Northumberland*. This made him so considerable abroad as well as at home, that seeking for Alliances he was not denied, but obtained *Bertha* the Daughter of the King of the *Franks*, say some, or rather one that was of the Blood-royal of that Nation. Now had he and his Court by more acquaintance with the World, and especially by conversation with the Nation of the *Franks*, which had been civilized before, began to relinquish their barbarous manners, and the Queen being a Christian, and having a Christian Bishop, by name *Letard*, attending upon her, by this means he became more susceptible of that Impression which was made upon him by *Augustine* the Monk and his followers, who being sent hither by *Gregory* the Bishop of *Rome*, and finding better acceptance, no doubt, by reason of the Intelligence he might hold with the Queen, without much ado brought him over to the Christian Religion. Having abolished Paganism, and brought in true Religion, that his Subjects might grow into a more civilized Body, like to the other polished Nations of the World, he set upon making Laws, such as most fitted their Temper, and suited with the present occasions of the State. In making these Laws, *Beda* tells us that he followed the pattern of the *Romans*, and compiled them in the *English* Tongue, in the first place making provision for re-

And made  
Laws in favour  
of the Church.Ethelwanda  
his daughter  
married  
Eusebius  
King of  
the  
Saxons.Eadwald suc-  
ceeds him.Ethelwanda  
his daughter  
married  
Eusebius  
King of  
the  
Saxons.Ethelwanda  
his daughter  
married  
Eusebius  
King of  
the  
Saxons.Ethelwanda  
his daughter  
married  
Eusebius  
King of  
the  
Saxons.

Then dies.

613  
616Eadwald suc-  
ceeds him.Then Ercom-  
bert.After him Eg-  
bert.

Next Lothar.

Edrick fol-  
lows, who was  
deprived of  
Life and King-  
dom by Cad-  
walla King of  
the West Sax-  
ons.

stitution to be made, in case a Church, Bishop, or others in Orders were indamaged, resolving to protect those the Doctrine of whom he had received. He died on the twenty fourth day of *February* after he had reigned six and fifty years, in the one and twentieth year after the receiving of the Christian Faith, the year of our Lord DCXIII, as the present Copy of *Beda* hath it, but as the *Saxon* Translation of King *Alfred* about the year DCXVI, it being placed by the *Fasts* 175 hun- above mentioned, in the year following, which was the seventh of *Heraclius* the Emperor, and the first year of *Boniface* the Fifth, the *Roman* Bishop, in the days of *Clotbar* King of the *Franks*.

7. To *Ethelbert* succeeded *Eadwald* or *Eadbald* his Son, unlike him both in his Disposition and Success. He cast off the Christian Yoke and incestuously polluted himself by the Marriage of his Father's Wife, which was followed by a de- fed of those People which lately had obeyed his Father. Yet by means of *Laurentius* the Successor of *Augustine* in the See of *Canterbury*, he was reduced to the Faith, and left the Bed of his Step-Mother, but never could reduce those Nations which had fallen off, nor being able to prevail with the Citizens of *Lon-* don to receive back *Mellitus* their Bishop, whom out of an Heathenish Rage they had expelled. He was forced therefore to be content with his Kingdom of *Kent*, and never could recover that height of Power from which he was slain. He reigned, according to *William* of *Malmesbury*, four and twenty years, and was then, or is as some Copies, succeeded by *Ercombert* his Son begotten of *Enima* Daughter to the King of the *Franks*, who reigned the same number of years, and with better fortune; being famous for his Religion towards God, and his good- ness towards his Countrey. He is indeed much commended upon the account of Religion, the Reformation whereof he much perfected, as we shall shew in its proper place. He Married *Senburg* the Daughter of *Huna* King of the East Angles, and having governed with great Commendation (though by some he is noted to have fraudulently usurped upon his Brother *Ermenred*, whose Right was precedent to the Crown) four and twenty years and some odd Months, then left this World and his Kingdom to *Egbert* his Son, his death being ushered in with an Eclipse of the Sun on the third of *May*, and a grievous Pestilence. *Egbert* either caused to be slain, or winked at the Murder of his Uncle's two Sons *Elbert* and *Egelsbert*, and being not famous for any thing done (onely infamous for his doing or suffering this) died after he had held the Royal Seat nine years. He being dead, *Lotharius* his Brother seized on the Kingdom, though he left a Son called *Edrick*, with ill luck as it happened. For *Edrick* for eleven years together would never suffer him to take any rest, but perpetually vexed him with Stirs, Insurrections, and Battels upon his own account, in one of which *Lotharius* received his Deaths Wound; for being pierced with a Dart he died as the Wound was dressing. Both he and his Brother were cut off after a short continuance, as some observed, for their Usurpation, Injustice and Cruelty. For *Egbert* as we said procured the innocent Sons of his Uncle to be murdered: And *Lotharius* is taxed for abusing and deriding the Martyrs, (so they are termed) though he repented of the deed, and in way of satisfaction, granted to their Mother, part of the Isle of *Thanet*, whereon to build a Monastery.

8. *Lothar* being removed out of the World in that manner, *Edrick* then enjoyed the Power, but onely a short time, for before two years were well at an end he was both spoiled of his Life and Kingdom, and left his Countrey exposed to the Luft and Tyranny of his Enemies. These were *Cadwalla* King of the West Saxons, and *Millo* his Brother, who finding the *Kentish* Affairs all in a confusion and out of order, resolved to take the opportunity offered of invading it: But he found not the People so unprepared as he imagined, for they made a stout resistance, and after their Houses had been burned, and their Countrey depopulated, gave them Battel with great Indignation. They had the better of it, and forcing *Cadwalla* to run for his Life, drove up his Brother *Millo* into a little Cottage wherein shutting up himself, and not daring to break through, fire they set to the Cottage, and therein burnt him alive. This did very much provoke *Cadwalla*, who, as appears from the Chronology or *Saxon* Annals, either staid in *Kent* well onward of two years, or else invaded it two years together, and the later of them twice, to which they add, that he wasted not onely *Kent*, but the Isle of *Wight* too, which was under the Jurisdiction of the Kingdom of the South Saxons. To revenge his Brothers death he raged with all manner of Depopulations and Cruelties against them, and so desperate was the condition of *Kent*, that for six years it had no King except it were Foreigners that intruded.

Sect. 3.

Ethelwanda  
his daughter  
married  
Eusebius  
King of  
the  
Saxons.Ethelwanda  
his daughter  
married  
Eusebius  
King of  
the  
Saxons.

## Sect. 3.

Who being  
brought off,  
Withred  
Reigned.

intruded. In the seventh year *Withred* the Son of *Egbert* having by his great pains and industry taken off the Envy and Prejudice which lay upon himself and Family, and by Money bought off the publick Enemy, obtained to be King, and much ingratiated himself with his Subjects, who conceived extraordinary hopes of him. At home in his own House he shewed all manner of respect and civility to his People, Religion he every way countenanced and promoted. Abroad he was famous for having enlarged the extent of his Dominions, and after three and thirty years continuance in his Government, dying full of Age and Honour, left three Sons behind him as his Heirs in due time and place, if need should require; the greatest felicity which usually is accounted can happen to Mortals.

To whom  
succeeded  
*Edilbert*.  
Then *Edilbert*  
and *Alrick*.

9. Of these his three Sons *Edbert* the eldest succeeded him, of whom nothing ill is recorded, though nothing good. After he had reigned twenty and three years he gave way to his Second Brother *Edilbert*, who reigned other eleven, his Reign being only unfortunate in the accidental burning of the City. He dying after these eleven years, *Alrick* the youngest Brother took his place, and held it for four and thirty, the lustre of his Reign, as his Brother's by the fire, being much obscured by an unfortunate Battle, which he fought against the *Mercians*. So faith *Malsbury*, if any ill Accident happen, it shall be sure to be mentioned, but if any good luck or accident, it will be forgotten in Chronicles, whether so it be done on purpose and by design, or it so falls out through the badness of our Nature, through which it comes to pass that the memory of good things quickly is obliterated, but any thing that causeth smart and sorrow is never forgotten. But though this may be true as to matters that happened among themselves, yet the Monk's Observation is much amiss in reference to the Wars betwixt them and the *Britains*, their Annal talking aloud of their Victories, but wholly silent as to their Defeats. But in these three Brothers the Royal *Kentish* stock quite withered, the generous blood was extinct, faith our Authour, and every impudent Fellow, whose bold Tongue had procured him Wealth, or Faction and Turbulency had rendered formidable, would aspire after Tyranny, and dare to assume the Royal Diadem. Of these *Edilbert* or *Pren* having governed the *Kentish* men two years, to shew himself a King indeed would attempt greater things against the *Mercians* than he was able to perform, and being taken Prisoner by them was kept in custody, whence not long after he was yet dismissed by them, but could obtain no entertainment from his late Subjects, and to what end he came is utterly uncertain. After him one of the same Faction succeeded to his pitifull condition, and was King only in Name for eight years more. The last of all was *Baldrede*, whom *Malsbury* calls an Abortive Brat of the Royal Dignity, who after he had rather besieged than governed *Kent*, for other eighteen years was by *Egbert* the King of the West Saxons driven into Banishment. So this Kingdom of *Kent*, which from the year CCCCXIX had stood for the space of CCLXXIV years became subject to another Jurisdiction. So writes *William of Malsbury*. The end of the Kingdom of *Kent* is noted in the *Fasts* to have fallen out in the twenty fourth year of the Reign of *Egbert*, the third year of the Reign of *Michael Traillus* Emperour in the East. The tenth of *Ludovicus Pius* who bore that Title in the West

After whose  
Death several  
Usurp the Go-  
vernment.  
But are driven  
into Banish-  
ment by *Egbert*  
King of the West Sax-  
ons.

A. D. DCCCXXIII.

## S E C T. IV.

## S E C T. IV.

The Kingdom of the South Saxons in Suffex. From the founding of it by *Aella* to the Ruine thereof.

1. THE next Kingdom that was founded by these New Planters in Britain, Sect. 4. was that of the South Saxons in Suffex by *Aella*, who as we have already said with his three Sons landed in that Countrey, and for several years fought with various success against the *Britains*. The place where he first landed is by the *Saxon Annals* called *Cyrrenes ora*, and *Camden* tells us, that near to the Haven of *Chichester* is a place called *Witering*, where, as the Monuments of the Church testify, *Aella* the first founder of the Kingdom of Suffex arrived. How he and his Sons cunningly drove off the *Britains*, who flocked to him at his landing, we have already said, and still enlarged their Bounds, till nine years after their Arrival, when another Battle was fought at a place called *Merix desburnafeste*; where, though the Victory is said to have been doubtful, and the *Saxon Annals* are very unwilling to let him go out of the Field but with flying Colours; yet that his Victory was none, or such as did much weaken him, appears in this that he sent for new Supplies out of *Saxony*. Whereas he is said in his first Engagement with the *Britains*, to have beaten them into a Wood called *Andredefleage*; by the *Annals* the Reader must know that this Countrey in old times was hardly passable by reason of Woods. For the Wood *Andradwald*, or *Centians* & *Andredfleage*, in the *British* Language *Coid Andred*, having its Name from *Andredfleage*, the City next adjoining, took up in this Quarter an hundred and twenty Miles in length and thirty in breadth. Of this vast Wood are (or lately were) Remnants toward the West, the Forest of *Arundell*, *St. Leonard's Forest*, *Wood Forest*, *East Greenfield*, *Ashdown Forest*, and *Waterdown Forest*. *Nescimus tam unde hoc dimanavit Nomen; cum alii Welden appellabant; ut in nominibus Cotswalden & Forthewold appareat. Hæc Lhudat. f. 13. b.*

The Countrey  
very full of  
Wood.

*Aella* King of  
the South-  
Saxons.

2. *Aella* found it seems so much opposition, and was so long in subduing such an Extent of Ground as would brace the Title of a Kingdom, that some Fourteen years he staid without the Title of King, which at last he took by the Name of King of the South Saxons, in the fourth year of *Els* King of *Kent*, first of *Anastasi* the Emperour, A. D. CCCXCI. In the third year after the death *Hengist*, *Huntingdon* tells us, that new and great Supplies came to him out of his own Countrey, with which he went and besieged a most strong City called *Andredeswaster*, supposed to be that now called *Newenden* in *Kent*, in Latin *Anderida*, as in the *Notitia* of the Provinces, and in *British* *Cæd Andred*, being that we now find to have given Name to the Wood of *Andredfleage*. For the constant Tradition of the Inhabitants testifies it to have been an old Town and Haven, whereof they still shew the Plot. Then is it situate by the Wood *Andredeswald*, that took the Name from it, being separated from *Suffex* but by the River *Rother*. And lastly because the *English Saxons* seem to have termed it *Camden* in *Brittenden*, (as they also called *Segontium* an ancient Town of the *Britains*) or the Vale of the *Britains*, whence the whole Hundred adjoining is named *Selbrittenden*. The Romans to defend this Coast against the *Saxon* Rovers, placed here the Band and Captain of the *Abulci*. *Hengist* after his Arrival being resolved to drive the *Britains* quite out of *Kent*, and thinking it would much quicken his work to increase his Numbers by new Supplies out of his own Countrey, sent for this *Aella* out of *Germany* with a strong power of *English Saxons*, and while he gave a violent Assault to this Town *Anderida*, the *Britains* out of the adjoining Wood where they lay in Ambush, so fiercely fell upon him, that at length, after much loss on both sides, when he had divided his Army and routed the *Britains* in the Wood, and at the same time forced the Town by Assault,

Sect. 3.

Who being  
bought off,  
*Withred*  
Reigned.

intruded. In the seventh year *Withred* the Son of *Egbert* having by his great pains and industry taken off the Envy and Prejudice which lay upon himself and Family, and by Money bought off the publick Enemy, obtained to be King, and much ingratiated himself with his Subjects, who conceived extraordinary hopes of him. At home in his own Houſe he ſhewed all manner of reſpect and civility to his People, Religion he every way countenanced and promoted. Abroad he was famous for having enlarged the extent of his Dominions, and after three and thirty years continuance in his Government, dying full of Age and Honour, left three Sons behind him as his Heirs in due time and place, if need ſhould fo require; the greateſt felicity which uſually is accounted can happen to Mortals.

To whom  
succeeded  
*Edbeyr*.  
Then *Edil-*  
*bert* and *Al-*  
*rick*.

to Monarchs. Of these his three Sons *Edbert* the eldest succeeded him, of whom nothing ill is recorded, though nothing good. After he had reigned twenty and three years he gave way to his Second Brother *Edilbert*, who reigned other eleven, his Reign being only unfortunate in the accidental burning of his Place. He dying after these eleven years, *Alrick* the youngest Brother took his place, and held it for four and thirty, the lustre of his Reign, as his Brother's by the fire, being much obscured by an unfortunate Batrel, which he fought against the *Mercians*. So faith *Malsbury*, if any ill Accident happen, it shall be sure to be mentioned, but if any good luck or accident, it will be forgotten in Chronicles, whether so it be done on purpose and by design, or it so falls out through the badness of our Nature, through which it comes to pass that the memory of good things quickly is obliterated, but any thing that causeth smart and sorrow is never forgotten. But though this may be true as to matters that happened among themselves, yet the Monk's Observation is much amiss in reference to the Wars betwixt them and the *Britains*, their Annal talking aloud of their Victories, but wholly silent as to their Defeats. But in these three Brothers the Royal *Kentish* stock quite withered, the generous blood was extinct, faith our Author, and every impudent Fellow, whose bold Tongue had procured him Wealth, or Faction and Turbulency had rendered formidable, would aspire after Tyranny, and dare to assume the Royal Diadem. Of these *Edilbert* or *Pren* having governed the *Kentish* men two years, to shew himself a King indeed would attempt greater things against the *Mercians* than he was able to perform, and being taken Prisoner by them was kept in custody, whence not long after he was yet diminished by them, but could obtain no entertainment from his late Subjects, and to what end he came is utterly uncertain. After him one of the same Faction succeeded to his pitifull condition, and was King only in Name for eight years more. The last of all was *Baladre*, whom *Malsbury* calls an Abortive Brat of the Royal Dignity, who after he had rather besieged than governed *Kent*, for other eighteen years was by *Egbert* the King of the West Saxons driven into Banishment. So this Kingdom of *Kent*, which from the year CCCCXLIX had stood for the space of CCCLXXIV years became subject to another Jurisdiction. So writes *William of Malsbury*. The end of the Kingdom of *Kent* is noted in the *Facts* to have fallen out in the twenty fourth year of the Reign of *Egbert*, the third year of the Reign of *Michael Transus* Emperour in the East. The tenth of *Ludovicus Pius* who bore that Title in the West.

A. D. CCCXXIII.

After whose  
Death several  
Usurp the Go-  
vernment.

But are driven  
into Banish-  
ment by Eg-  
bert King of  
the West Sax-  
ons.

#### S E C T. IV.

#### S E C T. IV.

*The Kingdom of the South Saxons in Suffex. From the founding of it by Aella to the Ruine thereof.*

1. **T**HE next Kingdom that was founded by theſe New Planters in Britain, was that of the South Saxons in Suffex by Aella, who as we have already ſaid with his three Sons landed in that Country, and for ſeveral years fought with various ſucceſs againſt the Britains. The place where he firſt landed is by the Saxon Annals called *Cynnes ora*, and Camlden tells us, that near to the Haven of *Chicheſter* is a place called *Wittering*, where, as the Monuments of the Church teſtifie, Aella the firſt founder of the Kingdom of Suffex arrived. How he and his Sons cunningly drove off the Britains, who ſtocked to him at his landing, we have already ſaid, and fill enlarged their Bounds; till nine years after their Arrival, when another Battle was fought at a place called *Merix deſburnſtede*; where, though the Victory is ſaid to have been doubtfull, and the Saxon Annals are very unwilling to let him go out of the Field but with flying Colours; yet that his Victory was none, or ſuch as did much weaken him, appears in this that he ſent for new Supplies out of Saxony. Whereas he is ſaid in his firſt Engagement with the Britains, to have beaten them into a Wood called *Andreſſelege*; by the Annals the Reader muſt know that this Country in old times was hardly payſable by reaſon of Woods. For the Wood *Andradſwald*, or *Cenanti & Andreſſelege*, in the Britiſh Language *Cold Andred*, having its Name from *Andred*, the City next adjoining, took up in this Quarter an hundred and twenty Miles in length and thirty in breadth. Of this vaſt Wood are (or lately were) Remnants toward the Weſt, the Forest of *Arundel*, *St. Leonard's* Forest, *Wood Foreſt*,  *Eaſt Grenſted*, *Albion* Forest, and *Waterdown* Forest.

The Countrey  
very full of  
Wood.

alii *Wyliden*, sed falso vocitant: Nam Anglo-Saxones *Sylvam Walden* ut nunc Germani, *Wolden* verò planitiem sive arboribus appellabant: ut in nominibus *Cottesswalden* & *Pothewolds* apparet. Hec *Liudv.* f. 13. b.

*Fella King of  
the South-  
Saxons.*

2. *Ælla* found it seems so much opposition, and was so long in subduing such an Extent of Ground as would brace the Title of a Kingdom, that some Fourteen years he staid without the Title of King, which at last he took by the Name of King of the South *Saxons*, in the fourth Year of *Ege* King of *Kent*, first of *Ansaphus* the Emperour, *A. D. CCCCXCI.* At the third Year after the death *Hengist*, *Hwittingdon* tells us, that new and great Supplies came to him out of his own Country, with which he went and besieged a most strong City called *Andredefswaster*, supposed to be that now called *Newenden* in *Kent*, in Latin *Andersida*, as in the *Notitia* of the Provinces, and in *British* *Caer Andred*, being that we now find to have given Name to the Wood of *Andredefswale*. For the constant Tradition of the Inhabitants testifies it to have been an old Town and Haven, whereof they still shew the Plot. Then is it situate by the Wood *Andredefswald*, that took the Name from it, being separated from *Sussex* but by the River *Rothe*. And lastly because the *English* *Saxons* seem to have termed it *Cambden* in *Brittenden*, (as they also called *Segontium* an ancient Town of the *Britains*) or the Vale of the *Britains*, whence the whole Hundred adjoining is named *Selbrittenden*. The Romans to defend this Coast against the *Saxon* Rovers, placed here the Band and Captain of the *Abulci*. *Hengist* after his Arrival being resolved to drive the *Britains* quite out of *Kent*, and thinking it would much quicken his work to increase his Numbers by new Supplies out of his own Countrey, sent for this *Ælla* out of *Germany* with a strong power of *English* *Saxons*, and while he gave a violent Assault to this Town *Andersida*, the *Britains* out of the adjoining Wood where they lay in Ambush, so fiercely fell upon him, that at length, after much loss on both sides, when he had divided his Army and routed the *Britains* in the Wood, and at the same time forced the Town by Assault,

his

Sect. 4.

his barbarous heart was so inflamed with desire of revenge, that he put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and levelled the Town with the very ground. The place lying thus desolate was shewn (as saith *Henry of Huntingdon*) to those that passed by many Ages after. Till the *Friars Carmelites* newly come from Mount *Carmel* in the Holy Land; who sought for such solitary places, built them here a little Priory in the time of King *Edward the First*, at the Charges of *Sir Thomas Albrer* Knight, and presently after there rose up a Village, which in regard of the old Town demolished, began to be called *Newenden*, or the New Town in the Vale. Thus *Cambden* in his Chorography of *Kent*.

3. Who when he speaks all in one course of Speech of *Hengist* his sending for *Ælla* out of his *Germany*, and his laying Siege to this Town, is to be understood with that distinction of time we have lately mentioned, not that after his coming he set presently upon it, as the uninterrupted course of words would seem to intimate; for that it was after the Auxiliaries came to him, which arrived in the third year after *Hengist*'s death, *Huntingdon* plainly affirms, and the *Saxon Annals* do confirm. The said Writer tells the Story with some Circumstances, but such as well suit with a People unwilling to be turned out of their ancient Possessions, to be utterly ruined. He tells us the *Britains* upon notice of his coming flocked to the place like Bees; by Day they overmatched the Besiegers by Wiles and lying in wait, by Night with Onsets; there was neither Day nor Night wherein some sorrowful Message did not afflict the *Saxons*. But by each loss they were but the more provoked, and the City they plied with continual Allarms and fresh Attacks; though the *Britains* were still upon their Backs, and gored them with their constant Showers of Darts and Arrows. The *Pagans* therefore were constrained to intermit their work at the Siege, and retire back upon them, who then being more nimble of Body than their Enemy, betook themselves into the Woods, and as soon as the *Saxons* retired again toward the City, failed not to fall upon their Rere. By these means were the Besiegers tired with their work, and great Slaughters were made of them, till such time as they divided themselves into two Bodies, that while one plied the Siege the other might divert and keep the other *Britains* in action. Hereby they did their work vigorously in both places, no interruption being given, but each Party solely intending what it was about, till the poor Besieged being weak with hunger, and more violently than ever charged, could not endure another shock, were with their Wives and Children all pitifully butchered, inasmuch that not one escaped. And the Strangers because they had received so much loss, would not suffer the Town a Monument of their disgrace to stand, but so destroyed it, that it was never after rebuild: Only the place of a most noble City is shewed to such as pass by; so the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, who calls this Town a most fortified City, a most Noble City, though the Translator of the Chronology or *Saxon Annals* hath interpolated the word *Urbeccalam*, for which he had no ground in the Text.

4. By the violence and severity in this place used by *Ælla*, we may conclude there was vigorous opposition made by the *Britains*, who it seems, notwithstanding all the endeavours of *Hengist*, kept some footing still in these Quarters till after his death. This evidences that they were not easily beaten out of their Inheritances, nor sheepishly quitted their Countrey, though perpetual Supplies to the very exhausting of the places from whence they came, at length overpowered them: And pity it is we have so small intelligence of so great and famous a Revolution. But, to return to *Ælla*, as he began his Reign with so terrible a blow to the *Britains*, so he followed on the course of valour and victory with such success, that as *Beda* testifies he had under his Power and Command all the Dominions of the *English Saxons*, being the first of these seven Kings he mentions who extended their Authority over all the Southern part of their Provinces, which was limited by the River *Humber* and the places adjacent. He Reigned twenty four years as the *Fasts* have it, or twenty seven as writes *Henry of Huntingdon*, and was then succeeded by his Son *Cissa*, or *Scissa* as some call him, who being mentioned the last of his three Sons which came over with him, it seems was the only one that succeeded him, or else for his Courage and Prowess was appointed his Successor, being indeed still named with him by the *Annals* in any great or dangerous undertaking. After his Fathers death there is little memorable of him, but that from him a little Village or Hill, called *Cisbury* in *Suffex*, took it's

Besieges Andredesflester.

Which is taken and razed.

Cissa succeeds him.

Who builds Chichester.

it's Name, where there is a Fort compassed about with a Bank rudely cast up, wherewith the Inhabitants are persuaded that *Cæsar* entrenched and fortified his Camp; but the Name of the place sufficiently testifies it was the work of this *Cissa*; and that he built the City *Chichester*, which though in Latin it be called *Cicestria*, and in *British* *Cærcet*, in *Saxon* is read *Cyrancearcep* or the City of *Cissa*. It lies in a Nook of *Suffex* in a Champion Countrey. Yet before the Conquest it was of small or no Name, known only by a Monastery of *St. Peter*, and a small Nunnery. But in the Reign of *William the First*, as witnesseth Doms-day Book in the Exchequer, there were in it one hundred Hages; it was in the hand of Earl *Roger of Montgomery*, there being in it threecore Hages or Mansion Houses more than there were before. Fifteen Pounds it paid to the King, and Ten to the Earl. But afterwards a Decree being passed in the days of the said King, that the Sees of Bishops should be removed out of small Towns to Places of greater Note and Resort, it was honoured with the Residence of the Bishop of the Diocese, which formerly was at *Selsey*, and by this and other helps began to rise to some degree of eminency, which had been greater but that the Haven is bad, and somewhat at too great a distance.

5. After *Cissa* Reigned some of his Posterity, but through the Vicissitude of Humane Affairs, or some defect in him or them, lost quite that Power and Reputation, to which *Ælla* their Predecessor and Founder of the Kingdom had arrived. By degrees their Dominions lessened, and after the Reigns of several glorious Persons, few of whose Names are now extant, they became a Prey to their Neighbour Kings, and were for the most part either subject to those of *Kent*, or of the West *Saxons*. Indeed the second King that after *Ælla* had Dominion over all the other *English Saxons*, as far as *Humber*, was *Cæulin* King of the West *Saxons*, by whose greatness and Neighbourhood it's more than probable that the Fortune of these South *Saxons* was curbed and much abated. Then when the fortune of *Cæulin* abated, grew *Ethelbert* the *Kentish* King, and their Neighbour on the other side, to that great Power whereof we have spoken, that *Beda* makes him the third, whose Arms and Authority extended as far as to *Humber*. By this means lying betwixt such potent Neighbours, the Kingdom of *Suffex* so dwindled, that after *Cissa* scarcely is any of their Kings mentioned, except *Adelwold*, whose memory continues upon this Account, because he was the first King that imbraced the Christian Religion. After him *Brentius* is mentioned: And *Adwin* was the last, whom *Ina* King of the West *Saxons* despoysed both of his Life and Kingdom. For after the decay of *Ethelbert*'s greatness, and that his Son had made Shipwreck of that great Power he had, and could hardly defend what *Hengist* left them; this Kingdom of the West *Saxons* got ground, and though it received some Checks and Rebukes, at length prevailed over all the rest, as in due time and place will be discovered.

Aldwin the last King, deprived of Life and Kingdom by Ina King of the West Saxons.

Sect. 4.

Vide Cambdenum in Suffex.

Cæsar's peninsula scriptum vel summa est. Sicut testatur præter Regem Adelwold qui sure ad hoc nomen habet, quia primus nomen Christi agnovit. Henry. Hunting. lib. 2. in fine, Qui autem Huntingdonensi Adelwold alius Adelwalch.

S E C T. V.



## S E C T. V.

*The Kingdom of the East Saxons in Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. From the founding of it by Erkenwin, to the conquering of it by Egbert King of the West Saxons.*

*The Space of Three Hundred and One Years.*

Sect. 5. **T**HE next Kingdom in order after that of the South Saxons, was the other of the West Saxons; but, so far as this swallowed up all the rest at length, though we assign it here its place, it's most convenient in the last place to speak of it. The next after it was the petty Kingdom of the East Saxons, in Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. It was begun by Erkenwin, in the sixteenth Year of Otho King of Kent, the first year of Justinian the Emperour, the Consulship of *Mavortius*, and the year of Our Lord DCCXVII. This Erkenwin was the Son of Offa, he of Biedcan, he of Sigewolfe, Sigewolfe of Spowcz, he of Gefac, Gefac of Andefc, and Andefc of Saxna. After Erkenwin succeeded his Son *Slade* according to *Huntingdon*, who by the Monk of *Malmesbury*, is made the first of these East Saxon Kings, and the tenth from *Woden*. He married *Ricula* the Daughter of *Ermerick* King of Kent, and Sister to *Eibelbert*, by which Lady he had a Son named *Sebert*. This *Sebert* first received the Christian Faith at the preaching of *Mellitus*, and his Monument they shew to Passengers in St. Peter's Church at *Westminster*. He dying, his two Sons *Sextus* and *Seward* (*Beda* saith he left three) being always Pagans in their Hearts, banished *Mellitus* from his Cure, but not long after engaging with the *Geniſſi*, or the West Saxons in Battle, they and all their Men were cut off. *Sigbert* firnamed the Little, the Son of *Seward*, succeeded them; and dying, left the Kingdom to *Sigebert* the Son of *Sigebald*, who was Brother to *Sebert*. This *Sigebert* being in amity with, and often using to visit *Osfric* King of *Northumberland*, was persuaded to relinquish his Idols and be baptized, which done, he caused the Christian Religion to be restored in his Kingdom.

2. Having embraced Christian Religion, he was murdered by two of his Kinsmen (two Brothers) for obeying the Christian Doctrine, which bids us pass by Injuries, and forgive our Enemies, they which conspired had angered and provoked them to commit the Fact. After him reigned *Swidhelm*, the Son of *Sechald*, said by *Malmesbury* to have been his Brother, who also was baptized by Bishop *Ledda*. He being dead, *Sigber* the Son of *Sigebert*, firnamed the Little, and *Sebba* the Son of *Seward*, held the Kingdom jointly together. *Sigber* died first, and left *Sebba* sole King, who reigned thirty years, and at his death took the Habit of Religion upon him. He left two Sons, *Sighard* (who by *Beda* it should seem was a Monk) and *Snefreda*, both who succeeded him, though how long they reigned, or what they did we are ignorant. They both being dead, *Offa* the Son of *Sigber*, a young man of a pleasurable Countenance, sprightly wit, in the flower of his Age, and extraordinarily beloved by the People, for some time governed this Kingdom; but as *Beda* writes, left his Wife, his Lands, Kindred and Countrey, and going to *Rome*, there lived and died in Monastical life; *Malmesbury* saith, that by the Council and Advice of *Kingswitha*, Daughter of King *Penda*, whom he had fought in Marriage, being taught to breathe after Celestial loves, he went to *Rome* with *Kenede*, King of the *Mercians*, and blessed *Egwin*, Bishop of the *Widliu*, and there being shaven, at his time passed to the heavenly Kingdom. To him succeeded *Snefreda* Son of *Sigebert*, firnamed the Good, and reigned thirty eight years. He being slain, one *Swidbode* reigned over the East Saxons, and in the same year that *Egbert*, King of the

## S E C T. VI.

*The Kingdom of the Northumbrian Angles in Britain. From the Founding of it by Ida to the Conquering of it by Egbert King of the West Saxons.*

*The Space of Two Hundred Eighty One years.*

1. **T**HE Kingdom of the Northumbrians was founded by *Ida*, in the one and twentieth year of the Emperour *Justinian*, in the days of *Childebert* King of the *Franks*, the sixteenth of *Ermerick* King of Kent, and the thirteenth of *Kenrick* King of the West Saxons, A. D. DXLVII. His Ancestours are thus reckoned, *Eope* (or *Coppe*) *Efc* (or *Efe*) *Inguin*, *Angenwit*, *Alock*, *Bennock*, *Brand*, *Beldet*, *Woden*, *Fredelaf*, *Fredeluf*, *Fin*, *Godulf*, *Heata*.

2. It must be remembered that *Hengist* after he had fixed his footing in Kent, sent to *Otha* his Brother and *Ebafa* his Son, Men of tried experience in military matters, under a specious pretence of repelling thence the *Picts* and *Scots*, to seize upon the Northern parts of Britain. They being there arrived, at length with much labour and travel performed that for which they were sent; for very often engaging with the *Britains* in Battle, at length they brought them under, and forced them quietly to submit unto their yoke. But if these two were *Otha* and *Ebafa* the Son and Brother (for so it ought to be and not the Brother and Son as we read in *Malmesbury*) of *Hengist*, of whom *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* writes, that at such time as *Ambrose* took and slew *Hengist* at *Coningsburgh* shut themselves up in the Cities of *Tork* and *Dunbritton*, others tell other Tales concerning them. *Geoffrey* writes that after they had firedred themselves, *Ambrose* granted to them part of the Countrey lying near to *Scotland*. *Matthew* of *Westminster*, from those *British* Writers, saith, that *Ambrose* having laid siege to *Tork*, *Otha* being of opinion that he could not hold the place against such a multitude, took advice with those that were with him, and with the Nobility that accompanied him, came out of the Town and spoke to this purpose. *My Gods are overcome; and I am content that thy God reign who compells so many Noblemen to come to thee. Take us, and if thou wilt shew no mercy, bind us and use us as thou wilt; for we are willing and ready.* With these words *Ambrose* was moved to pity, and shewed himself merciful to them: And by this pattern *Ebafa* and the rest were moved to come in and submitted to *Ambrose*, who gave them a Countrey near to *Scotland*, and made a League of Friendship with them. Though he tells us of this Countrey bestowed upon them here, yet in another place, and nineteen years after, he tells us another story, that their Keepers being corrupted, let them out of Prison, where they had led a miserable life, and fled with them into *Germany*, whence with a great Fleet they returned, to the destruction of Britain. Hereupon his *Ulther* *Pendragon* committed the Army of Britain to one *Loth*, a Consul and a most valiant Man. But though he often gave Battle to these Strangers, instead of driving them out, they got ground of him; for the *Britains* would not obey him.

3. After

## Sect. 6.

3. After this *Vther Pendragon* falling sick, these Rovers ranged about the Island and made havock of all things without controll. This exceedingly provoked the King, who grieving that Church and State should thus goe to ruine, sent for the Nobles, and accusing them of pride and idleness, vowed he would lead them against the Enemy though in that condition wherein he then lay. He caused a Litter to be provided, and marched with the Army towards *Verulam*, where the cursed *Saxons* at that time lay. *Olla* and *Eofa* having word brought of the approach of the *Britains*, and how their King was carried in a Litter, they disdaind to go out and fight him because he came in such a posture; they betook themselves into the City, and out of scorn left the Gates wide open. *Vther* presently caused the Town to be besieged and the Walls battered, by which entering, his Men made great slaughter of the *Saxons* till they unbethought themselves. In the Morning they came out in order of a Battel, challenging the *Britains* to fight, who courageously grappled with them, and many fell on both sides, but after much contention and bloodshed the Victory fell to the King of the *Britains*, and they that scorned him in his Litter, found his Orders and Commands so effectual and deadly that there they two lost their Lives, and when they were dead, their Men fairly betook them to their Heels. With this Victory the King was so overjoyed (and well he might) that whereas before he was not able to stir Hand or Foot he could now rise with a very little help, and was in a manner recovered. This Story suits not very well with what *Malmesbury* and others write, that so good an account was given of their pains in subduing the Northern Parts of *Britain*. But whether this end befell them, or that the *Britains* were forced to quit to them that Country near *Scotland*, which seems to be inwrepp'd in the Story of *Ambrosius*, their endeavours, or the labours of their followers at length effected what they intended, at least in a good measure.

4. For, the Captains of the *Saxons* in these Countries still more prevailed against the Natives, yet notwithstanding would they not doe any injury to the Name of Kings by assuming that Title, but still devalued the power in the same form of Mediocrity, faith *Malmesbury*, upon their Successors; and in this kind of establishment they continued for an hundred years lacking one, satisfying themselves with the common name of Captains or Dukes, and truckling under the patronage and command of the *Kentish* Kings. But no longer would Ambition be stinted; either for that humane nature ever inclines to the worst, or for that this Nation naturally was high and lofty. Therefore in the year of our Lord *DXLVII* and *LX* after the death of *Hengist*, a Dukedom was changed into a Kingdom; to which *Ida* was first promoted; a Person doubtless of most noble extraction, and in the flower of his age and strength; but whether he invaded the Sovereignty, or by the consent of others came to the Government I determine not, faith the Monk, because the truth it self is obscure. But it's certain that his Decent was high and very ancient, and that by his unspotted Life and excellent Morals he added much to the lustre of his Birth. In War he was unconquerable yet at home tempered his Royal severity with an uncounterfeited mildness and decency of mind. I could (so he proceeds) in this place set down the lineal descent both of him and others, but I am unwilling by the harsh sound of barbarous words to disgust the Reader. But thus much I shall note, that whereas *Woden* had three Sons, *Welleg*, *Witlog* and *Beldeg*, from the first the Kings of *Kent* derived their Pedegree, from the second the Kings of the *Mercians*, and from the third the Kings of the West *Saxons* and the *Northumbrians*, besides two which we shall name hereafter. So this *Ida*, as I absolutely find, being the ninth from *Beldeg*, and the tenth from *Woden*, continued fourteen years King of the *Northumbrians*.

5. Thus much *William* of *Malmesbury* concerning *Ida*, by which we may observe the uncertainty of the Pedegree derived from this *Woden*, for whereas he will have him but to have had three Sons, the Continuator of *Florentius Wigornius* mentions seven, from whom he draws the Genealogies of our *English* *Saxon* Kings, which the Reader may there consult if he think it worth his while to attend to these uncertainties. And whereas he writes uncertainly concerning his advancement, the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* delivers it for a truth, that he was chosen to this Dignity by consent of the great ones. He reigned with great commendations for the Vertues lately mentioned, and for his courage and diligence, twelve years, and built a Town called *Behanburgh*, which first he fenced with a Pallisado, and afterward with a Wall. From *Beda*, it should seem, that he called it so from his Wife, for he writes that it had its name from one *Queen Beba*.

It is at this day called *Bamborough* in *Northumberland* (not *Dunstaburg*, as some have imagined) being in the days of *Ætunden*, as he writes, a most strong City, but small, containing the space of two or three Fields, having one hollow entrance raised with stairs, in a wonderful manner, on the ascent of an Hill. It had a very fair Church, and Westward on the top there was a well set out with marvellous Art, sweet to the Taste, and most pleasant to the Eye. At this day it is counted a Castle rather than a City, yet so big and large, that it may seem to match with some Cities. In it did *William Rufus* Besiege *Mowbray*, who lurked in it, and at length escaped. It was much defaced in the Civil Wars by *Bressy* a *Norman*, who sided with the House of *LANCASTER*, and since that has been almost quite ruined, partly by time which consumeth all things, and by the Winds which have driven an incredible deal of Sand of the Sea into the Fortresses. To it adjoyneth *Humildon*, where was born *John Duns*, by mistake called *Scotus*, the subtle Doctor, who falling into a fit of an Apoplexy, and in his Man's absence buried for dead, came again to himself, and dashed his Brains out against the stones, being hence said to have been twice dead, but once buried.

6. *Ida* by his Wife had six Sons, *Adda*, *Ethelrick*, *Theodrick*, *Ætherick*, *Ofmer* and *Theofrede*, and by his Concubines other six, viz. *Oga*, *Atrick*, *Echn*, *Ofbald*, *Segor* and *Segethor*, all who came into *Britain* (*Matthew Florilegus* tells us) with forty Ships, and landed at a place called *Flemsburg*; so that according to him, this *Ida* must not have been the Son of any of these Captains that Governed *Northumberland* before it had a King; but a mere stranger chosen for his Merit. The same *Matthew* writes, that after the death of *Ida*, the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* was divided into two, whereof that next to *England*, and on this side the River *Tine*, as we have already said, was called *Deira*, or the Inhabitants thereof *Deiri*, and the other lying beyond that River as far as *Edenburgh* *Friith* had the name of *Bernicia*, as the Inhabitants *Bernicii*. In *Deira*, or the hithermost Province, *Ælla* succeeded, the son of *Ulf* of the same stock originally, but in a several Line descended from *Woden*: In *Bernicia* succeeded *Adda* the Son of \* *Scemmagus* *apud Florent.* *Wigorn. de la* *Ida*, where he Reigned seven years, being as little memorable as most of those Princes that came after him. *Ælla* was a very indolent Man, and by his great Labour much enlarged those Territories, to the Government of which he was promoted for the space of thirty years. After his death, as *Malmesbury* writes, *Ethelrick* the Son of *Ida*, having spent most of his Age in poverty, and now gray, obtained the Kingdom, but therein continued not long, dying when he had Reigned but five years a miserable Prince, and who would absolutely have been buried in Oblivion, had it not been for the eminency of his Son *Ethelfrid* *Scabaldus*, *Siggeus*, *Witlogus*, *Wellegus*, *Stemelus*, *Sutertus*, *Segepelmus*, a young Man in years, but old in discretion and behaviour. In this mean time *Ida*, the eldest Son of *Ida*, *Wodenus*, Reigned seven years, after him *Clappa* five, *Theodulf* one, *Freatulf* seven, *Ethelfrid* seven, and *Ethelrick* two, *Ælla* yet living. He being dead, and his Son *Edwin* driven out of the Kingdom, he Reigned five years over both the Provinces.

7. *Ethelrick* once dead, *Ethelfrid* his Son succeeded him in both Provinces, as both his Birthright and his Pains required; for by his Valour and Conduct, *Eadwin* the Son of *Ælla* was expelled, who lived in exile with *Redwald*, King of the East *Angles*, till such time as by his means he was to be restored. The same Author tells us, that *Ethelfrid* Married *Acca* the Daughter of *Ælla*, and by her had seven Sons, viz. *Eanfrid*, *Ofwald*, *Ofwin*, *Ofslack*, *Ofside*, *Ofa* and *Ofsa*; to which Sons another adds a Daughter named *Ælba*. *Ethelfrid*, having obtained the Kingdom first with earnestness, defended and secured his own, then fell upon what belonged to others. Many Wars did he prudently undertake, and as successfully end, being neither given to laziness nor yet temerity; but keeping a Mean betwixt the Extremes, yet ever acted by a desire of Glory. Of this is witness sufficient, faith *Malmesbury*, *Degfstan*, or the stone of *Degs*, a place famous in those Quarters wherein *Eda* the King of the *Scots*, who envying the prosperity of *Ethelfrid*, forced him even against his mind to Fight, was not without great danger of the Conquerour himself, beaten and driven to flight. For *Teddald* the Brother of *Ethelbert*, out of desire to approve his Industry and Valour to his Brother, putting himself into extreme danger, left him a sorrowful Victory, being slain with his whole Party. The City *Legio*, now simply called *Chester*, is witness, which being to this time possessed by the *Britains*, harboured a People full of Pride and Contumacy against the King, which when he resolved to Besiege, the Inhabitants resolving to endure any thing rather than a League, and trusting

Ida the first King.

His character.

He builds Behanburgh.

The Kingdom divided into Deira and Bernicia.

The several Kings.

New Ethelfrid.

Who fights with Eda King of the Scots.

Besieges Chester.

Sect. 6.

Candida.

\* Scemmagus apud Florent. Wigorn. de la Ida, where he Reigned seven years, being as little memorable as most of those Princes that came after him. Ælla was a very indolent Man, and by his great Labour much enlarged those Territories, to the Government of which he was promoted for the space of thirty years. After his death, as Malmesbury writes, Ethelrick the Son of Ida, having spent most of his Age in poverty, and now gray, obtained the Kingdom, but therein continued not long, dying when he had Reigned but five years a miserable Prince, and who would absolutely have been buried in Oblivion, had it not been for the eminency of his Son Ethelfrid Scabaldus, Siggeus, Witlogus, Wellegus, Stemelus, Sutertus, Segepelmus, a young Man in years, but old in discretion and behaviour. In this mean time Ida, the eldest Son of Ida, Wodenus, Reigned seven years, after him Clappa five, Theodulf one, Freatulf seven, Ethelfrid seven, and Ethelrick two, Ælla yet living. He being dead, and his Son Edwin driven out of the Kingdom, he Reigned five years over both the Provinces.

Math Florileg. ad Ann. 559.

Florent. ad Ann. 559.

Degfstan Regum Angl. lib. 1. c. 3.



er. Then was there no publick Robber, no domestick Thief, all such as laid wait for the violation of conjugal Modesty were removed afar off, the Invader of another Man's Inheritance was not to be found, a thing extraordinary, as to his Commendation, and in our Age. His Empire was so far propagated to this effect, that Justice and Peace flourished together, and most happy might the State of the Commonwealth have continued, if immature death, the Step-mother, as the Monks terms it, of remporal happiness, after a kind of ugly Sport, had not deprived his Countrey of him.

11. His sudden death as we are informed by *Beda* himself, was brought about upon this occasion. When he had ruled the Nation both of *Englsh* and *Britains*, most gloriously for the space of seventeen years, whereof five of them he had fought under 'Christ his Banner, *Caedwalla* the King of *Britains* rebelled against him, who had drawn into his assistance a most stout Captain, *viz. Penda* then King of the *Mercians*. They engaged in a great and bloody Battel at a place called *Hetsheld*, where *Edwin* on the fourth day of the Ides of *October*, in the year of our Lord DCXXXIII. was slain, being seven and forty years old, and his whole Army was either slain or routed. In the Battel before him a most courageous Son of his called *Offrid* \* fell, another called *Eadfrid*, necessity compelling him, went over to *Penda*, who afterward in the Reign of *Osual* slew him, contrary to his Oath. To this end came this most valiant and prudent Prince, being as *Malmesbury* writes a miserable Spectacle of humane Variety, or that Vicissitude which is incident to humane Affairs, a Prince whom the Course of his Actions, and great Success, failed great both in the one Capacity and in the other. As for the Halcyon times which this People enjoyed under his Government; it will not be amiss to note what *Beda* himself observeth of them. At that time, saith he, so great a Peace is reported to have been in *Britain*, whithersoever the Empire of *King Edwin* reached, that (as yet the Proverb is) *If a Woman with a Child in her Armes newly born would travel through the whole Island from Sea to Sea, she might doe it without any Let or Molestation*. The said King moreover so much consulted the Good of his People, that wherever he beheld any Fountains or Springs by the High-ways, there for the refreshment of Travellers he caused Pits to be erected, and brazen Dishes to be hung upon them; neither would any body touch them except for their present Use, either for the greatness of the fear they had of him, or of the Love they bare unto him. He was of such esteem in his Kingdom, that not onely in Battel were Banners born before him, but in time of Peace as he rode through the Cities, Towns or Provinces together with his Attendants an Ensign-bearer was wont to goe: Nay when he passed along in the Streets in all places, that kind of Banner which the *Romans* call *Tufa*, and the *Englsh* *Thuss*, were wont to be born before him.

\* *Cum Gid. Bede. Reg. Britaniam, viz. Man. Viriagius Ann. 624*

*Lit. 2. c. 16.*

12. *Edwin* being slain in *Battel*, the *Provinces of the Northumbrians* were in a most sad Estate. Of the two Captains that overthrew him, the one being a *Pagan*, and the other as he terms him a *Barbarian*, both Religion and all things civil went to wreck; while the one raged against the Church, and the other against the Laity, of which he spared neither any Sex nor any Age or Condition, subjecting as well Women as Men, innocent Babies, as those of ripe years to death, and most cruel Tortures; which continued no small time; for *Cadwall* studied how together with their destruction, he might root the whole *English Saxon Nation* out of *Britain*. And though a Christian he was himself, yet did he not show any respect to their Religion; the Customs of the *Britains*, faith *Beda*, being at this very day to be taught; the Faith and Religion of the *English Saxons*, neither will they have any thing to do with them more than *Pagans*. The head of the slain King was brought to *Tork*, and there deposited in the Church of *St. Peter*, which he himself had begun, and *Offwald* his Successor perfected. All things being in confusion in those Parts; and no refuge or safety any where to be expected. *Aethelbarga* the Queen returned by Sea into *Heut*, together with *Paulinus* the Archbishop; that brought her where she was very kindly and honourably received by *Eadwald* her Brother. With *Bassus* also a most valiant Soldier of *Edwin*, went *Eusebia* the King's Daughter, as also *Ulfreca* his Son; and *Ulf* the Son of his Son *Offwald*, whom *Ead-Mother* afterward for fear of *Eadwald* and *Offwald*, the Kings, sent into *France*; to the King her friend to be brought up; and there he continued in his Infancy.

13. But after the death of *Edwin, Offrick* the Son of *Effrick* his Uncle by the Bedd. Hist. Fathers side, obtained to be King of the *Dair*, from the Province of whom he lib. 3. c. 1. was issued, and had received his Royalty as well as Birth. On the Kingdom of the

## CHAP.

the *Bernicii* seized *Eaufrid* the Son of *Edelfrid*, who in like manner was issued out of this Province. For during the Reign of *Edwin*, the Sons of *Edelfrid*, with many more of the younger sort of Nobility lived in Exile, either with the *Scots* or *Picts*. Both these Kings abjured the Christian Religion, which they had learnt, and professed in banishment, and were shortly after cut off by *Cadwalla* the *Britain*, who now thinking the time might be come to drive the *English Saxons* out their once unjustly obtained possessions, and to restore the Island to its ancient Owners, omitted nothing that might rationally tend to the bringing of this about. In the very Summer following the death of *Edwin*, he fell suddenly upon *Ofriek*, when he never expected him, and cut him off with his whole Army. After this he raged like a cruel Tyrant in these provinces for a year, at the end whereof, when *Eaufrid* came to him, but with twelve in his Company to treat of peace, he treated him in the self same manner. That year, saith *Beda*, is still at this day accounted unlucky and hateful to all good Men, both in respect of the Apostacy of these *English* Kings, who renounced their Baptism, as for the less Tyranny of this *Brivik* King. Whereupon it was agreed by all, that computed the times of these Princes, to abolish the memory of these peridious Kings, and to assign the said year to the Reign of blessed King *Oswald*, who after the death of his Brother *Eaufrid*, coming with a small power of Men, but fortified by faith in Christ, that cruel Captain of the *Britains*, with his vast Army which he boasted nothing could resist, was slain in a place which in the Language of the *English* is called *Denesfurna*, or the Brook of *Denis*. The place, saith our Author, is shewn at this day, and had in great Veneration, where *Oswald* being to fight erected the sign of the Cross, and kneeling down, besought Almighty God that he would Succour his Servants in this day of their Necessity. He himself laboured at the Erection of the Cross, which finished, he spake aloud to the whole Army: Let us kneel down and jointly pray unto the Omnipotent living and true God, that he would mercifully defend us from the proud Enemy, for he knows that we undertake a just War for defence of our Nation. The place is in the *English* Tongue called *Heofenfeld*, or *Heavenly Field*, lying near to the Wall which the *Romans* built from Sea to Sea, for the restraining the insolent Inroads of Barbarians.

14. It's still at this day for the same reason, as some would have it, called *Hæleden* near to *Scillester*, in the Wall in the County of *Northumberland*, where was a Church built in Honour of St. *Cuthbert* and Kind *Oswald*, but the Name of the King hath so obscured the light of the other Saint, that the old Name being quite gone, it's now known only by that of *St. Oswald*. For the place where *Cadwaladr* was slain, the present Printed Copy of *Beda* hath it *Denisesburn*, and King *Alfred's* Translation *Denjrybuna*, but *Camden* read it in *Beda*, *Devilesburn*, a little River running into *Tine*, which gave to a Mansion House upon it, the Name of *Direlston*, as in old Records it's found written, now called *Dillon*, belonging in histime to the *Ratcliffs*. After this Victory achieved, *Oswald* governed his Dominions with great Justice and Tranquillity, being so humble, to be tender hearted, and bountiful to the poor, that he behaved himself indeed as a true Father of his Country. This his Goodness is said to have been crowned with remarkable Success, so that his Empire, he extended farther than any of his Predecessors; for as some write all the Nations \* of *Britain* submitted to his Command, not only the *Englishe* and *Britains*, but the *Picts* and *Suets* themselves, which good Fortune did not puff him up, but he continued as humble and merciful as ever. But that neither he nor any other good man might place his happiness in this world, at last an alteration was made, and an end happened to him, contrary to his beginning. By his Industry and Prudence the Provinces of the *Deiri* and *Bernicii*, which formerly had disagreed were lovingly and fast united together. But in reference to his Neighbours abroad, matters stood in another posture, who, however they might for a while submit unto him, and acquiesce under his most mild Administration, yet it seems either counting this subjection, how mild soever it was, a slavery, or provoked by the Rulers of the *Britains*, and especially *Penda* the King of the *Mercians*, they were persuaded (a great Party at least) to revolt from their proscribed obedience. The matter flew to high, that *Penda* led his Pagan Subjects the *Mercians* forth against him, and they met at a place called *Masensfeld*, where a great and most bloody Battle being fought, he had the same ill fortune his Uncle *Edwin* had (whose Nephew he was by his Sister *Ara*) being with Multitudes of his followers slain upon the place on the fifth day of *August*, in the thirty eighth (or the thirty seventh, as King *Alfred's* Translation hath it) of his Age, when he had reigned nine years, as the *Ancient Annals* reckon.

their professed obedience. The matter flew so high, that *Penda* led his Pagan Subjects the *Mercians* forth against him, and they met at a place called *Magenfeld*, where a great and most bloody Battle being fought, he had the same ill fortune his Uncle *Edwin* had (whose Nephew he was by his Sister *Aea*) being with Multitudes of his followers slain upon the place on the fifth day of *August*, in the thirty eighth (or the thirty seventh, as King *Alfred's* Translation hath it) of his Age, when he had reigned nine years, as the Ancient Annallists reckoned.

*Vide dicitur  
lades Cadmal-  
le Divisi cur-  
sus coercuit.  
Huntingd. l.3.*

Denique am-  
arum Nationes  
et Provincias  
Britannicæ,  
ut in quatuor  
linguas, (id  
est Brittonicam,  
Picardicam, Sco-  
ticam, Anglo-  
normicam) divise  
sunt in dictio-  
nem accepit,  
xc.

Unde dicitur  
tempus Mes-  
salium sanctorum  
induit ossibus.  
Iuxta d. l. 3.

## Sect. 6.

but in this Number must be included that year which, as we formerly said, the Apostasy of the *English* Kings, and Tyranny of the *British* rendered so odious to them, as that they would not assign it to them, but rather abolish its memory. Penda the cruel Pagan after he had slain him, contented not himself with his bare death, but having killed him, tore his Body in pieces and fixed it upon three Stakes as a Spectacle of terror. The Place is at this day called *Ofswestre* or *Of-walstre*, in *British*, *Croix Oswalds*, a little Town upon the West Frontier of *Shrop-walstre*, in *British*, *Croix Oswalds*, a little Town upon the West Frontier of *Shrop-walstre*, not far from the River *Severn*. It was not long since inclosed with a Ditch and a Wall, and it had very good Traffick, especially of slight and thin *Wells* Cottons. It seems to have had its first Original from Devotion to this King and Saint. But it was built by *Modoc* the Brother of *Meredoc* (as *Caradoc* of *Lancarvan* wrote) and the *Fitz Allans* being *Normans* and Earls of *Arundell*, who afterwards came to be Lords of it, walled it about. The Eclipses of the Sun in *Aries* have been most dangerous unto it, for twice when that Luminary was in that Sign, did it suffer very great Calamity by fire.

In *Bernicia* *Ofswi*.In *Deira* *Ofswi* succeeds.

Who differs.

And *Ofswi* by the others commands is slain.

His Character.

15. *Oswald* dying in this manner, *Ofswi* his Brother succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, a young Man of about thirty years of Age; but *Ofswi* the Son of *Ofriek* obtained that of *Deira* in the third year of *Ercmbert* King of *Kent*, in the Reign of *Dagobert* King of the *Franks*, A. D. DCXLIII. These two Kings being thus as it were Partners in the Throne, agreed, as is usual in such Cases, Differences were ever arising betwixt them, and at length grew to such an height, as one could not subsist if the other continued. They raised Forces on each side; but *Ofswi* perceiving he was overmatched in Number, thought it not fit to fight, but to reserve himself to better times; he therefore Disbanded his Army, commanding every Man to repair to his own Home from a place called *Wilfars Dun*, or the Hill of *Wilfars*, about ten Miles South-West from the Village *Cataractio*. He himself withdrew, with one onely faithful Souldier in his Company called *Tondhere*, to the House of a Count named *Hunwald* whom he esteemed as most sure to him; but it proved far otherwise, for by him he was betrayed, and slain by command of *Ofswi* together with his trusty *Tondhere*, on the thirteenth of the Calends of *September* in the ninth year of his Reign in a place called *Ingerlingum*. This *Ofswi* was a Man of a beautiful Aspect, tall of Stature, Affable, Courteous, and very Bountifull, which Endowments both of Mind and Body procured him such Reputation, that he was by all men beloved, and many most Noble Persons out of all the Provinces thought themselves happy if they could but get into his Service; but above all, his Humility and singular Modesty were remarkable, whereof *Beda* gives us this Instance. " *Ofswi* belowned an excellent Horse upon *Aidan* the famous Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, but the Bishop when a Poor Man asked Almes, gave him the Horse with all the rich Furniture upon him. The King hearing of this, as they were going in to Dinner, said to him: My Lord Bishop, Why would you give that Royal Horse that was for your own Saddle, to a Poor Man? Have we not many worse Horses and other things which would serve the Poor, instead of this Horse I made choice of for your own Person? The Bishop instantly replied, King, what do you say? Is that Son of a Mare more dear to you than that Son of God? With that they went in to Dinner, the Bishop to his Seat; but the King being come from Hunting, fate him down by the Fire with his Attendants. But remembering what the Bishop had said, he rose suddenly up, and giving his Sword to his Servant, went hastily to him, at whole feet he fell and besought him not to be angry, affirming he would never after speak or concern himself, whatever he gave of his Money to the Children of God. The Bishop was wonderfully amazed, and rising hastily, raised him up; telling him he was very well pleased if he would but sit down to Dinner, and be cheerful. The King then at his Request began to be merry, but the Bishop began to be very sad, so as he shed Tears, of which his Priest taking notice, in their own Language (they were both *Scots*) which neither *Ofswi* nor his Servants understood, demanded the reason. I know (saith he) that the King will not live long: For till this time I never beheld an humble King; whence I apprehend, that he will speedily be taken away by Death; for this Nation is not worthy of such a Governour. Not long after was this sad Prefage of the Bishop fulfilled in the Murder of *Ofswi*. And *Aidan* lived but till the twelfth day after his Death, dying himself on the last of *August*.

16. *Ofswi*.

## Sect. 6.

16. *Ofwi* having removed his Equal, whom he much grudged, yet did not find himself freed from trouble by that unworthy Act. He found continual fears and trouble from the *Mercians*, *Penda* their King never ceasing to cast one Rub or other in his way. Yet passed there several Acts of kindness and indcement, as one would have imagined betwixt the Families. *Penda* had a Son called *Beda*, who being a young man, for his good Endowments accounted worthy of a Kingdom, was by his Father appointed to the government of their Nation. He came into *Northumberland* to *Ofwi*, desiring his Daughter *Alfhede* in Marriage, which he could not obtain except he and his Subjects received the Christian Religion. He upon hearing what was preached concerning the promise of an Eternal Kingdom, the hope of a Resurrection and Immortal Life, professed himself a Believer, though he never should obtain the young Lady, being much induced to this Belief by the Perfwasions of *Alfrid* the Son of *Ofwi*, his Friend and Kinsman, who had Married his Sister *Cyniburg* the Daughter of *Penda*. Notwithstanding these Alliances, *Beda* tells us, that *Ofwi* suffered frequent, most bitter and Intolerable Eruptions from the said King of the *Mercians* who had slain his Brother. Necessity often enforcing him, he often presented him with Gifts innumerable, therewith to purchase Peace, and prevent the utter ruin of his Dominions. The perfidious Prince did not conform himself to his Desires, but resolved to root out and destroy all his People little and great, which *Ofwi* perceiving, berook himself to Divine assistance, vowing, in case he obtained the Victory over him, to Consecrate his Daughter as a Nun to perpetual Virginity, and to pass over twelve Possessions for the building of Monasteries. Armed more by Faith than any Carnal Hope he could have of Victory, he gave Battle to the Enemy, who is said to have brought into the Field thirty times as many men, thirty Legions whereof each was headed by a skillful Leader. These Forces he and *Alfrid* his Son engaged with a very small Army. He had another Son *Egfrid* by Name, who was at this time an Hostage in *Mercia* with *Cnut's* the Queen.

17. *Ethilwald* the Son of *Oswald* who rul'd in *Deira*, though he ought to have been assisting to them, as good *Beda* observes, was at this time on the contrary side, and commanded a Party which was to engage against his Country and his Uncle, but when they came to fight he withdrew himself, and in a safe place expected the event of the Battle. When they joyned, thirty Pagani Captains were soon slain or routed, and all the Auxiliaries in a manner cut off; amongst whom was *Adilhere* the Brother and Successor of *Anna* King of the East Angles, who had blown the Coals betwixt the two Kings, and been the great Caufer of the War. The Battle being fought near the River *Plaved*, which then through excess of Rain was overflowed, it happened that more perished by the Waters than by the Sword. It was fought by King *Ofwi* in the Country of *Loidis* on the seventeenth of the Calends of *December*, and the thirteenth year of his Reign, to the great advantage of both the Nations. For he both freed his own People from the Hostile Invasions of the Pagans, and the other of the *Mercians* and the Neighbouring Provinces, *Penda* their Head being now cut off, he reduced quickly to the Christian Faith. This *Loidis* is that eminent Town in the West Riding of *Yorkshire*, now called *Leeds*, which became an House of the Kings when *Cambodanum* was burnt to the ground, a rich Town (so lately it was) by means of clothing. The very place of the Fight Writers call *Winwidfield*, which Name we may suppose was given it of the Victory; like as a Place in *Westphalia* where *Quintilius Varus* with his Legions was slain, is the Dutch Tongue called *Winfeld* or the Field of Victory, as *Ortelius* hath observed. The little Region or Territory about it, which *Beda* mentions, was in old time called by the Name of *Elmet*; and was conquered by *Edwin* the Son of *Alia* King of *Northumberland*, after he had thence expelled *Careticus* the *British* King in the year of our Lord DCXX.

To the joy of all men.

18. The death of *Penda*, who had been the death of so many Kings, caused in all places out of his own Territories very great rejoicing, which as well the Affinity and Consanguinity wherein several were conjoined to them he had slain, may persuade us to believe, as the Song that was made upon this occasion. *Ofwi* in *Winwid* plied his business and followed on the stroke of his late Victory, that he brought

Regum Sigberti & Egberti, cedes Ofwaldi & Edwini. Sic March. Florileg. ad Ann. 655; at vero Huntingdon hoc modo; In Winwid amne vindicata est cedes Anna, cedes Regum Sigberti & Egberti, cedes Regum Ofwaldi & Edwini.

## SECT. 6.

to his beck all the Kingdom of *Mercia* for three years after the death of *Feda*, together with all the other Southern Provinces (as his Brother before him had done) and the greatest part of these belonging to the *Picts*. Yet was he so good natur'd as to bestow on *Penda* the Son of *Feda*, because he had Married his Daughter, and was his Kinsman, the Kingdom of the Southern *Mercians* separated from the Northern *Mercians* by the River of *Trent*, whereof the Southern in those days contained five thousand Families, and the Northern seven. But the *Esfer* following *Feda* was murdered, and that as was reported by Conspiracy of his Wife. Three years being completed after the death of *Penda*, *Inmin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadberht*, advanced to the Throne *Wulfhere* his Son a Youth whom they hid from danger, which done they revolted from *Ofwi*, whose Governours driving away, they valiantly defended the Liberties of their King and Country. Of *Ofwi* there's not much more remarkable. His good demeanour to his People in great measure obliterated that bloody Crime of murdering *Ofwi*; but this *Beda* testifies of him, that with very great pains he maintained his Dignity, which is not only applicable to the great Industry he used for attainment of that power, at which he arrived (he being the seventh of the most powerful Kings amongst the *English* Saxons, as his Brother *Oswald* is by *Beda* reckoned the Sixth) but in relation to the perpetual troubles and dangers he underwent, not only brought upon him by *Penda* the *Mercian* King, but by *Aethilwald* the Son of his Brother, who by some is said to have succeeded *Ofwi*, nay his own Son *Aethfrid*; this being the ordinary Lot and Portion of men of blood. He reigned most painfully twenty and eight years, and died on the first of *March* in the fifty eighth year of his Age.

Ofwi Dies.

Egfrid succeeds.

Who chastises Wulfhere the Mercian for revolting.

Fights Aethelred the Mercian King.

An Agreement made betwixt them.

He Invades Ireland.

19. *Ofwi* being dead, *Egfrid* his Legitimate Son succeeded him in the third year of *Constantine* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, the seventh of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, during the Reign of *Childerick* the Second, King of the *Franks*, 673. A. D. DCLXXI, or the year before, as *Beda* placeth it. His Father being sickly toward his latter end, could not prosecute *Wulfhere*, who had set up for himself in *Mercia*, and therefore left to him a War as Hereditary, which he so prosecuted, as that he drove *Wulfhere* out of *Lindsey*, and recovered it again to his Paternal Territories. Thus much is only hinted to us by *Beda*; how long he kept it is utterly uncertain. For *Malmesbury* falling foul upon him for his Impiety, shewed in the malicious prosecuting of Bishop *Wulfride*, adds, that towards humble Suppliants he was proud and harsh, a Disease wherewith all Tyrants are infected; that on the contrary against Rebels he was sluggish and lazy, and defacing the Triumphs of his Father lost the Empire of the *Mercians*, and being beaten in Battle by *Ethelred* the Son of *Penda*, lost also his Brother. In the second year of the Reign of *Egfrid*, there was a wonderful great Fight of Birds, many thousands of them being killed, and the Foreigners seemed to be worried. This might seem to betoken that great Fight which was fought eight years after near the River of *Trent*, betwixt *Egfrid* and the said King *Aethelred*; where, as the same Authour *Beda* tells us was slain, *Esewin* the Brother of *Egfrid*, a young man very much beloved by the People of both the Provinces, whose Sister by Name *Ofrit* the said *Aethelred* had married. This Battle it seems did not, together with the young Prince's life, put a Period to the Controversie. For *Beda* writes that more new matter of a more sharp War and longer enmity arose betwixt the angry Kings and their People, till *Theodore* the Bishop by his Diligence and Intercession took up the Quarrel, and prevented the dreadful mischiefs which thereupon would have followed; making this Agreement, that Blood should not be required for the Blood of *Esewin*, but his Brother should be contented with a certain Sum of money to be paid by *Aethelred*. And the Peace made upon this occasion continued a long time betwixt these Kings and their Kingdoms.

20. But though *Egfrid* had peace with the *Mercians*, and on this side the Sea, he was of so restless an humour, that finding no work in *Britain*, he must needs transfer his Arms over into *Ireland*, in the year of our Lord DCLXXXIV. under Command of one *Berht*, he sent an Army over thither, and miserably wasted that Nation, which was both innocent, and always most friendly to that of the *English*, neither Churches nor Monasteries being any whit spared. The  *Islanders* did what they could, both by repelling force with force, and putting up their Prayers to Heaven for Divine Assistance. And although, saith he, Curfers cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, yet was it believed that they who were now deservedly cursed for their Impiety, were suddenly punished by the just judgment of Almighty God. For in the year following this King *Egfrid*, without any mature advice, leading out his Army to waste the Country of the *Picts*, though

Translatio cr.  
go ad calista  
Regna Ofwi  
Juliceps  
Regis tene  
fira faden po  
co frater qui  
Ofwi juvenis  
triginta cruce  
re amorum  
et per annu  
viginti otto  
laboriosissimi  
remit, &c.  
Beda, lib. 3.  
c. 14.  
Florentini  
gen. ad an.  
673.

Lib. 4. c. 12.  
Cum quibus  
Ebedia in  
provincia Lin  
disfarent,  
quam superi  
rex Egfrid  
dux, fignat  
in libro & fign  
guis Wulfri  
dimittas  
ordinatus E.  
piscopus.  
Matti. Flori.  
legu ad am.  
671.  
Lib. 4. c. 21.

And is there slain with his whole Army.

To the mine of the English.

Aldfrid succeeds him.

The occasion of Egfrid's invading Ireland.

Ofrede made King.

Is very de-lanch'd.

though his Friends earnestly laboured to dissuade him; and amongst others, *St. Cathbert*, who was newly then ordained Bishop, he was by the cunning Enemy, who counterfeited a flight drawn within the straits of unpassable Mountains, and with the greatest part of the Forces he brought along with him, cut off, in the fortieth year of his Age, and the fifteenth of his Reign, on the thirteenth day, before the Calends of *June*. As I said, saith *Beda*, his Friends advised him against this War; but as the foregoing year he would not hear the most Reverend Father *Egberht*, when he dehorted him from offering violence to *Scotland*, which had nothing hurt him, as a punishment to him for that sin, it came to pass that now he would not hear them who strove to prevent his utter overthrow. And from this time it was that the hopes and valour of the *English* Empire began to decay and dwindle. For both the *Picts* recovered the Land of their Possession, which the *English* and *Scots*, that inhabited *Britain*, held; and some Part of the *Britains* obtained their Liberty, which they still retain for the space of forty six years. Amongst many others of the *English* Nation, which were either slain by the Sword, condemned to bondage, or fled for their lives from the Land of the *Picts*, *Trmwin* the most Reverend Man of God; was one who had been a Bishop amongst them, but now came back with those that belonged to him in the Monastery of *Elbercunnig*, which stood indeed in the Country of the *English*, but bordered upon the *Friths*, which separated their Territories from those of the *Picts*. These be the words of *Beda*, who diligently distinguishes in several places, the *Scots* that inhabited *Scotland*, from the *Scots* that inhabited *Britain*, but when he mentions *Scotia* or *Scotland*, he means only one Country thereby, and that is *Ireland*.

21. *Egfrid* being slain, *Aldfrid* or *Aldfrid* his Brother, and the Son of *Ofwi*, succeeded him, in the first year of the Emperour *Justinian* the younger, the first of *Edrich* King of *Kent*, in the Reign of *Theodorick* King of the *Franks*, A. D. DCLXXXVI. *Malmesbury* writes, that *Ofwi* had but two Sons, whereof the spurious being rejected, the legitimate succeeded him in his Kingdom, which was *Egfrid*; yet a little after, he tells us that *Egfrid* in the Battle fought with *Ethelred*, the Son of *Penda* lost his Brother, and after this he writes, how the news of his Death flying all over, at last came to the Ears of his Brother *Aldfrid*, who being bafe born, although the elder, was by the Nobility thought not fit to Reign, and either by constraint, or out of indignation, went into *Ireland*, where being secure from the hatred of his Brother, and having leisure sufficient to follow his Studies, he much bettered his mind by the precepts of Philosophy. If he retired in this manner into *Ireland*, then from all these passages we may guess that the indignation and jealousy of his Brother follow him thither, and hence it is that we may fetch the account of his sending an Army into that Island. Therefore they who formerly refused him, now when they had need of him, and considered his worth, betook themselves to Intreaties, so well satisfied was he with the present condition of his Life. But when he had once undertaken what was offered, he gave them no cause to repent them of their choice, being a Man mighty in the Scriptures, and so careful of the Duty incumbent upon him, that for nineteen years he Governed his People in great Peace, and with as great Applause, having no other flaw in the whole course of his Administration, but what they find concerning his Persecution of Bishop *Wulfride*. Yet was his Kingdom contained within much narrower Bounds, than in the days of his Father and Brother. For the *Picts* making an insolent use of their Victory, set upon the *English*, whom long quiet and ease had rendered less fit for resistance, and made bold to juggle them out of some of their Territories lying toward the North, or to subdue and bring them under their Yoke, though they still inhabited these Countries. And never after could they recover their liberty, and reunite themselves with the *English* their Brethren, by the *Picts* coming to be subject to the *Scots*, though their Language at this day sufficiently discovers their Original.

22. After *Aldfrid* his Son, *Ofrede* was made King in the sixth year of *Tiberius* *Apfmarus* Emperour; the twelfth of *Withred* King of *Kent*, in the days of *Childebert* the second King of the *Franks*, A. D. DCCIII. He was but a Child of eight years old, but shewed himself soon enough to be of sufficient Age to be vicious. He reigned but eleven years, and was famous for nothing, infamous for his uncleanness, which could not be kept within the bounds of ordinary voluptuousness, but extended to the very Cloysters, where he violated the Virginity of those that were, as their Relations imagined, secured against such attempts by a Religious

## SECT. 6.

Ex quo ten-  
poris, fize ce-  
pit & vtrius  
Regni Angio-  
rum fluere ac  
vero sublapfa  
refert. Beda,  
l. 4. c. 26.



## 154 The Kingdom of the Northumbrian Angles in Britain, PART IV.

Sect. 6.

And at last  
Murdered.Kewred suc-  
ceeds.

Then Ofrie.

Next Ceolwulf.

Who turns  
Monk.Egbert made  
King.Who turning  
Monk leaves  
his Kingdom  
to Ofenlfe.He is succe-  
ded by Mollo.Then Alrede  
Reigns.Next Ethel-  
bert.

Veil. These courses brought him into such hatred, even of his own kindred, that to prevent one sin, they committed a greater by taking away his Life, when he hoped he had scarcely spent one quarter of it. Yet had they that removed him out of the way to take his place, supplied as well the want of Eminence and Virtue, as of Royalty, they might have been more excusable, at least it would have partly covered and concealed the blackness of the Parricide; but *Kewred*, who went after him took the Throne, and therein sat for two years, and after him *Ofrie*, who Reigned eleven, did nothing memorably, or which could call them worthy of that Dignity to which they advanced themselves. *Ofrie* indeed in this, had the advantage of the other, that he did not first leap into the Chair of the murdered Prince, and before his death, adopted *Ceolwulf* or *Ceolwulf* the Brother of *Kewred* for his Successour. This is that *Ceolwulf* to whom *Beda* dedicates his Ecclesiastical History, at the end whereof he signifies, that this King was embraced with great difficulties, and how he would extricate himself, or what end they would have, was utterly uncertain. What these Difficulties were, he tells us not, either because he would not burn his finger by meddling with matters of his own time, or for that his design was to write an Ecclesiastical History onely, which seems to have been his drift, for else he might doubtless have given up a more large account of what he has left, but a mere scantling, a few remarks, and those but by the bye, as they were necessary to be brought in for making way to, or illustrating some other matters relating for the most part to the Cloyster. As for *Ceolwulf*, we are told he was so edified with what he read in the History of *Beda*, that desirous to be of the Number of those Kings, who had exchanged their Crowns for Cows, he at length resigned his Kingdom and betook himself to a Monastery. Or rather he was wearied with these difficulties he found in reigning, and however his Crown seemed glorious to the eyes of the Beholders, felt the weight of it so great, that he was not satisfied till he was eased of his burthen, which he cast off from his Head after he had governed eight years, and in the Monastery of *Lindesfarn*, took upon him the Monkish Habit. He was not defended from the Loins of the late Kings of the *Northumbrians*, but in another Line descended from *Ida*. He was the Son of *Cutha*, whose Fore-fathers were *Cuthwin*, *Lethewold*, *Egwald*, *Aldein*, *Oga* and *Ida*.

23. But he quitted not the Government before he had provided his People of another King. This was *Egbert* his Uncles Son, as *Malmesbury* calls him, but *Huntingdon* tells us he was the Son of *Ecce*, who was Son to *Lethewold* or *Ledwold*; and as he, as the Flowergatherer hath it, was Son to one *Ceolwulf*, so that he could not be of that Line, but now mentioned, yet he calls him his Kinsman too. Whoever he was, he began his Reign in the two and twentieth year of *Leo Maurus* the Emperour, the thirtieth of *Edbert* King of *Kent*, the thirtieth of *Selred* King of the East Saxons, in the days of *Theodorick* King of the Franks, A. D. DCCXXXVIII. We can tell the Reader that he Reigned, but what he did particularly in his Reign, he as well as we must still be ignorant, *Beda* having told us but little of these Civil Matters; but after his time no one of any tolerable Abilities, having taken any care to transmit any thing of moment to posterity, so that we have little more than the bare Names. But that he laudably governed, *Malmesbury* tells, treading in the steps of good Princes. He had a Brother, who by the advancement of learning, and others add, that it was in Conjunction with, and by the assistance of, the King his Brother. The King did so well agree with the Archbishop, and so emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious too, and more Religious, having his Crown shaven and turn Monk after he had Reigned twenty years, leaving his Kingdom to his Son *Ofenlfe*. He being not able to steer the Helm, was, though an Innocent, thrown over-board to make way for *Mollo*, when he had born the Name of King little more than a year, *Mollo* held it stoutly and laboriously eleven years; but was then served in the same manner, as he or others for him had used his Predecessour, by the Devices of *Alrede* who got his Place. *Alrede* so ingratiated himself with the People, and so plied his work that he held it for nine, but in his tenth was compelled by them that now said they were not his Subjects to give way to *Ethelbert* the Son of *Mollo*. But he was but a King of the second Head neither; in the fifth year they Loyally failed again, and out they drove him.

Math. Florin.  
Egbert, Bernici  
Huntingdon.Huntingdon  
Egbert, Bernici  
Egbert, Bernici  
Egbert, BerniciHabitu fra-  
nem equivo-  
cum archie-  
piscopus Ege-  
berti, qui &  
germani  
potentia so-  
dem dunt in  
emulatione  
cum reforma-  
tore, &c. Mal-  
me Lib. 1.

Then Ceolwulf.

To whom  
succeeded  
Ofrie.  
Who was out-  
ed by Ethel-  
bert.An Interrog-  
num for  
thirty odd  
years.At length Eg-  
bert is made  
King.The limits of  
the Kingdom  
of Deira, and  
Bernicia.

24. Then was *Ceolwulf* proclaimed King, who was Brother to *Alrede*, and he made a shift for eleven years to make good his Hold. But the People were now so used to making and unmaking Kings, that after these years he tasted of their perfidious humour being with Innocency sent to Heaven as his famous Sepulchre at *Higulstade*, and the Miracles which they said they saw sufficiently testified to that then repenting Age. To his merit sure it must be ascribed, that his Nephew *Ofrie* the Son of *Alrede* succeeded him, but being got in, he could not keep Possession; for scarcely had he enjoyed his Royalty one year, but *Ethelbert* (or *Athelred*, or *Ethelpald*) the Son of *Mollo* drove him out, and recovered his Seat after twelve years of exile, which he held for four more, which once past, he could not escape the common calamity of his Predecessours, but was miserably slain. Some said he was justly punished for the unjust putting of *Ofrie* to Death, with whose Resignation he ought in conscience to have been contented; but many Bishops, and Noblemen who had more sense than their Neighbours, were so weary of these perpetual Disturbances and Murders, that they left thereupon their Native Country. Nay, *Charles* the Great was so incensed, that as *Alcuin* wrote, having delivered Letters and Presents to Messengers, to be delivered to this *Athelred* when he heard how he was murdered, he exclaimed against this perfidious, perverse Nation, the Murderers of their Lords, affirming they were worse than Pagans; and if *Alcuin* had not interceded, whatever good he could have hindered, or mischief he was in a capacity to do, would have been performed against them. So great a terror did this cursed custom strike in all the Nobility, that he being dead, no Candidates appeared for the Kingdom; for considering the fresh example of others, they chose rather to sleep in a whole skin and live in obscurity, than venture upon so dangerous, nay pernicious Royalty; most of the *Northumbrian* Kings having come to an untimely end. Therefore was the Country without a King, for the space of thirty and three years, and became a derision and a Prey to all the neighbours. The *Danes* had before this begun to make Inrodes and Depredations in those parts, and such as had once been in them, shewing the great booty they carried back to their Countreymen, and telling them of the baseness and sluggishness of the Inhabitants, so stirred them up with the greatness, yea easiness of the enterprize, that the Barbarians flocked thick and three fold, and seized on those Quarters until the time lately mentioned. For they had a King (rather a *Regulus*) of their own several years, who yet truckled under the King of the West Saxons: and the forementioned thirty three years being over, King *Egbert* obtained this together with the other Countries.

25. Thus have we presented the Reader with what the Histories of these Times afford concerning this Kingdom of *Northumberland*; more we could not, except instead of a true Account of things, we should take the trade of Writing Romances. Concerning the limits of this Kingdom in general, and the *Deira* and *Bernicia* betwixt themselves to that short Account we have already given, we shall farther add that as to its Northern Border it was terminated by that Southern Part of *Scotland*, which on the East and West is limited by the *German*, and *Frisch* Seas, on the South by that Bay called *Aethurium Solvaticum*, or *Solway Frith*, and the River *Tweede*. Northerly by the *Frith* of *Dunbrittan*, and that of *Edenburgh*; for that this Kingdom extended it self to both these *Friths*, whereof the one limited the Kingdom of the *Scots*, and the other that of the *Picts*, is most evident both from the Writings of *Beda*, and other most certain Testimonies. But to the Distinction of the Provinces of *Deira*, and *Bernicia*, amongst themselves Authors do very much differ. *Ralph of Chester* from the *Alfred* of *Beverly* affirms, that the Kingdom of the *Deira* reached from the River *Humber* to that of *Tyne*; and the Kingdom of the *Bernicia* from the River of *Tyne*, as far as the *Scottish* Sea, with whom agrees the Monk of *Malmesbury*, onely adding to the *Scottish* Sea this note, *Where now stands the Town of St. John of St. Johnston*. But *Richard* the Prior of *Higulstade*, in the beginning of his Book concerning the State of his Church, hath these words. *Deira* beginning at *Humber*, ended at the River *Tees*; and of this opinion was *Hamphrey Lhynd* that excellent Antiquary. *Cambden* sometimes assigns the River *Tees*, sometime the River *Tyne*, as the common limit of these Provinces; and *John of Tinnuth* in the Life of *St. Oswald* seems to reconcile the Controverfie in this manner. *The Kingdom of the Deira anciently extended it self from the*

Sect. 6.

Vide Osferium  
in Addend. G  
Emendand.  
Primord.  
P. p. 1003.  
1003.

X 2 River

*Sect. 6.* River Humber, to the River Tyne: that of the Bernicii from the River Tyne (rather Tees) as far as the Scotch Sea, which in the Scotch Language is called Forth. For all the ground which lay between the Rivers, Tyne and Tees in those Days was only a waste or Desert, and therefore was under the Jurisdiction of neither, being only a Recepracle, and Habitation of Wild Beasts. The same thing is observed in the Scotch Chronicle of John Fordon.

26. Indeed we we read in the Ecclesiastical History of Beda, That Eata <sup>Lib. 4. c. 12.</sup> who governed the Province of the Bernicii had his Episcopal See in the Church of Hagustald or Lindisfarne. Therefore that not only the Church of Durham (to which after the death of Beda the See of Lindisfarne was translated) but that of Hagustald on this side the River Tyne may not be removed out of the Province of the Bernicii; wherein Beda, and not he alone placeth it; we are forced to assign the River Tees rather than Tyne, as the common limit of these two petty Kingdoms. By this means the Bishopricks of Durham, and that we now call the County of Northumberland, must be assigned to the Eastern Part of Bernicia; and to the Western, all that Kingdom of Cumberland, which after the Eviction of this of the Northumbrian Angles, was settled betwixt the River Derwent, and the Frith of Dunbritan, by the Cambrobrithans or Welshmen. For Cumbria, or Cumberland took the Name of the Inhabitants who were true and Natural Britains, and called themselves in their own Language *Kumbri* and *Kambri*: and Histories testify that here they remained a long time in despite of the English Saxons, however they fretted and stormed thereat. *Marianus* himself testifieth as much, who terms this Countrey *Cimbrorum terram*, or the Land of the *Cumbri*, or *Britains*, and to it bear mention the British Names, which in this Tract very many places still bear, as *Caerluek*, *Caerdron*, *Penrith*, *Penrodocke*, and the like. Late it was, as we said, e'er it was subject to the English Saxons, and when their state became fore shaken by Danish Wars, and was run to ruine; it had peculiar Governours called Kings of Cumberland, till the Year of our Lord DCCCCXVI, at what time King *Edmund* by help of *Leolin* Prince of Wales (who herein was unnatural) wasted all Cumberland, and having put out the Eyes of both the Sons of *Danmål* King thereof, granted it to *Malcolin* King of Scots, whereupon the Eldest Sons of the Kings of Scotland were under the English Saxons, and *Danes*, both called Prefects, or Deputy Governours of Cumberland. But this is by way of Anticipation. To put a period to our Discourse of the Kingdom of Northumberland, King *Egbert* reduced it under his obedience in the DCCCXXXVIII. Year of our Lord, and the eight and twentieth of his own Reign, in the seventh of *Michael Traulan* Emperour of the East; the fourteenth of *Ludovicus Pius* the Western Emperour, the year preceding the like fate of the Kingdom of the East Saxons.

## SECT. VII.

## S E C T. VII.

*The Kingdom of the East Angles in Britain. From the first Founding of it by Uffa to the Conquering of it by Edward King of the English Saxons.*

*The Space of Four Hundred Forty One years.*

Uffa began the Kingdom.

After him reigned Tyntil his Son.

Then Red-maid.

Next Eorpwald.

Afterwards Sigbert.

Who turning Monk left his Kingdom to Egrick.

Who were both slain in a Battle with Penda King of the Mercians. After him Anna, who had the same fate.

*Sect. 7.*

1. Next after the Kingdom of the Northumbrians, followed that of the East Angles, which was begun by *Uffa*, in the tenth year of the Emperour *Justin* the younger, the fifteenth of *Ethelbert* King of Kent, the seventeenth of *Alla* King of the Northumbrians, about the beginning of the Reign of *Chilperick* King of the Franks, A. D. DLXXV.

2. Of *Uffa* there is little or nothing more extant than that he begun this Kingdom, (how and in what manner is utterly unknown) and that from him the succeeding Kings were called *Uffinga*. After him his Son *Tityllus* or *Tytulus*, of whom there is only remarkable, that he was Father to *Redwald*, the most potent King of the East Angles, the same who received *Edwin*, and upon his account slew *Ethelfrid* King of the Northumbrians. The Monk of *Malmesbury*, as contrary to the sense of others, he makes this Kingdom to have begun before that of the West Saxons, though after the other of Kent, mentions this *Redwald*, as the first King being the tenth from *Woden*. Of these seven Princes said by *Beda*, to have had Dominion over all the Southern Parts lying on this side the River of *Humber*, him he mentions as the fourth. In another place he tells us, that he was Noble as to his Birth, but Ignoble as to his Actions. For being perwaded by *Edwin* to receive the Christian Faith, he was baptized; but returning home was perwaded by his Wife and others about him to fall off again, so that he living betwixt two, like the old *Samaritans*, seeming to serve both Christ and Idols, having in the same Chapel an Altar for Christ, and an Altar for Idols, which Chapel *Adulf* King of that Province, who lived in the time of *Beda*, testified that he himself had seen when a Boy. But *Eorpwald* his Son, being perwaded also by *Edwin*, was not only almost but altogether a Christian, and was slain by a certain Pagan called *Richbercht*. Three years after the Province lay in confusion and error, till *Sigbercht* or *Sigebert* obtained the Kingdom, a Man, faith *Beda*, most Christian and most Learned throughout, who while his Brother yet reigned living in exile in *Gall*, was there baptized, and when he came to reign made all his Province partaker with him of his Faith. As a means to propagate and confirm Religion, as well as to cultivate otherwise the minds of his People, he erected Schools by the assistance of *Felix* the Bishops, and furnished them with Masters and Teachers, according to the Custom of those of Kent. At length he relinquished his Kingdom to *Egrick* his Kinsman, who before that held some part of it, and took upon him the Monastical Habit.

3. When he had for a good space continued in that condition, it happened that the East Angles had war with *Penda*, that common Enemy of Christians, then King of the Mercians. Finding themselves too weak for their Enemies, to encourage the Souldiers, they desired *Sigebert* to be present at Fight, and when he flatly refused, they drew him by force out of the Monastery, and placed him in the Battel, presuming that the Souldiers under the Eye of him, who had lately been a most valiant and Martial Captain, would not dare to think of Flight. But he being mindfull of his profession, and in the midst of great Arms would only bear a Rod in his Hand, and in that posture was slain, together with *Egrick* the King; and their whole Army was either slain or dispersed by the pursuing Pagans. In the Kingdom succeeded *Anna* the Son of *Enus* (Brother to *Radwald*, as some write, but *Beda* only says he was of the Royal Race) a Person good himself, and

Lib. 2. c. 15.

Vir per omnia Christianissimus ac Doctissimus.

Idem. lib. 3. cap. 18.

## Sect. 7.

and a Father of as good an Off-spring. Of him *Beda* saith he should speak more afterward, but we do not find him so good as his word, it's well he tells us at present, that he also was slain by that furious *Peuda*. By the Off-spring he means the three Daughters that this *Anna* left, whereof *Etheldritha* was married to two Husbands yet died a Virgin, *Edelburga* was first a Nun, and then Abbess of her House at *Brige* or *Bruges* a Monastery in *Gall*, as *Malmesbury* terms it, and *Sexburga* was the Wife of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, after whose death she took the veil in the same Monastery with her Sister *Ethelreda*, being accounted a Saint. It seems he had no Son, for his Brother *Ethelberius* succeeded him, who (by necessity) doubtless was forced to do it; for we cannot think he would do it of choice joined with *Peuda* the *Mercian*, against *Offa* the King of *Northumberland*, and was slain with him in the Battel heretofore mentioned. *Ethelwald* his Brother took his Seat, and by continued Successions devolved the Kingdom upon the Sons of *Ethelberius*.

Next *Ethelwald*.

Then *Adulph* and *Elwald*. After them *Ethelred*.

Next *St. Edmund*.

Then 'twas governed by *Guthrum* a Dane. After him *Ealeric*.

Last of all *Edward* who expelled the Danes, and joined it to the West Saxon Empire.

4. These were *Adulph* and *Elwald*, after whom one *Beorna* was King, to whom succeeded one *Ethelred*. His Son was Saint *Ethelberht*, whom *Offa* King of the *Mercians* deceitfully slew, and adjoined this Kingdom of the East Angles to that of the *Mercians*. After this time saith *Malmesbury*, few great Men reigned in East England, because of the violence of the *Mercians* to the time of *St. Edmund*, who in the sixteenth year of his Reign, was slain by *Hinguar* the Pagan. From that time for the space of fifty years, the *English* ceased to reign in this Country. For during nine years, the province was without any King still exposed to, and harassed by the Pagans. Afterward in East Saxony, as he calls it, *Guthrum* had for his *nish* King, reigned twelve years in the time of King *Alfred*. *Guthrum* had for his Successour a Dane too called *Ealeric*, who when he had governed or tyrannized fourteen years was slain by the *English*, for the incivilities he offered them. Yet could they not for all this recover their Liberty, the Danish Officers either oppressing them themselves, or using them against the West Saxon Kings, till *Edward* the Son of *Alfred*, expelled the Danes, and delivering the *English* from their Tyranny, joyned both Provinces to his West Saxon Empire, in the fiftieth year after the death of *St. Edmund* the King and Martyr, and of his own Reign the fiftieth. This is the short Account we have of this Petty Kingdom of the East Angles, for which we cannot but complain of the lettered men of those times, whereof we write, that they should not take notice of, and transmit to posterity those several remarkable Passages, transactions of very great weight, of which we have scarcely the Mens Names. This they omitted out of heedlessness, or rather because they were so mightily taken up with Monastical lives, that little else could they think on, nothing seemed worth their while. But by the History of the *Mercians* and *West Saxons*, several things may be more largely explained which have relation to this Kingdom.

## SECT. VIII.

## SECT. VIII.

The Mercian Kingdom of the Angles in Britain, from the first completing of it by *Peuda*, to the Conquest of it by *Egbert* King of the West Saxons.

The Space of Two Hundred Forty Nine Years.

*Peuda* King.

His pedigree.

1. THE Kingdom of the *Mercians* was completed by *Peuda*, a most valiant and hardy Souldier, but as *Malmesbury* terms him, a Fanatick and impious Person, after he had till the fiftieth year of his Age conquered several places, and continually warred against his Neighbours, in the CXXXIX. year after the death of *Hengist*, in the sixteenth year of *Heracius* the Emperour, the tenth of *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, and the tenth of *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, when *Sigebert* the Little was King of the East Saxons, and *Borpwald* of the Eastern Angles, A.D. CXXVI. The *Saxon* Annals derive thus his Pedigree. He was the Son of *Wibba*, who had these Ancestours, *Crida*, *Ennewald*, *Cnebba*, *Icele*, *Emere*, *Angelgear*, *Offa*, *Weremund*, *Wigbigeag*, *Woden*.

2. This Kingdom as we laid was completed by *Peuda*; but others laid the Foundations of it, though he, for the cause aledged, be generally accounted the first King of this Province. For both *Matthew of Westminster*, and others write, that the first beginning of it was effected by *Croeda* a Saxon, whom in the Genealogy he calls *Crida*. The Archdeacon of *Exeter* names him *Crida*, who having, as far as can be known by any writings, first, saith he, obtained the Kingdom of *Merce*, died and left for his Successour his Son *Wipha*. This *Wipha* or *Wippa*, was followed by one *Cherle* or *Keorle*, who was not his Son but his Kinsman, but he either dying, or which is yet unlikely; relinquishing the Kingdom to him, *Peuda* succeeded when he had now consumed the best of his Years, as having completed the Number of Fifty. This Kingdom being by him enlarged and strengthened, obtained the Name of *Mycnapiac* and *Meapelons*, but for what reasons is not agreed, a pair of the greatest Antiquaries differing about it. *Humphrey \* Lhuyd* is of opinion it was named from the River *Morse*, which indeed running betwixt *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, was the North-Western Bound of the *Mercians*. But *Camden* † deriveth it from *Meap* an old *English* word which signified a Limit, for though it was by far the largest Kingdom of all, yet all the other bordered and confined upon it. Neither of these opinions are improbable, whether the River took Name from it, or it from the River; yet are not they to be probable, but that of *Wolfgangius Latus* is as ridiculous, who in that work of his concerning the Migrations of Nations, affirms these *Mercians* to have been *Marcomanni*, and their Kings *Peuda*, *Offa*, and all the rest to have reigned in the lower Germany; whereas nothing is more certain by consent of all Histories than that never was there any such Kingdom there, and that these Kings and People inhabited that part of Britain, which we formerly assigned them. But the good Man going about to declare the Genealogies of the Kings of England, of the Norman Race doth it so pitifully, so confusedly, so falsely, that it appears, he neither ever in any good Authours either read the order of them, their Actions or their very Names, but received his home Intelligence from some silly fellow, as a certain eminent Mathematician in the Geographical Chart of this Island also did to their no small disparagement. And besides them *Jeronymus Rigellus* in his *Ptolemy*, printed at Venice an hundred years ago, labouring to reconcile the ancient Names of places to the new, confounds several, that are an Hundred Miles distant from each other. Of these Strangers therefore the Reader is to take notice, and beware. As for this Kingdom of the *Mercians* he may observe, that it being settled, all the seven Kingdoms of the *English* Saxons were now begun.

Sect. 8.

Ad An. 58.

\* *Saxorum Anglo-Saxonum in Britannia Regnum quod a Summo Morfe Merciorum dicebatur constituitur, fol. 23 b.*  
† In *Cornacius*



Sect. 8.

Who makes  
an expedition  
into *Kent*.  
And destroys  
the City of  
*Rocheſter*.

Fights Egfr  
King of the  
Northum-  
brians.

Turn's Monk,  
and is suc-  
ceeded by  
*Kenrede.*

Who assumes  
the like Habit.

Then Celrede

Who was bu-  
ried at *Lich-*  
*field.*  
Next *Ethel-*  
*held.*

Who Besieges  
Somerton, and  
takes it.

Invades the  
Northum-  
brians.

the Monk with his onely's makes notable exceptions to what at first he laid down, as a general Remark upon this King. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* tells us with more circumstance, that *Edelede* the New King of *Mercia* rose up against *Lotair* King of *Kent*: that *Lotair* dreading his Grandfather's and his Father's Valour turned aside, and would not make any opposition, so that he destroyed the City of *Rochester*, (as we must take it) and ranging all along the Province of *Kent*, carried back with him an unspeakable quantity of Booty. As to what happened betwixt him and *Egfrid* he adds, that in the Third year of *Cenwin* King of the West *Saxons* a Comet appeared for three Months together, shining every Morning like another Sun. That in the year following *Egfrid* (or *Egfred* as he calls him) and *Edelede* fought a mighty Battel near to *Trent*, and there was slain *Alwin*, *Egfred's* Brother, a Young Man, much beloved in both the Provinces. This enmity rose amongst them though *Edelede* had Married their Sister *Ofrith*, and being once risen it was hard to get it down, this blood adding to its vengeance, as Oil to the flame. For every day offences and misapprehensions were multiplied betwixt these two fierce Kingdoms, threatening destruction to them both, but the endeavours of *Theodore* the Bishop at last took up the quarrel by this accommodation, that no blood should be required for the blood of the King's Brother, but only a sum of Money paid him. This he might the better doe, because as *Malusebury* tells the story, he was the Aggressor.

*Malmesbury* tells the story, he was the next choice. *7* *Elthebald* after the twenty ninth year of his Reign, turned Monk in *Bardey* Abbey, whereof at length he died Abbat, and there was Buried. In his Kingdome succeeded *Kenrede*, or *Coindrede* his Kinsman, the Son of his Brother *Wolfe*, in the fifth year of the Emperour *Tiberius Affmarus*, the eleventh of *Wistred* King of *Kent*, the nineteenth of *Alfred* King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCIII. As he succeeded him in his Kingdome, so in the Monastical Life, for when he had Reigned but five years he went to *Rome* and there turned Monk, for taking along with him *Offa* the Son and Successour, if he had thought good of *Sigebert* King of the East Saxons, who also was enamoured of, and assumed the Habit. After him Reigned *Ceolrede* or *Celrede* the Son of his Uncle *Elthebald*, who as he was wonderfull for his valour against King *Ina*, so was miserable in his sudden death, for having reigned no more than eight years, he was buried at *Lichfield*, leaving *Ethelbald* his Heir, his Nephew by his Brother *Alwi*. *Ethelbald* is characteriz'd a valiant and a vehement Man, yet did he govern, faithfully, both a long time and in great peace and quietness. But for all this Peace we are told by others, that *Adelard* King of the West Saxons endeavour'd by force to conquer his Kingdome, and to that purpose fought a Battell with his Son *Osuald*, who having sustained his fury a good space, when he saw he was utterly unable to bear up against so numerous Forces betook himself to a fair Retreat, and thereby preserv'd his Father's Territories. After this *Ethelbald* the most valiant King of *Mercia* with a terrible Army laid siege to the Town of *Somerton*, the inhabitants whereof receiving no succour he quickly became Master of it, and from this time forward became so eminent for his Arms amongst his Contemporaries, that he caus'd to submit to him all the Provinces Southward of *Humber*, with their Kings. This *Somerton* standing upon the River *Ferrat* had indeed formerly a Castle of the West Saxons Kings, through the Walls of which *Ethelbald* is said to have forced a Breach. But now Time hath so gotten the Mastery of it, that there is no appearance at all of it, and the very Town it self would have much ado to keep the Name, were it not for a Pair of Oxen and other Cattel, there kept from *Palm Sunday* till the middle of *June*, with good Reliefe of People, the Countrymen thereabout being very great Graiers. Yet being famous in Ancient times, and of all others most frequented, it gave Name to the Shire which *Aelfric* calls very where calls *Somertunensis*. Some indeed have thought it called *Somerfeldshire*, because the Air is Mild and Summer-like there; and in that sense the *Welsh Britons* at this Day call it *Gladerhaf*. But this Name they borrow from the *Englisb* Tongue; and however in Summer time it may be a Summer-like Country in Winter it may as truly be called *Winterfeld*. So wet, so miry and moorish it is as Travellers to their very great trouble and inconvenience do find.

8. But *Erbeld* growing proud upon his success, and preferring Violence before Justice, between such time as *Coolbulf* King of the *Northumbrians* had forsaken his Crown for a Cow, and the succession of *Egbert*, took his opportunity, and in an hostile manner invaded that Kingdom, whence having got vast plunder, he returned, finding none to resist him. This proud *Erbeld* again, faith our Writer, when *Adelard* the King of the West Saxons was dead, often disturbed his Successors

Quarels with  
Cudrede King  
of the West  
Saxons.

But is worsted  
in the first  
Barrel.

In the next  
flair.

*Secundum,*  
where.  
*Repandum.*

*Beared U-*  
*furps.*

Upon whose  
Death *Offa* i  
made King.

Who engage  
with *Alrick*  
King of *Kenn*

And takes  
Bislington  
from Kinwul  
King of the  
West Saxon.

four and Kinfman *Cudrede*, sometimes with open hostility, and otherwhiles by Sect. 8. stirring up his Subjects to Seditious Attempts. Various was their success in the Field, sometimes the one and now the other having the advantage, and now would they conclude a Peace, and then again violate it by hostile Acts. At length in the fourth year of *Cudrede*, they seemed to heartily accord, that with joint force they set upon the *Britains*, and defeated them, though their multitudes were innumerable. Yet again they fell at variance, and *Cudrede* not able to bear the Exactions and Insolence of *Ethelbald*, in his thirtieth year took courage, and met him at *Bedford*, trusting much to the skill and courage of *Edelhim* a stout Captain he brought along with him. *Ethelbald* the King of *Kings*, besides his *Mercians* and other Forces, brought along with him the Eastern *Saxons*, the *Angles*, and the *Kentish* Men. The Battels being formed and ready to join, *Edelhim* leading on the West *Saxons*, and bearing the Standard of *Cudrede* which was a Golden Dragon, called upon the Standard Bearer of *Ethelbald*, challenging him it seems to a Combat. Hereupon the West *Saxons* shouted and were much encouraged, and the Armies joined. A most bloody Contest began and a long time continued, the success being doubtful. But God who reſiſteth the Proud, as our Author observes, was pleased to abate the haughtiness of *Ethelbald*, inſomuch that he himſelf firſt of all ran away, and from this time to his Death ſuffered he nothing he undertook to proſper. Yet in the ſecond year after this Battel having recruited himſelf, he would again try his fortune, and fought another moſt bloody Battel with the West *Saxons* at a place called *Secandune*, where being ſorely diſtreſſed, and diſdaining as formerly to flye, he was ſlain, and Buried at *Repandune*. And fo faith *Bromton*, this moſt valiant King when he had Reigned one and forty years (not in ſuch profound Peace ſurely as the Monk of *Malmſbury* writes) was puniſhed for his exceſſive Pride, and from this time the Kingdom of the West *Saxons* became ſtronger. This *Secandune* though it flouriſhed in the Times of the *Saxons* is now almoſt quite gone, and at this time is called *Seckinton* in *Warwickſhire*. *Repandune* from a great and fair Town is alſo become a poor and ſmall Village, at this day called *Repton* upon the River *Trent*, where it takes in the Rivulet *Dove*. This it is, though in former Ages it was famous both for the Burial of *Ethelbald*, of other the *Mercian* Kings, and the Calamity of *Burthred* the laſt of them, who here was deprived of his Kingdom, as we ſhall ſee in its due place.

9. But whereas by the Chronicle of *Bromton* it would appear that *Ethelbald* was slain by his Enemies, it is generally affirmed by other Writers, that being a good King he lost his Life by the Treachery of his own bad People, for he was in the Army slayed by *Beared* or *Beornrede*, who immediately usurped, taking the title of King upon him. But not long he enjoyed the title. For as he began, so he continued his Reign like a Tyrant, which incensed the People, that Noble, and Ignoble together, they united themselves, and under conduct of *Offa* a most valiant young man presently unking'd him, some say by driving him away, others by taking away his Life, and bringing him to such an end as the murder of *Ethelbald* had deferred. *Offa* for his pains was made King, in the eighteenth year of *Constantinus Copronymus*, the tenth of *Edilbert King of Kent*, the first and last of *Osulf King of the Northumbrians*, A. D. DCCLVIII. He was the fifth in descent from *Penda*, as *Malmesbury* writes, yet others in his Pedegree; which they derive from *Woden*, make no mention at all of *Penda*. He was a Prince of extraordinary conduct, courage and success, which for a long time he managed and enjoyed together. The first Action of him we meet with is his subduing by Arms a certain People called *Efelingings*, concerning whom we know nothing, and therefore can say nothing farther. Much about the same time he fought with *Alfred King of Kent*, at a place called *Ottanford*, now *Osford*, in *Kent* upon the *River Darent*, more famous afterward for an overthrow of the *Danes*, and longer after that for an House of the Kings. What success he had at this place the *Annals* do not tell us, but it seems it was such as encouraged him the year following to engage against *Kinwald King of the West Saxons* at a place called *Bisinston*, *Op-which Town* he took. It is that which is now called *Benfon*, standing upon the *Thames* in *Oxfordshire*, by *Marian*, said to be a Royal Village, who reports that *Cæwlin* took it from the *Britains* in the year DLXXII. and that the *West Saxons* held possession of it for two hundred years, till *Offa* thinking it would be both for his commodity and honour that they should have nothing on this side the *River*, wone it and subjected it to his own Kingdom. At this day it goes for a Village only, and not long since had an House of the Kings hard by, called of certain





## Sect. 8.

quented in ancient times for the Relicks of this *Kenelme*, a Child of seven years old, whom his own Sister, to get the Inheritance unto her self, secretly made away; and our Fore-fathers registered in the Rank of Holy Martyrs. The Territory adjoining was of old reckoned a Sherifdom or County of it self, till such time as *Edric*, surnamed *Streona*, that is the Getter or Gainer, who first under King *Ethelred*, and afterward under *Cnut* or *Canute* governed as Viceroy the whole Kingdom of *England*, adjoined it to the Shire of *Glocester*.

An Account  
of the Mur-  
ther.

14. *Kenulfe* by his Wife *Alfritha* had this Son, thus murdered by his own Sister *Quendrida*, and another Daughter called *Burgenida*. The manner how the Murder was committed, and how it was discovered, was this, which you must take upon the trust of *William of Malmesbury* and *Mattheu* the Flowergatherer. "The Boy was committed to an Attendant, who carrying him into a Wood under pretence of Hunting, cut off his Head and hid his Body in the Thickets. "A wonderfull thing it was that a thing done so privately in *England*, should be known at *Rome*, but so it came to pass by Divine Revelation. For upon "Altar you must know of blessed *Peter* Prince of the Apostles, a white Dove let fall a certain Paper, which in order discovered both the death of St. *Kenelme* "King and Martyr, and also the place of his Burial. The Schedule being written "in *English* in Golden Letters, the Clerks that were present at the Command of "the Pope attempted to read, but in vain. But as it happily came to pass an Angel stood by and interpreting it in Latin, caused the *Roman* Prelate by an Epistle to give notice to the *English* Kings of their Compatriot Martyr. Amongst other things this was found written in the Paper. *In Clenc kon bath Kenelm kyn-*

*Apud Simou.*  
*Dumlin. loc*  
*mo:*  
*In Clenc, in*  
*Condale Ke-*  
*nelm King*  
*Bern, lito*  
*undit thorn*  
*hed by reuch.*

the body of the King lies under a Thorne beheaded by the head. The Body of the blessed Martyr being thus miraculously discovered to the *English* Kings, in a great Assembly of Clerks and Nobles, was taken out of the Hole and carried to *Winchelcombe*. The Paricide (said he) or rather Fratricide (his Sister) being vexed at the finding and noise of the People which rejoiced at the finding out of so great a Martyr, put her head out of a Window, and by saying a Psalm backward endeavoured to incant and disturb them, but as she was singing both her eyes fell out of her Head upon the Book she held in her hand. Still to this day, he adds, the Plaster it self set in Silver, and besmeared with the blood of the Eyes, gives testimony of this Punishment. So much of this Boy, King, and Martyr. Thus much we may be certain of, that the Murderer, however the Villany was discovered, reaped not the fruit of her Ambition as she intended. For after this *Kenelme*, *Ceolwulf* his Uncle, the Brother of *Kenulfe*, succeeded in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, which henceforth was in a tottering condition, and little or nothing memorable, or which deserved notice, afterward is to be found concerning it, besides the mere Names and Successions of a few Kings. *Ceolwulf* reigned but two, some say but one year, and then was driven away by *Bernulfe*. This *Bernulfe* in the third year of his Reign, yet durst adventure to grapple with *Egbert* King of the West Saxons, with whom he fought a bloody Battel at a Place called *Ellandune*, but was defeated. This *Ellandune* is now called *Wilton*, situate upon the River *Willey*, whence it hath taken its latter Name, and imparted it to the whole Shire, called *Wiltshire*, which at that time it was the Head. In the *Saxon* times it mightily flourished. The *Danes* sorely distressed it, yet fell it not so much to decay till the Bishops of *Salisbury* turned another way the common Road, which formerly lay through it into the Western Countries. Then by degrees fell it to ruin, and now is but as it were a small Village, having nothing to boast of but a Mayor and a very fine House of the Earls of *Pembroke*, raised out of the Ruines of the old Monastery. But most overtopped it was by *Sorbiodunum*, and now by *Salisbury*, which arose out of the Ruines of this last mentioned City. But as for its Name of *Ellandune*, one rationally conjectures, that this River *Willey* is the same with *Alan*, which *Ptolemy* mentions in this Coast of the Country.

15. The defeat received by *Bernulfe* at *Ellandune*, was but a prelude to a greater Mischiefe, which happened to him the same year. *Offa* as we have said had seized on the Kingdom of the East Angles, whither he now repairing as to part of his Dominions, the Inhabitants met him in the Field and slew him, then doubting what might be the Consequence, for fear of the *Mercians* they submitted themselves both King and People to the Sovereignty of *Egbert*. After him was King one *Ludecan*, who keeping in his mind the Insolence of the East Angles, after two years

Next to him  
reigned *Lude-*  
*can*.

7 hru callopmen mon ofroth mis him. 7 hyslef peng to pice. Ad Ann. 800CCXXV.

years

years Reign prepared to be revenged on them, but failed in the attempt, being slain with his five Captains, or as the *Saxon* hath it, his Aldermen. To him succeeded one *Wiglaf* or *Witblaf*, who was presently expelled by *Egbert*, and three years continued in Exile. At the end thereof being touched with Compassion, *Egbert* suffered him to return, but to hold the Kingdom of him as his Tributary Vassal, paying him and his Son the thirteen years he reigned a sum of money. In the same Capacity reigned *Berthulfe* his Successor, and just so long a time, who at last by the *Danish* Pirates was driven beyond the Seas. After this *Burhede* having Married *Ethelswida* the Daughter of King *Atulfe* the Son of *Egbert*, by fo great an Alliance comforted himself both against his Tributary Estate and the frequent Depredations of the Pirates. But after two and twenty years he was constrained by them to quit his Country, whence he betook himself to *Rome*, and there died, and at the *English* School in St. Mary's Church was buried. His Wife he left behind him, but the afterward followed him into *Italy* and died at *Pavia*. Then was the Kingdom of the *Mercians* by the *Danes* delivered to one *Schwulfe* the Servant of *Burhede*, but during pleasure. After a few years *Alfrede* the Nephew of *Egbert* obtained it. He Married *Elfreda* Sister to *Edward* the Elder, who after her death laid the Kingdom of the *Mercians* to his own Dominions; Then this Principality which (saith *Malmesbury*) by the madness of a Pagan man suddenly flourished, through the miserable sluggishness of half a man utterly withered and came to nought: In the Eight Hundred and Seventy Fifth Year of our Lord.

Then Wiglaf.

*Berthulfe*.  
*Burhede*.

*Alfrede*.

Sect. 9.

## S E C T. IX.

The Kingdom of the West Saxons. From the beginning thereof by *Cerdick*, to the Death of *Egbert* the first English Monarch.

The Space of Three Hundred and Eighteen years.

1. THE Kingdom of the West Saxons, than which (saith *Malmesbury*) *Britain* never saw any more magnificent or of longer continuance received its beginning from one *Cerdick*, and presently arrived at an high pitch of Greatness. This man being by Birth a *German*, and Nobly descended, as the Tenth from *Woden*, having by homebred Conflicts molded his Mind to a waslike Temper, resolved to quit his Country and become famous by his Arms abroad. Having fully settled his Resolutions, he communicated his mind to his Son *Cynrick*, who was in all glorious Actions no farther behind him than that treading in his steps he seemed to tread upon his Heel. He easily consenting to the Expedition into *Britain*, they came with their Forces in five Reels, in the Four hundred and ninety fifth year of our Lord, which was the fifth of the Emperor *Anastasis*, the eighth of *Esk* King of *Kent*, the fifth of *ella* King of the South Saxons, in the days of *Clodoneus* the First King of the *Franks*, in the Consulship of *Amilius* and *Viator*. His Pedigree is thus drawn from *Woden*; *Healdeag*, *Brandt*, *Fithogor*, *Freawine*, *Wig*, *Gewis*, *ella*, *Elefa*, *Cerdick* or *Certick*.

2. What entertainment they found at their Landing we have already told the Reader, and how by degrees they advanced and got ground. But this is to be farther observed, that the place where he Landed was not within the Bounds of that Kingdom which he afterward founded, and whereof we write. For *Cerdic*, or *Cerdicshore*, which is still by the Inhabitants called *Cerdikefand*, lay near to the old City *Garianonum*, which being decayed, and no Garrison lying there,

*Cerdick* and  
his Son *Cyn-*  
*rick* arrive.

The place  
where they  
Landed.



## Sect. 2.

Gives them  
another de-  
fect at Beran-  
byrig.

Galls were wont to add to places seated on higher Ground, such as this *Sorbiadunum* was. For *Sorbidunum* is by Interpretation the *Dry Hill*, and upon an high Hill this City is mounted. *Kinric* was the first of all the *English Saxons*, that forced it after he had got a notable Victory over the *Britains*, which so much encouraged him, that four years after this he and his Son *Ceaulin*, engaged with them again at a Place called *Beranbyrig*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, where-foever he had his Collections, tells the story with various Circumstances. The *Britains* faith he to take off that War which lay with such Confusion upon them, and they had endured for five years, posturing together a numerous and well instructed Army, put themselves into a posture of fighting at *Beranburi*. And when they had formed nine several Battalies, which Number in War is most convenient, three in the front, three in the middle, and three in the Rere, having appointed to each Body its fitting Officers, and placed their Archers, those that used Darts conveniently with their Horse according to the *Roman* Customs, the *Saxons* in one Body fell most boldly upon them. Their Standards they cast down and defaced, and breaking their Lances fought it out with dint of Sword, till the Evening approached, the Victory being still very doubtful. Neither need this seem wonderful, they being Men of extraordinary Stature, Vigour and Courage, although in our Days the Armies as well of the one as the other at the first onset are easily put to flight; consulting now of such Men as both in respect of their Stature, Vigour and Courage are inconsiderable; so much he. As for the Place of the Battel, this *Beranbyrig* is that Town now called *Banbury*, situate upon the River *Charwell* in the County of *Oxford*. About this Town are found Coins of the *Roman* Emperours, which argue for the Antiquity of the Place. Now the fame of it is for Cheese, Cakes, and such like things, and lately it could shew a Castle built by *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln* (for to the See of *Lincoln* it belonged, as did many other good Houses, and Manors now swallowed by the iniquity of times) who desiring to dwell stately, rather than quietly, by his vast Structures of this kind brought himself into many troubles.

To Cyric  
succeeds Ce-  
aulin.

7. *Cyric* died after he had reigned fix and twenty years, and was succeeded by *Ceaulin* his Son in the five and thirtieth year of *Justinian* the Emperour, about the beginning of the Reign of *Clothair* King of the *Franks*, the same year that *Ethelbert* became King of *Kent*, the third of *Alla* King of the *Northumbrians*. A. D. DLXI. *Ceaulin* was a Man of such metal of warlike Enterprizes, that, as *Mal-mesbury* phraseth, it to the *English Saxons* he became an object of wonder, to the *Britains* of hatred, and to both of them the Author of Destruction. Now had these *Saxons* been in *Britain* for the space of an hundred and twenty years, all which time they had been so employed in chusing and settling their new Possessions, that having space enough (a little seems much to them that have none) they agreed well enough amongst themselves, and united upon occasion against them, whom their Interest had made their common Enemies. But now having pretty well secured their new (however got) Possessions, they had more leisure to be proud and idle, and having much, began to think they had not enough, and to envy the Conditions of one another. In the West and North they had still indeed work enough to defend their own, and still provoked by ambition, and Covetousness to wrest more out of the Hands of the Poor distressed *Britains*, but toward the South-East the Coast was clear, not a *Britain* left either to disturb or be disturbed, so that these Princes having nothing else to work upon, must needs find work amongst those of their own Nation, not enduring to be idle while they were so employed, to be mere Gazers upon the Actions of others, and to hear every day of their Conquests, Trophies and Spoils, now began to feel and perceive they had bounds to their Dominions, and however their Clothes seemed to be wide in the Infancy of their Kingdoms, now they complained they were strait laced. The first that betrayed this restless humour, was *Alla* King of the South *Saxons*, who as *Beda* tells us was the first of these Kings, that commanded all the Provinces of the *English*, lying Southward of the River *Humber*. His Kingdom was not large, and his work was narrow, having quickly dispossessed the ancient Inhabitants, so that having time to look about him, and leisure enough to attempt any Enterprize, he awed the rest who still all of them except the King of *Kent*, had work enough, time and strength little enough to be employed against the *Britains*, to win and settle those Possessions which they had already obtained, and either convenience or ambition still provoked them to obtain. They were forced to give him good words, and admit of his Superiority, obey his Commands without opposition. Not one blow can we find, this procured amongst them.

Civil Wars a-  
mong the  
Saxons in  
Britain.

Alla King of  
the South  
Saxons begins

## Sect. 9.

Then Ethel-  
bert King of  
Kent.

8. He being dead and gone, and his Posterity degenerating, some twenty years after *Ethelbert* came to be King of *Kent*, who receiving from his Ancestours a quiet possession of that Canton of the Island, grudging himself thus confined unto a Corner. Wealth and Idleness pricked him, and begat the Itch of ambition, which was vehemently provoked by this reflexion, that he was the Great, Great Grandchild (as we improperly speak, rather he his Great, Great Grandfather) the Heir and Successour of *Hengist*, that great Captain the first Leader of the *Saxons*, the first that gave them opportunity of obtaining this Wealth and Honour, to whose Sceptre it was but juft and fit, that they should truckle and submit. This was a fair pretence where there was a sharp Sword to back it, but Interest and present Possession afford deaf Ears to matters of Right, much more of Honour and Reputation. *Ethelbert* could easily give Laws to the South *Saxons*; the Western were the great object of his Envy, which was increased by that opportunity, which the nearness of their situation suggested to him. While *Ceaulin* was busied in the settlement and enlargement of his own Kingdom, in which Employment he had now spent Eight years, he invades his Territories. *Ceaulin* his Affairs requiring he should ever be in readiness, was not unprepared for him, but speedily made head against him, and with *Cutha* gave him Battel at a Place called *Wibbandune*, where he gave him a great overthrow, *Oflac* and *Cnebhan*, his *Ealdor-men* or great Officers, being slain together with a great multitude of the inferior sort, and drove him back into his *Kentish* Quarters. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* observes, that this was the first War which the Kings of the *English Saxons* waged amongst themselves, the first Battel fought on the account of a Civil Quarrel.

Who invading  
Ceaulin is o-  
verthrown.

Annal. Saxo-  
nic. ad. ann.  
DLXVIII.

Ceaulin over-  
throws the  
Britains in  
two pitched  
battles.

9. *Ceaulin* did not pursue him into *Kent*, or revenge the Injury and Violence at this time, his main concerns lying at home against the *Britains*. Notwithstanding all the Attempts of him and his Predecessours, still they continued and held many Places on every side him. Yet the first engagement we meet with in the Annals of those that happened in his time, was that of the eleventh year of his Reign betwixt *Cuthwulf*, whom *Huntingdon* calls his Brother, and confounds him with *Cutha*, at *Bedanford* which *Huntingdon* interprets of *Bedford*, which *Ad. An.* now faith he is the Head of the Circumcinct Province. He came off with Victory, as an effect whereof he took in four Towns, *Liganburk*, *Aglesburk*, *Bennington* and *Egonesham*, that is such as afterward received these Names from their new Masters, for *Saxon* they are and not *British*. But *Cuthwulf* survived his Victory not long, dying the very same year that these things happened. For six years after this we hear of no Action, as if *Ceaulin* by his Brother's death was destitute of a Commander. But six years after he took his Son *Cuthwine* with him in his stead, and again made War upon the *Britains*, of whom were slain three Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan* and *Farinmail*, at a place called *Deorham*, which done they subdued three notable Cities, viz. *Gleavancestre*, *Cyrcencestre* and *Bathamestre*. This *Deorham* is a little Town in *Glocestershire*, not far from *Severn*, at this day called *Derham*, where are yet to be seen huge Rampires and Trenches, as Fortifications of their Camps, and other most apparent Monuments here and there of so great a War.

And takes fe-  
veral places, as  
Deorham,

Gleavancestre.

Cyrcencestre.

*Gleavancestre* is that we call *Glocester*, in *Antonine* named *Glevum* from *Glaw* in *British*, which signifieth *Fair* or *Goodly*, the *Britains* still calling it *Caer Glaw*. Being built by the *Romans* as a Curb to the *Silures*, it was thus wrested out of the Hand of the *Britains*, first by *Ceaulin*. Afterward the *Mercians* won it, under whom it flourished in great Honour, and *Oftrick* King of *Northumberland* by permission of *Ethelred* the *Mercian*, founded there a great and stately Nunnery, where *Kineburga*, *Eadburga* and *Eva* Queens of the *Mercians*, were successively Prioreesses one after another. \* *Ad Edelseda* that most Noble Lady of the *Mercians*, adorned it with a Church. *Cyrcencestre*, that we now call *Cirencester* and *Circiter*; called *Corinium* by *Ptolemy*, and by *Antonine*, *Durocoronium*, from the River *Corin* (now *Churn*) upon which it standeth, fifteen Miles distant from *Glevum* or *Glocester*, upon the *Roman* High Street. *Bathamestre*, is that we now call *Bath* in *Somersetshire*, on which we are told, the *Saxons* for a long time durst, asque not set, but left it to the *Britains*, till *Ceaulin* had defeated him at *Deorham*. Then it yielded after a furious assault, and within few years recovering some strength grew up again, and therewith got a new Name of \* *Akmanchestre*. For *Oftrick* in the year DCLXXVI, founded a Nunnery there, and immediately after when the *Mercians* had got it under them, King *Offa* built another Church, both which in the time of the *Danish* Broils were overthrown, and out of the Ruines of them both arose another Church, wherein *Endgar* firmated the *Pence-maker*, being dicimus.

\* Akagrun.  
Ache eodem  
sensu hodie  
dicitur, acque  
optime hinc  
loco quadam  
iii maxime  
saluberrimi  
tubus suis do-  
ratus labora-  
tione quos nos  
Anglici Ser-  
mone Ache  
dicimus.

Sect. 9.

crowned King bestowed upon the Citizens very many Immunities, the Memory of which they yearly celebrate with solemn Plays. But thus were the *Britains* dispossessed of these Countries for ever by this King of the West *Saxons*, though afterward all these three Places with the Territories about them, fell into the Hands of their Neighbours the *Mercians*.

10. No other Battle do we read of that was fought betwixt these Nations, although probably many Contests and Skirmishes happened till the seventh year after, when *Ceaulin* and *Cutha* engaged with the *Britains*, in a place called *Fethanleage*. Here *Cutha* lost his Life, but the Annals tell us, that *Ceaulin* took Towns, not a few, besides Plunder without measure, yet in great wrath and indignation he returned home. Here one would suspect it were for the death of *Cutha*; but *Huntingdon* writes that a most dreadful fight being fought, *Cuthwine* was oppressed by the multitudes of his Enemies, overpowered and slain. The *English* were overthrown and put to flight; but *Ceaulin* coming in, in good time, caused them to rally, and setting on afresh, conquered the Conquerors, which done, in the pursuit he became Master of many Territories and innumerable Spoils. Thus flourished he, seeming not to court but to command Victory, while all, as well Enemies as Friends, stood wondering and looking on. But extraordinary Prosperity cannot be called Felicity, ending most commonly in extraordinary Misery. His Brother he lost, and as *Malmesbury* tells us, his Son of the same name was killed before his face. His great Success and Power, as it procured fear, so envy and hatred, while all that heard but of him, suspected presently their own Estates.

This made not only friends but foes to agree in this, to put a stop to his formidable greatness, so that *Britains* and *English* conspiring together, gave him Battle at a place called *Wodensbeorlge*, where so great a slaughter was made of his Men that he was totally defeated, and he who so lately commanded all on this side the River *Humber*, was now forced in a forlorn condition to hide his Head, and lurk in some obscure place, a banished Man from his own Dominions, a miserable spectacle of the inconstancy of sublimity things. This *Wodensbeorlge* is now called *Wodensburge*, a little Village in *Wiltshire* near to that Ditch of wonderful work, which being cast up for many Miles together, divideth the middle of this Shire from East to West. The People dwelling thereabout, call it *Waf-dike*, and upon an error generally received, they talk that it was made by the Devil upon a Wednesday. But in the *Saxon* Tongue it is called *Wodensdike*, or the Dike of *Woden*, who here perhaps was worshipped by the Pagan *Saxons*, or being a thing of great consequence was dedicated to him. *Malmesbury* writes, that this great Battle was fought at it, not mentioning *Wodensburge*, and it's very probable that the *Saxons* made it to divide the two Kingdoms of the West *Saxons* and *Mercians* asunder, this being the very place of Battle between them, while they strove one with another to enlarge their Dominions. For besides this Battle betwixt *Ceaulin* and the *Saxons*, and *Britains*, who joyned together; at this Dike, to say nothing of other accidents, *Ina* the West *Saxon* afterward, and *Cealred* the *Mercian* joyned Battle, and departed the Field on even terms. It was their custom to make such Ditches, such was that of *Offa*, of which we have already spoken. Others are also to be seen among the East *Angles* in *Cambridgeshire* and *Suffolk*, wherewith they bounded their Territory, and defended themselves from the Inroads and violence of the *Mercians*.

11. *Ceaulin* being thus driven into exile, when he had Reigned one and thirty years, died shortly after, in the second year, say the Annals, and together with him perished *Cuichelme* and *Crida*, the same year that *Ethelfrith* began his Reign over the *Northumbrians*. This his Catastrophe, was the high advancement of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, who for the reasons but now alleged, having high designs in his Head, was hitherto hindered from bringing them to perfection by the greater abilities and success of *Ceaulin*. By this time he had well ripen'd his Ambition with more general observation and experience in war, and what he formerly, when raw and unpractis'd, had attempted, now successfully attained, and by degrees brought all the other Kingdoms between *Kent* and *Humber* to bear his Devotion, that of the West *Saxons* the firmest of all, being now in a very low condition: this gave him the main advantage, being humbled to his hand; the rest yielded not subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories and the Terror which they procured, his Reputation being farther strengthened by his Marriage with *Bertha*, Daughter to a King of the *Franks*. But to return to the Kingdom of *Wessex*, in its deplorable estate, *Ceolric* the Nephew of *Ceaulin*, by his Brother *Cutha* undertook its protection, and as he could in so ticklish times, ordered

Another Victory over the Britains.

Ceaulin at last is defeated at Wodensbeorlge.

Being driven into exile &c.

Is succeeded by Ceolric.

Then followed Ceaululf.

dered the affairs thereof for five years. After him followed *Ceolwulf* his Brother, who for all the fourteen years he governed, was perpetually employed, either against the *English*, *Britains*, *Picts* or *Scots*, and came off with advantage. Yet have we nothing particular concerning these great attempts; only this is mention'd, that the same year that *Ethelfrith* warred against the *Britains* of *Chester*, he made war upon the South *Saxons*. It must be remembered that *Ethelbert* of *Kent* outlived him, and therefore he having all his Life the superiority over all the other Kings, he durst not attempt any thing against him, it must have been against his fellow Vassals; and as for the *Picts* and *Scots*, he lying at such a distance from them, his warring against them, must have been in giving assistance to the *Northumbrians* their next Neighbours. He dying after he had Reigned fourteen years, *Cynegils* the Son of *Ceolric* (or, as the Annals call him, *Ceol*) succeeded him. The *Translatour* of the Annals talks of his, and *Quicelm* taking the Government upon them in the same year. But the Annals themselves say no such thing, and *Huntingdon* writes, that he took his Brother *Kichelm* in the fourth year of his Reign, to be his Colleague in the Kingdom.

Next Cynegils and Quicelm. Who Reigned jointly.

12. *Cynegils* began his Reign in the second year of *Heraclius* the Emperor, the two and fiftieth of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the twentieth of *Ethelfrith* the fierce King of the *Northumbrians*, A. D. DCXII. The Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that *Cinegille* and *Quicelm*, the Sons of *Celric*, put on the Ensigns of the Kingdom with equal Authority, they were both stout Persons, and contend betwixt themselves in the mutual Offices of Piety which should exceed, inasmuch, that in respect of their Concord, not usual among Kings, they may be pronounced as a Miracle to the present, and an Example to future times. Many Wars they waged, one cannot distinguish whether with greater valour or moderation, either against the *Britains* or *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, a Man exceedingly dextrous in the surprizing feats of War, who having passed beyond his own Bounds, while he labours to get *Cirecester* into his hands, was not able to bear the shock of these unanimous Kings, but with a few in his Company ran away. *Quicelm* is not a little blamed, for hiring an Affiliator to murder *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, a Man of approved wisdom. But if that gentile saying be considered, *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit*, he will easily find excuse having done nothing unusual, and led by a desire to remove out of the way by any means he could, one who studied his own destruction. For from the Kingdom of the West *Saxons*, he had before this wrestled much, and at that time irritated by the injury received, the old grudges now coming to remembrance, practised many things which tended to their great damage. But the Kings escaped, to whom not long after, by the Preaching of *Binnus* the Bishop, the Heavenly Doctrine was revealed, in the twenty fifth year of their Reign, and the fortieth after the coming of *St. Augustine*, the Apostle of the *English*. *Cinegille* was presently won, and abasing his Royal Loftiness, willingly submitted himself to the Priest in Baptism. *Quicelm* wrinched a little, till by the health of his Body, admonished that he should not neglect the Salvation of his Soul he imitated the devotion of his Consort, and died the same year. But *Cinegille*, for six years after, enjoying long quiet and repose, ended his Life in the one and thirtieth of his Reign.

Who beat the Britains at Beandune in Dorsetshire.

13. Thus much *Malmesbury* in general, concerning the joyn't Government of these Kings, we shall add what particulars we can light upon in these obscure times. The first is the Battle, which in the third or fourth year of *Cynegils* they fought against the *Britains*, at a place called *Beandune*, where were slain of the *English* *Britains*, two thousand and six and forty. *Huntingdon* here tells us, that *Cinegille* they were frightened at the very sight of their Enemies, and at the first onset threw down their Ensigns and fled. Others write, that it was a doubtful and dangerous Battle, each one using his conjecture, rather than having any thing certain from the Monuments of Antiquity, whereon to fix this. We may easily believe that this *Beandune* was that Town of *Dorsetshire*, situate upon the River *Frome*, which at this day is known by the Name of *Bindon*. As for that attempt which *Quicelm* made to take away the Life of *Edwin*, we must remember that this Prince was the fifth, whose Authority extended itself over all the Provinces of the *English* *Saxons*, greater in this respect than any of the other four, that their Territories were now subject to him, but his Dominions never had been in their Power, to which a bound was ever put by the River *Humber*. He had made bold in several respects, as well with the West *Saxons* as with others, and would give Law to them all. What therefore could not be done by fair, *Quicelm* resolved to effect by foul means; for foul it was, never to be excused or reconcilable with

Hen Cynegyl pengo pice on pere Scaxum. j beols XXXI. nnpa. Cy. ncsly par Ceolung. Ceol Cynpung. Ad. An. DC. XL.

Sect. 9. F: ahe 7 fon.

Hen Cynegyl pengo pice on pere Scaxum. j beols XXXI. nnpa. Cy. ncsly par Ceolung. Ceol Cynpung. Ad. An. DC. XL.

Sect. 9. with generosity, even in any Enemy. But the thing was this, as we have it  
 from the Authentick History of *Beda himself*. A certain Affassinate named *Euc-*  
*mere*, was sent from *Quichelme* the King of the West Saxons, to kill King *Edwin*.  
 Pretending a Message from his Matter, he runs upon him with an envenomed  
 weapon (that in tafe the steel did not, the poyson might take effect) near the  
 River *Derwent*, where stood at that time the King's Palace. This being perceived  
 by *Lilla* a faithfull and loving Servant of the King's, standing by, he interposed  
 himself and was stabbed, the King also received a little hurt by the blow through  
 his Body. The Affassinate killed another Souldier called *Forthere*, and at last was  
 killed himself and cut in pieces. The King was exceedingly disturbed at the vil-  
 lany, but his grief was a little mitigated by a Daughter, of which his Queen  
 was brought to Bed the night following. He gave thanks therefore unto his Gods,  
 which being overheard by *Paulinus* the Bishop, he expostulated it with him, affir-  
 ming that the Queen through his Prayers had been delivered without much pain.  
 The King well pleased to hear that, promised that he would believe in Christ, in  
 case he would give him Victory over *Quichelme*, and as a pledge of his promise  
 commanded his little Daughter to be Christened, which was done, the Name of  
*Eanfleda* being given her, and with her were Baptized twelve others of the Family.  
 Then did he raise an Army and lead it against *Quichelme*, and beginning a  
 War, either killed all that had been of the Conspiracy, or had them delivered up  
 unto him. To this *Matthew of Westminster* adds, that *Quichelme* he slew in the  
 place, which from him is called in the Language of the *English Quichelmes banne*  
 to this day. In testimony of the Victory he gave this Name to the Place, and so  
 in triumph returned home.

14. The Palfage concerning the death of *Quichelm* is such as agrees not with other Authours, nor can we believe it true, being placed by the Flowergatherer before the Battel betwixt *Kinegils* and *Penda*, at which other Writers unanimously affirm *Quichelm* to have been present. But he, and *Florentius of Worcester*, otherwise also differ from some of their fellow Historians about this Person, he calling him *Quichelm*, and both of them accounting him the Son of *Kinegils*, whereas others speak of him as of his Brother; but to say truth, the Annals make him his Son. Next after this Battel betwixt them and *Edwin*, that is placed by the Arch-deacon of *Huntingdon*, which he affirms, they fought with the two Sons and Successours of *Sebert* the King of the Eastern *Saxons*. He makes them to have been the Aggregours, says, that being more in number they fought boldly but unfortunately. For both of these young men were killed, and scarcely could any of their Souldiers escape their flight, being intercepted both by the Mountains of dead Bodies, and the Torrents of blood. In the third year after he placeth their fight with *Penda* King of the *Mercians* at *Cirencester*, where assembled very great Armies on both sides, and (saith he) they fought it out with invincible Courage, till parted by the Intervention of Night and Darknes; and in the Morning when they were about to renew their fury, the Kings took up the Quarrel by a Truce, or some other Accommodation. What Circumstances soever he may add concerning their Multitudes and the Intervention of Night, that such a Fight there was, and a Cession thereupon we are assured by the Annals. That first *Kinegils*, and then *Quichelm* was Baptized the year after they also confirm; and moreover, that this very year *Quichelm* died eight years after the fight with *Penda*, and three years after the death of *Edwin*, who therefore could not kill him in the Battel lately mentioned, but yield himself he might into his Hands. Then lastly for *Cynegils*, that he outlived him six years the said Annals make manifest, placing the Succession of his Son (for his Death they mention not) in the seventh year after the death of *Quichelm*.

after the death of *Quichelm*.  
 15. *Cenwalb* the Son of *Cynegils* succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of the *West Saxons* in the third year of *Ercmbert* King of *Kent*, the eighteenth of *Penda* King of the *Mercians* the fame that *Ofwi* began his Reign over the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCXLII. By *Malmesbury* he is described a Prince in the beginning of his Reign to be compared with the worst, in the middle, and the end with the best of Kings. Coming young to the Government, by Luxury he grew Infolent, despising the Example let him by his Father, and lawfull Matrimony; but being by *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, whose Sister he had repudiated, let upon with War, he was driven out of his Kingdom, and fled to the King of the East *Angles*; whereby being disciplined by Adversity and the Perfwasions of him that gave him Entertainment, he considered better of it, was fully perswaded in the Faith, and recovered his Kingdom; where, to his Subjects, he presented himself a welcome Miracle of alteration

for the better, so valiant that he who formerly was not able to protect his own Territories, now twice overthrew the *Britains*, who remembering their ancient liberty fretted at their present condition, and therefore often plotted how they might successfully rebell ! first in the place called *Wingeworthsbury*, and again by the Hill called *Pene*. Upon *Wulpher* also the Son of *Penda* he revenged the Injuries received from his Father, taking from him a good part of his Kingdom. So Religious he was, that first of all *Saxons* Kings he built at *Winchester* the most beautiful Church of that time, the pattern whereof was followed afterward in founding the Episcopal See, though in a more stately manner. So Munificent that nothing, even of his Patrimony, would he deny to his Kindred, as who beloved upon his Brother's Son well nigh the third part of his Kingdom. These Royal Vertues of his were much excited by the Admonitions of *Angilbert* and *Lutherius*, successively Bishops of his Province.

16. That *Cennalh* was by *Penda* driven away, the *Saxon Annals* do testify, the year before he was Baptized; so that if he was not Baptized till his return out of Exile, as by the *Annals* it appears, he could not be absent from his Kingdom three years, as both they and *Beda* affirm; but perhaps longer it was e'er he received Baptism. The King of the East *Angles*, to whom he fled, and who by his Advice brought him to a thorough understanding of himself was *Auna*, who afterward was slain by *Penda* the *Mercian*, without any succour or assistance received from him that we read of. The kindness to his Relations appears from that great gift he gave to *Cuthredo* his Nephew the Son of *Quichelme*, and Grandson of *Cynegils*, as in this place the *Annals* expressly signify, which was three thousand Lands (as the *Saxon* terms them) by *Eccedune*, which *Huntingdon* interprets of Villages, or possibly they might be by many *Hides*, as afterward were called the ordinary division of Grounds; but the expression used by *Malmesbury* of the third part of his Kingdom, seems to hint at as great a quantity as that whereof *Huntingdon* speaks. As for the success which after his return he had against his Enemies, Authors speak variously thereof; for though *Malmesbury* and others talk of Victories, \* *Beda* saith expressly that he very often received most grievous Damages from them in his Kingdom. Four years after his Gift to *Cuthredo* the *Annals* make mention of his fighting at a Place called *Bradanford* upon the River *Afene*, but name none against whom he fought, neither tell they what the success was. *Camden* tells us it had the Name of *Bradanford* from the broadness of the Ford of *Avon*, which is there enlarged by receiving a little Rivulet; that it is now called *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, situate upon the descent of an Hill. Here he saith *Cennalh* King of the West *Saxons* imbrued his Sword with blood in Civil war against *Cuthredo* his near Kinsman. But he names no Author from whom he had it. If so it was, either *Cuthredo* was guilty of much Ingratitude, or *Cennalh* of much oversight and Inconstancy.

17. As for the Battel fought against the *Britains* at *Wirgornesbrug*, there's none that makes mention of it beside the Monk of *Malmesbury* himself, and upon his mere Credit it must lye. But there might well be such a Fight; for when he was fettered after his Restauration he undertook a War against them, or rather they against him, if *Huntingdon* may be believ'd, who writes, that they knowing full well how he had been beaten by *Penda*, and driven him from his Kingdom, despised him as one not able to defend himself; and getting together a great number of men, in the pride of their Hearts made War upon him. And in the first engagement the *Britains* seemed to make the *Saxons* give ground. But the *Saxons* desiring rather to die than flee, so pertinaciously maintained the Fight, that the *Britains* were quite tired out, and their strength melted away like Snow. They gave then their backs to the Conquerours, were chased from *Pen* as far as *Pedrede*, and an incurable wound was made in the Posterity of *Brutus* in that day. These are the words. The Annals confirm that he fought against the *Britains* or *Welsh* as they term them, and that he chafed them as far as *Pedridan*. *Pen*, *Cambden* tells us, is now an obscure Village not far from the River *Juelin* in *Somersetshire*, though anciently famous, being ordained by destiny, as it may seem, to the overthrow both of *Britains* and *Danes*. For at this very place (saith he) *Kenwalch* a West Saxon had such a day of the *Britains* that scarcely ever after would they abide to enter the Field against the English *Saxons*. And many a year after that, King *Edmund*, surnamed *Ironside*, gave there a notable foil to the *Danes*, as he purified *Cnutus* their King, then usurping the Crown of *England*, from place to place. *Pedridan* is a Town also in that County now of no account, except for the Market or Fair there held, but formerly the Royal Seat of King *Ina*, now called

Is kind to his  
Relations.

He over-  
throws the  
*Britains* in  
two several  
Battels.

*Ad An.*  
DCXXVIII.  
*Ad An.*  
DCXXXV &  
DCXXXVI.

Ad. An.  
DCXLIII.

Centwall An-  
nal. Saxonie.  
alin Kenwall.  
E Kenwall,  
Centwald.





Sect. 9.

he purchas'd favour and reverence abroad. And for eight and thirty years exercising his Function, he waxed old, all along void of the fear of Treachery, a most holy Pander as it were of publick Love. His first expedition was against the *Kentish* men, bearing still in his mind the burning of *Mollo* alive. For a little while they made resistance, but after their utmost effort, having left nothing unattempted, and finding every thing unsuccessful, when they could find nothing in the breast of *Ina*, which might incourage slothfulness, they began to confide of their Estate, and fairly yielded. With Gifts they make trial of his Royal mind, they solicit him by Promises, and for thirty thousand Marks of Gold, they purchase their own quiet by his retreat. He having received the money pardoned what was past, and returned home. But not only they of *Kent*, but the Inhabitants of *East England*, were made objects of his hereditary hatred, all their Nobility being first driven away, and afterwards defeated in Battell. Let this suffice to have been said of the success of his Wars. How great a man he was in the things of God, the Laws which he made to correct the Vices of his People sufficiently shew, which still remain as a living Mirrour of his purity. The Monasteries he built are evident Witnesse, structures of Royal Magnificence, especially that of *Gloucester*. At length he declares how by the solicitations of *Ethelburga* his Wife, after all his Earthly Triumphs he arriv'd at the height of Glory and Perfection as he esteems it, and went to *Rome*, where he liv'd and died as obscurely as he had desired.

he had defired.

22. As for his first Expedition into *Kent*, others write that *Vilfred* unwilling to hazard all for the rath Act of a few, delivered up thirty of those that had been accessory to the burning of *Mollo*. This Expedition the Annals place at the sixth year of his Reign, and are silent as to any other Act of his, till fifteen years after. Then they tell us that *Ina* and *Nun* his Kinsman fought with *Gerend* King of *Wales*, but where or how they leave us in Ignorance. With as much shortness and obscurity, fourteen years after this they inform us, that *Ina* and *Ceolred* King of the *Mercians*, fought Battel at a place called *Wodensboorke* or *Wodensburge*, the same we have formerly mentioned to stand near to *Wandsike* in *Wiltshire*, or the Dike of *Wode*. *Huntingdon* from what Authority we have not, affirms that they fought horribly on both sides, so that it could not be known, on which the greater Number of Men was lost. But *Ina*, if not Victour, remained the Survivour, *Ceolred* dying the following year, who that year that next succeeded, was followed into another World by *Ingrid* the Brother of *Ina*, whose Sisters the Annals take here occasion to mention. They were two, *Cwenburk* and *Cuthburk*; whereof the later built a Monastery in a place called *Winhaman*; the other was married to *Alfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*, but out of desire to be wedded also to a monastical life, was separated from him while he yet lived. After this time it seems that *Ina* was vexed at home by Civil Discords, his Title having not been such to the Government, but that others thought their right as good as his. For the Annals at the year which follows, tell us he flew *Cynseulf*, and *Florent* of *Worcester* gives him the Title of *Clyre*, the same with *Aschelung*, and given to none but those of the Blood Royal. But no sooner was one cut off, but assoon if not sooner, another appeared, one *Ealdbricht* who seized on a Castle which *Ina* had built at *Tantume*. Whom the Archdeacon tells us Queen *Edelburk* besieged, took the Castle and razed it, *Ealdbricht* being fled into *Survey*. He was pursued by *Ina* from *Survey* into *Suffex*, where the Inhabitants undertaking his protection were overthrown in Battel, and *Ealdbricht* himself was slain, all which the Annals allow. Three years after they tell us that *Ina* went to *Rome*, leaving his Kingdom after he had held it seven and thirty years.

23. That *Ina* went to *Rome* at the solicitation of *Edelburk* his Wife, who also accompanied him, we have already related from the Monk of *Malmesbury*, and that six years before his departure he was his Wife, the *Annals* do plainly signify. But elsewhere we hear another story of his marrying *Guala*, the Daughter of *Cadwalader* King of the *Britains*, from which Daughter we are told, that *Counrey* was called *Wallia*, which in ancient times had the Name of *Cambria*. Moreover with this last Wife he received *Cambria*, *Cornubia*, and (with her they must all begin) the blessed Crown of *Britain*, which belonged to *Cadwalader* the last King of the *Britains*. All the *English* which lived at that time, took their Wives from the *British* Stock, and the *Britains* from the illustrious blood and stock of the *English*, that is the race of the *Saxons*. For this was done by the Common Council and assent of all the *Bishops*, *Princes*, *Nobles* and *Counts* with all the wife men, the *Elders* and *People* of the whole Kingdom, and that

Forces the  
*Kentish* men  
to buy peace.  
Invades East  
*England*.

Ingages with  
*Welsh* King  
of the *Merci-*  
*ans*

## Civil Wars at home.

Unites the  
*British* and  
*English* by  
Marriages.

that by Command of the aforeſaid King *Ina*. Yet ſome *Engliſh* fetcht their Sect. 2  
Wives from the Bloud and Kind of the *Angles of Germany*, ſome *Engliſh*  
from the bloud and kind of the *Scots*, and almoſt all the *Scots* from the beſt bloud  
and ſtock of the *Angles of Germany*. So at that time throughout the whole King-  
dom of *Britain*, they were two in one ſelf, and ſo did he conſtitute right Wed-  
lock, deſtroyed Fornication and Uncleannes out of his Kingdom, ordaining right  
Judgment for the ſtability of his Kingdom, the ſtrengthening of his People,  
with a benign Indultry. And in this manner were they made one Nation and  
one People, by God's mercy throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*. Then  
did all call that the Kingdom of the *Engliſh*, which formerly had been called the  
Kingdom of *Britain*.

24. All these People ever afterward for the Common Utility of the Crown of the Kingdom, stood unanimously together against the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, fought most fiercely against them, and waged together most cruel Wars. For, the aforesaid King *Ina* was an excellent Prince, bountiful, wife, prudent, moderate, stout, just, courageous and a perfect Souldier, both as to time and place, in the Divine Laws, in secular Affairs, in writings and performing of all good works very glorious. His Kingdom he governed, consolidated and held in peace by his great wisdom and prudence, and where the Cafe required by force and strength of hand. This is the substance of a great Council, consisting of such great Men as lately were mentioned, said to be held by King *Ina*, a little after he had married *Guala* the Daughter of *Cadwalader* King of the *Britains*, with which Wife he obtained all *Cambria*, and the Crown of *Cadwalader*, found amongst the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor. But notwithstanding the Authentickness of the Laws among which it is found, there is no good Historian that makes mention of any such Marriage of his with *Guala*, or any such occasion of the Origination of the Name of *Wallia*. Who the *English Saxons* and *Germans* were wont to call *Walls* or *Guals*, we have already shewn. Neither had he any other Wife than *Ethelburg*, a *Saxon* not *Britain*, as her Name demonstrates, who at first time as he went to *Rome* turned Nun, and became afterwards Abbess of *Barking*. After this he never married, for they both continued in the monastical kind of life till death concluded it. As for the time of this pretended Council and its Authority, we are full as much in the dark. Some report *Cadwalader* to have reigned only three years, others five, and *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* twelve, so that when *Ina* should have entred upon his Kingdom of *Cambria* is uncertain. Moreover he makes *Ina* his Nephew, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and *H. Lhuyd* the Son, and this Council the Son-in-Law of *Cadwalader*. But the *Britains* having feigned *Cadwalalla* to be their King, could not make up the Romance without this story adjoined of his Successour.

25. The most noble part of *Ina* his Acts is yet behind, his Body of Laws which we must refer till we come to speak of the *Saxon* Laws in general. He went not to *Rome* till he had provided himself and People of a Successor. This was one *Æthelheard* his Kinsman, whom though by the means of *Ina*, he first obtained the Royalty, yet to confirm it was put to no little trouble. The first that created him, this troubles was *Offwald* the Son of *Æthelbald* King of the *Mercians*, to whom the Annals give the Title of *Ætheling*, and say that in the very year of *Æthelbald's* promotion they fought, but as to the success they are silent, only the year following they tell us of a Comet, which ushered in the death of *Offwald* in the succeeding year, a natural death for any thing that appears either from them or others. *Malmesbury* observes that a check by him was often given to the beginnings of *Æthelbald*, against whom he stirred up the People unto Rebellion. But not long after he being taken away by death, he writes that *Æthelbald* held the Kingdom quietly for fourteen years, and so left it to *Cuthrede* his Kinsman. *Cuthrede* had grievous contests with *Æthelbald* King of the *Mercians*. It seems this Enmity was too severe long to continue; for, two years after, the same Annals relate that *Æthelbald* and *Cuthrede* fought jointly against the Welshmen, so that their private Interests and Grudges, at last they submitted to publick Concernments. Here again the Annals are silent as to the Success, but *Huntingdon* doubts not to assign them a great Victory over an innumerable multitude of *Britains*, using his ordinary way of expressing the greatness of a Fight. The courageous Kings and their most famous Souldiers laid so about them in their several Quarters, that the *Britains* not able to sustain any more their violence, gave their Backs to the Smiters, and their Baggage to the Purfursers. Which Victory obtained these Princes returned home, (where no doubt) they were very joyfully received.

**Goes to Rome**

Makes *Æthel-*  
beard his Suc-  
cessour.  
Who is dis-  
turbed in his  
Government  
by *Oswald*  
a Mercian.

The next King  
was *Cuthbreds*.

A 2 2

26. The

Sect. 9.

Whole Son  
Cynric was  
slain in a mu-  
tiny of his  
Soldiers.  
Then a Civil  
War arose.

After which  
he conquers  
Ethelwald  
King of the  
Mercians.

Overthrows  
the Britains.

Dies.  
Sigeberht suc-  
ceeds.

Is very cruel  
and tyrannical.

Puts to death  
his best friend  
and subject.

Is driven  
from the  
Kingdom.

26. The Success and Prosperity of *Cuthred*, was three years after interrupted by a sad Accident in his own Family. The Annals note only, that *Cynric the Ethel-ling* of the West Saxons, was slain. *Huntingdon* says he was his Son, terms him *orplegen* the Glory of Arms, the destroyer of wild Beasts; tender in Age, but smart in Cynric martial matters, little in years, but great in vigour, who still pressing upon his Ethelwald own Successes, and soliciting the fortune of War too much, his extravagance of mind, was punished by a death procured, by the mutiny of his Soldiers. That *Hen Cuthred* was his Son we may easily believe, from what the word *Etheling* doth import, *progenies* and that it proceeded from a Sedition of the Soldiers, that may as easily persuade us, which is mentioned in the Annals at the second year after, that King *Cuthred* fought with that furious Captain *Ethelbun*. *Huntingdon* in his comment upon this text, hath this enlargement upon it, that having raised sedition against his Lord, though as to the number of his Forces he was far inferior to him, yet long and resolutely did he maintain his rebellion: And when now Victory seemed to incline to his side, at length a wound inflicted on his Body, and perjury in his mind procured the cause of the King to triumph. But this Rebellion seems of no larger extent than to be contained within the bounds of a Civil War. It raised no new one from without, this *Ethelbun* having no correspondence with *Ethelwald*, that by virtue of that Peace and Alliance formerly made betwixt the two Kings, now again vanished into nothing. But in the second year after the Fight with *Ethelbun*, we are told that *Cuthred* in the twelfth of his Reign, fought again with *Ethelwald*, at a place called *Beorgforda*. *Huntingdon's* Copy hath it *Hereford*, though *Huntingdon* Authors generally agree, it was *Bedford* where the Battle was fought. *Ethelbun* he tells us being now reconciled to the King, was his Captain and Councillor in this expedition. He then tells a long tale in affected words concerning the Fight and how the King and Consul (as he terms *Ethelbun*) meeting came to a single Combat, which ended in the Cowardice and Flight of *Ethelwald*, who outlived not this defeat two years, being slain in another Battle fought against the West Saxons at *Secandune*, and buried at *Repandune*, as we have already in the History of his Kingdom related.

27. *Cuthred* being disintangled from the attempts of *Ethelwald*, found himself concerned to give a check to the Britains, who in vain resisting, the Conqueror of *Ethelwald* soon ran away, and deferentially received a great Defeat, and *Huntingdon* tells us that without the least ground from the Annals, which are altogether silent as to the success. But two years after this they acquaint us with the News of the death of *Cuthred* after he had reigned seventeen years, together with the burning of the City of *Canterbury*, and the succession of *Sigeberht* into the Kingdom of the West Saxons, which he held for the space of one year and no longer. *Malmesbury* writes that he seized upon the Kingdom, a Man of brutish cruelty at home, yet abroad infamous for his Cowardice. Therefore incurring the hatred of all his Subjects they conspired against him, and after a year deposed him, causing him to give place to a better Man. But as commonly it happeneth in such cases, the greatness of his calamity reclaimed some to pity towards him, by the valour of whom he preserved in obedience that Province called *Hamptonshire*. But his Inclination still prevailing against his Successors, as well as all Goodness and Justice, having by putting to death one *Cumbran*, a Man that of all others had been most faithful to him, armed the rest of his Followers against him, he was constrained to betake himself to the Dens and lurking places of wild Beasts, whither misfortune dogging him at the Heels, he was killed by an Herdsman. And so the cruelty of the King, having almost raged against all the Nobility, was brought to an end by a Man of the meanest condition. *Huntingdon* calls him the kinsman of *Cuthred*, by whose success he became so proud and insolent, that he became intolerable to his Subjects. He adds, agreeable to the Annals, that abusing them all manner of ways, forcing the Laws to countenance his unjust proceedings, or utterly avoiding them, one *Cumbra* his most noble Consul, at the desire of all the People made known the Complaints of the Subjects to their cruel King. But seriously advising him to govern more mildly, and laying aside his inhumanity, to render himself acceptable to God and Man, he wickedly commanded him to be put to death, and in a manner more cruel and intolerable than ever, increased his Tyranny. Remaining incorrigible in these his outrageous proceedings, the Nobility and People assembled together, and by a provident deliberation and unanimous consent of them all he was deposed, and *Cynwulf* a choice young Man of the Royal Stock was elected King in his stead. *Sigeberht* thus driven away, fled for fear of that he was conscious to himself he had deserved, into the great Wood of *Andred*, where

*Huntingdon*,  
nonsem-johann.  
neus Drumpson  
pene ad ver-  
um transcrip-  
ta in Chron.

*Hen Cuthred*  
pene pene  
pro pene  
An. DCCCLII.

And slain by  
a Hogherd.

Cynwulf  
reigns.

Subdues the  
Britains.

Is slain by Cy-  
heard Brother  
to Sigeberht.

And buried at  
Winchester.

After him  
Byrhtic.

(at a place called by the Annals *Prunteslodan*) he was killed by an Hogherd be-  
longing to *Cumbra*, who thus revenged upon him his Master's death.

28. *Cynwulf* began his Reign over all the Kingdom of the West Saxons except *Hamshire*, which *Sigeberht* possessed for a little time till the death of *Cumbra* in the fifth year of *Constantinus Copronymus*, Emperor, in the Reign of *Pipin* King of the *Franks*, the seventh of *Edelbert* or *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the eighteenth of *Egbert* or *Eadbert* King of the *Northumbrians*, toward the beginning of the Reign of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, A. D. DCCLV. *Malmesbury*, in short, says he was a Man famous both for the composition of his Morals, and his Martial Acts, being in one only Battle overthrown at *Bensington*, by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, in the four and twentieth year of his Reign, after which he was afflicted with many losses, and went out of the World in a vile manner. *Huntingdon* from the Annals writes of his being victorious over the Britains in many Battles, whom having subdued on all sides, he resolved to banish *Kineard* the Brother of *Sigeberht*, the Story whereof we have at large out of the Annals themselves after this manner. About the one and thirtieth year from the first beginning of his Reign he had a desire to expell out of the Kingdom a certain *Etheling* called *Cyneheard*, who was Brother to *Sigeberht*. The King having intelligence, that attended with a small company of Men, he frequented the company of a certain Woman, at a place called *Merantune*, rode thither himself, and searching about the Town, some of his Soldiers found out where the *Etheling* lay. The King perceiving it, behaved himself in a manner unbecoming his Person, till he got fight of him, which done he rushed in upon him and wounded him fore. But all his Followers, together with him, fell upon the King, and fought with him till they had beaten him down and killed him; which was done before the Soldiers that followed him underfoot perfectly where he was. His Guard at length perceiving a tumult in this Woman's House halted thither, every one as he was most ready and could run fastest, to whom the *Etheling* promised Money and Pardon if they would submit unto him. But they utterly rejected his Offers, and so long fought with the Followers of *Cyneheard* till they were all killed, one certain Britain a Hostage excepted, who was most grievously cut and hacked. By the Morning the news of the King's death was fled to a place not far off, where many more Attendants had awaited his return, and with others *Ofic* and *Wroerth*, two Counts, halted to the House whence the *Etheling* was not yet departed. The Doors were made fast at his call but they easily got in, which he perceiving began to parly with them, labouring with great promises to draw them off from revenging their King's death and to accept of himself under that Title and Capacity. But they flatly refused to sell their Master's Blood, and resolving neither to spare him nor his Relations, for whom he interceded, put them all to the Sword, except one Youth, to whom *Offa* their Leader was Godfather, and saved him upon that account, though grievously wounded. But such was the end of *Cynwulf* after he had reigned one and thirty years: And his Body was buried at *Winchester*. That of the *Etheling*, who in a Male line was descended from *Cerdic*, was interred at *Acrem Minster*, not at *Repandune*, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* hath it out of a mistake of the Annals, which affirm not *Cyneheard* but *Ethelwald* King of the *Mercians* at this *Repandune* to have been buried.

29. After *Cynwulf's* Death, *Byrhtic* was made King of the West Saxons, according to the *Fifth* of *Sr. Henry Savil*, (which yet allow but twenty nine years to the Reign of *Cynwulf*) in the fourth year of the Emperor *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, the twenty fifth of *Aldric* King of *Kent*, and the seventh of *Alfwold* King of the *Northumbrians*, A. D. DCCCLXXXIV. He was, as *Malmesbury* describes him, a man more studious of Peace than War, being a very Artificer in procuring Friendship, pleasing Foreigners with Courtship, and Conniving at the faults of his People in such things as did not hurt the Government. To obtain greater Reputation amongst his Neighbours, he Married the Daughter of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, at that time the most potent Prince, by which he had no Issue that can be known. Incouraged by this Alliance he drove *Egbert* into *France*, a young Man, who alone survived of all those that were of the Royal Stock, and therefore was a Person dangerous to his Interest. For both this *Byrhtic* and the other Kings which Reigned after *Offa*, though they bragged of their Pedigrees, being such as indeed did descend from *Cerdic*, yet were they defended in a good distance from the Royal Line. *Egbert* then being gone, he thought himself secure, and that he might now take his ease, when a Company of *Danes* accustomed to live by Piratical Depredations, secretly larding from three Ships, disturbed the Peace of his Province.

Sect. 9.

*His facti leg-*  
*tu off Marti-*  
*tu Ethelwald*  
*dam ait Regem*  
*plenis armis*  
*convenit*  
*et Regino*  
*officium fu-*  
*it. Ad An.*  
786.

*His interpres*  
*multo texnon*  
*latine veris*  
*dam hac verba*  
*he ealle*  
*legonbu-*  
*tanam*  
*Byrhtic*  
*cum gyle*  
*de fectis Cy-*  
*mis ante pro-*  
*ratu. Quom-*  
*do enim Cy-*  
*isse non occi-*  
*deretur omni-*  
*bus suis soci-*  
*si? Et apud*  
*quem mauer*  
*offici nisi apud*  
*Regem? Regis*  
*erat qui in-*  
*tercedebat.*

Sect. 9.

vince. This Company of men at this time came as Spies to discover the fertility of the Soil and the valour of the Inhabitants, as afterwards was evident from the coming of that Multitude which overwhelmed in a manner all Britain. At this time stealing upon the Island, this Kingdom being in profound peace and silence, they suddenly fell upon a Royal Village adjoining, and killed the Overseer or Keeper, who came in to its relief; but the People gathering together they left their Booty, ran to their Ships and went their ways.

Marries Eadburgh Daughter of Offa King of the Mercians.

Forces Egbert to fly the Kingdom.

30. To this general account of the Monk, we may add from the Annals, that this Daughter of Offa he married, was by Name Eadburgh, a Woman too well known, as we shall see hereafter. Egbert being descended from Ingild, the Brother of Ina, gave in his Childhood pregnant proofs of much Wit and Courage, which together with his descent could not but excite great fear and jealousy in Berhtic who resolved his death, and studied the best manner to make him away. Egbert having notice of and having good grounds to apprehend his purpose, he took himself to Offa's Court, where he was no sooner come, Byrhtic's Ambassadors were at the door, both requiring the Fugitive to be given up, for whom they offered a round sum of Money, and farther for a Confirmation of Friendship betwixt the two Kings, desired Offa's Daughter for a Wife for their Master. Courtship effecting more with Offa than Threats and violence could procure, Egbert was forced once more to shift for himself, and over he went into France, which thing in the opinion of our Authour, came to pass by the Council of God, that being ordained for that Kingdom, he should receive his Institution from the Franks; a Nation which far exceeds (saith he) all those of the West, both in Action and the pleasantness of their Conversation. This affront he made use of as a whetstone to rub off the rust of idleness; to sharpen his wit, and to obtain such endowments as are quite contrary to Pagan Barbarism. Byrhtic however rejoiced in his absence, not caring what advantages of education he might have, so their Influence reached not him, nor his possession of what at present he held, he was not far from envying his happiness any where out of England, that he could have heartily wished him in Heaven itself. The pleasing repose he enjoyed was interrupted by the landing of Danes; the first Danes that landed in an hostile manner in Britain, who slew the Governour of these Quarters, the first man of those many thousands which afterward were butchered by that Savage People. Yet though we hear nothing before of their landing, they from the time of Justinian, and about the year of our Lord DLXX begun to rove upon the Coasts of Britain and Gall, and were by the Writers which penned in Latin the Histories of the English named Wicingi, for that they practized Piracy: For Wicinga in the Saxon Tongue (as Alfria witnesseth) signifieth a Pyrat that runneth from Creek to Creek: Also Pagani or Paimis, because as yet they were not Christians: But the Angles themselves in their Language termed them Deruscan, and oftentimes Heathenmon or Ethnicks.

A Company of Pyrates infest the Land.

And kill the King's Officer.

The first Danish Invasion.

31. The Officer that went to oppose them, and in his attempt perished, by (a) some of our Authours is called Villicus from that Villa or Town which they write that these Danes attacked. By (b) others Præpositus Regis, which suits better with the word *sepe*, by which the (c) Annals do Name him. They affirm, that not knowing what they were he would have brought them to the Town of the King, which some interpret Dorchester, and farther say, that he being the King's Customer there, supplied them Foreign Merchants, and riding to them commanded them to come and give account of their Lading at the Customs-house; but they shewed him no other Merchandize than the Steel of their Sword, where-with they slew him and all that came with him, as an Earnest of the many Murders, Rapines and Hostilities, which afterward they committed throughout the whole Island. But of this first Danish Invasion the Danish History of Pontanus far otherwise relates, as if their Landing had been at the mouth of Humber, and their Depredations far into the Countrey adjoining, whence they were repulged by the surprized Inhabitants back to their Ships: What was the reason, by what authority they came there is no mention made, and the thing is the more strange because Sigeberht it makes then to have been King, a man who more studied his own peace and quiet than the molestation of his Neighbours. And indeed not onely from the

An. 787.

Malmsh. de gest. Reg. Anglorum, l. 2. c. 1.

Est enim gens illa & exortatior virum & comitate morum ceterarum Orientalium facili principum.

(a) Malmsh. de gest. Reg. Anglorum, l. 1. Math. Florileg. ad An. 787.

(b) Huntingdon. Hist. l. 4. Hoveden. Antiquar. p. 101.

(c) Florentinus Wigorn. ad An. 787.

(d) J on his bagum Cymron aperi III rddi. J taege- pna cap- robas. J hi robe

onyran to dach Cynnter tune syhe nire hrechy rapon. J hinemon Oproh. J rapon aea zeprean  
rciu Deniepa monna ee Angel Cynner lons geprotoni. An. DCCLXXXVII.

Danish

Sect. 9.

Danish History, but some Writers of our own, we are apt to believe that the first intended Invasion of that People with intention to rifle and pillage the Countrey, was in the Northern parts about Humber; and those that landed here in the third year of Byrhtic, were but some Rovers or Pirates at Sea, who, as we now said, were wont to infest the Seas of Britain and Gall, and by chance, or distressed by Weather, came on the Western shore; possibly also with a desire of spying the Countrey. This we are induced to think from a Story or two we find in the Chronicle of John Brompton, which setting forth the Causes of their first Hostile Invasion here we think fit to recite in this place, though the thing happened a good while after.

An Account of the Danes first invading Britain.

32. At that time (viz. in the days of Ethelwulf King of England, the Son of Egbert and of Charles the Bald) one Oðbrith was King of Northumberland, who on a day going to take his pleasure in a Wood, as he returned, went privately to the House of one of his Noblemen Bruern Bocard by Name to refresh himself; Bruern knowing nothing of the King's coming, was gone to the Sea side to make sure the Shoar and Havens, according to his Customs, against Thieves and Pirates. But his Wife a Woman of great Beauty entertained the King at Dinner very splendidly. The King having Dined took her by the hand and led her to his Chamber, telling her he must speak with her in private, and there removing all out of the way but such as were privy to his secret Courses, by force and violence he lay with her. Having had his will he speedily got him back to York. She lamented and mourned, so that her Visage was much altered, which caused her Husband at his return to ask the cause of so sudden a Change and of her unaccustomed sadness. She told him the whole matter in order how the King had forced her, which having heard he comforted her, bidding her not afflict her self, forasmuch as she was not able to resist a man so strong, assuring her that because he had told him the truth he would love her no less than he had done, and if God gave him leave he would avenge both himself and her upon him that had committed the Crime. Then did this Bruern being a Man both Noble and Powerful, descended of great Parentage, call his Kindred together, to whom he revealed the Affront put upon him, and his Intention of a speedy Revenge, to which they consenting and approving his purpose, with them he took Horse and rode to York. The King upon sight of him called him to him very civilly, but he with his Relations at his back desired him, renouncing his Homage and Fidelity, giving up his Land and whatsoever he held of him. This said, without any more words he withdrew, making no stay at all at Court.

Chron. Joh. Brompton. Abb. Furnessii.

33. His Friends consenting speedily he went over into Danemark, where to the King of the Danes he made a great complaint of the Affront offered to him and his Wife by Oðbrith, desiring his speedy relief and supply to put him into a Capacity to revenge himself. Hereat Codrinnus the King and his Danes conceived very great joy, having now some reason to induce them to subdue the English. To revenge the injury offered to Bruern, who was descended of his blood, he speedily prepared a great Army over which he made Captains two Brothers called Inguar and Hubbe most valiant Souldiers, and to them he gave a Navy furnished with all necessities to transport an innumerable Company of men. These Adventurers landing in the Northern Parts, and taking their way through Foldernesse, destroyed all the Towns with their Inhabitants; and coming to York provoked Oðbrith to come out and fight. He accordingly issued forth with an Army such as it was, and fighting was slain with his Followers; after which they took the City and therein remained. And so (saith our Authour) the Danes for the cause aforesaid first in an Hostile manner invaded England. But at this time there was another King in Northumberland called Ella, who was promoted to that Dignity by the Friends and Relations of Bruern, because for the affront offered to him by Oðbrith, they would have no more to do with that lascivious Prince. This Ella going out on a time to Hunt, when his sport was over late down to Dinner, and as he was eating applauded himself for the good luck they had had that day, reckoning up what Deer they had killed. One came just in at these words and told him, though he had got so much that way, yet he had lost an hundred times as much another; for the Danes (saith he) have taken York, slain Oðbrith, and now are invading your Countrey to deprive you of it. Ella hearing this got his men together, and hasted to York there to destroy the Danes, but they having notice came out, and not far from the City gave him Battel, wherein they killed him and a very great multitude of his Souldiers, in a place still called Ellefrost from this occasion. Farther, it is reported that the late mentioned Brothers Inguar and Hubbe invaded England in an Hostile manner

## Sect. 9.

manner, not only for the reason now alledged, but especially to destroy St. Edmund who then Reigned in East England, and was falsely accused of having killed their Father. For of the cause of their coming we read in the Book called *Flores Historiarum* after this manner.

The Reason of Ingvar and Hubbe the Danes arriving in Britain.

34. In the Kingdom of the Danes there was one *Lothebroc*, who being descended of the Royal Family, by his Wife had two Sons *Ingvar* and *Hubbe*. This man going alone into a Boat with an Hawk on his fist in the Islands adjoining to seek for Game, was seized by a sudden and violent Tempest, tossed hither and thither for several days together in the depth of the Sea, which having crossed amid ten thousand dangers, at length he was cast upon the Province of the Eastern English called *Northfolk*, and landed at a Village which had the Name of *Rodham*. Being found alone with his Hawk, he is presented to *Edmund* the King, and being kindly received for the comeliness of his Person continued in his Court, told the King the tale of his strange fortune, and often went out into the Field for his Recreation with *Bern* the King's Huntsman, being extraordinarily dextrous both in Hunting and Fowling as opportunity served. For this reason the King's Huntsman greatly envied him, and as they two Hunted together secretly murdered him and hid his Body in a thick Wood. Now *Lothebroc* kept a certain Greyhound, which was exceedingly fond of him, and the Huntsman being gone with the rest of the Dogs staid there alone by his Lord's Body. On the Morrow when the King asked for *Lothebroc*, *Bern* answered, that the day before he staid in the Wood, and since that he had not seen him. But see, the Greyhound comes to the Court, and fawning upon the King as well as others, as soon as he had filled his Belly again departed. Doing this often he was dogged to the place by those who found out the Body and brought the Relation to the King. The matter being examined and found out, the Huntsman is sentenced to be put into the Boat of *Lothebroc* without any Oars or Tackling, in which after a few days (surely the Boat knew the way) he was cast upon *Denmark*, where brought to *Lothebroc* his Sons and examined by torture what was become of their Father, whose Boat they sufficiently knew, he affirmed that by *Edmund* King of the East Angles he was discovered and killed by his Command.

35. They prepare then a Navy and under Conduct of *Bern* pass into England, where landing in the Northern parts as was said before, they harass grievously the whole Province of the *Northumbrians*, and having brought it to their beck, *Ingvar* quits his Company, and with a great Fleet sails to a City of East England where St. Edmund Reigned, which having entered he burnt and killed both Old and Young as he met them in the Streets. When he was wearied with killing, certain poor People whom he thought below his Anger, he called to him, and very diligently inquired where *Edmund* their King at that time resided. He had heard he was in the flower of his Age, very strong and Martial every way, and therefore he hasted to kill all he could find in any place, lest their King should make too strenuous an opposition, who at that time lived far off from the City in a Village, in their Language called *Egleston* or *Halesdon*, but now *Horne* (he writes) by which Name the neighbouring Wood was also called. For that Nation of *Danes* and *Alamans* was wont never in open Field to engage with an Enemy, except he was before that intrapped with Snare: Therefore sent he a trusty Messenger before to spy out where the King was, signifying that he himself would as convenience offered it self follow after. The Messenger coming to the King delivered his Message after this manner. *Ingvar the most Invincible King both by Land and Sea, my redoubted Lord having conquered several Countries, and Landed in this with many Ships is resolved here to Winter; and commands thee to give him the half of thy Treasure and Riches, by which means under him thou mayst possibly Reign; but in case thou despisest his Power supported by so many Legions, thou shalt be judged both unworthy thy Life and a Kingdom.* The King fighed having heard the Message, and calling to him one of his Bishops, who was Secretary, asked his Advice what to answer. He being concerned for the King's Life, by many Examples exhorted him to comply with the Pagan. The King for a while was silent, then answered the Messenger after this manner: Return thy Master speedily this Answer: *Know that for the love of a Temporal life, Edmund a Christian King will not subject himself to a Pagan Captain, except he first become a Christian.* The King had scarcely said so much and the Souldier gone out of the House when *Ingvar* met him and commanded him to give him in short an account of what he said. He declaring what his answer was, The Tyrant commanded all the King's Household to be dispersed, and he himself alone to be laid hold on and secured.

36. But

36. But some Historiographers relate, that the *Danes* passing through *Norfolk* as Sect. 9. far as *Thesford*, there first found St. Edmund King of East England, who as it's said, got an Army together and fought with them. But the *Danes* prevailing he fled after the slaughter of almost all his men to the Castle of *Halesdon*, whither they speedily pursued him and the first man they met was he himself, not far from the Castle, where they asked him how they might find out King *Edmund*. He, as if he had not been the Person, told them, *When I was in the Castle he was there, and when I came out he departed, and whether he shall escape your hands God knoweth.* Then the *Danes* hearing him mention the Name of God knew him to be the King, and leading him back to the Castle in his own Palace he was bound and led before the impious Judge, mocked and cruelly beaten. Then brought they him to a Tree near at hand, to which making him fast they used him as a Mark to shoot against in sport, and wounded him in that manner, through the whole Body, with the thick shower of their Arrows making Wound upon Wound, while one Shaft drove out another. But *Ingvar* perceiving that by no means could his Faith or Constancy be overcome, he commanded the Hangman to cut off his Head, which was done with one stroke as he prayed, on the nineteenth of November in the year of our Lord DCCCLXVI according to some, and according to others DCCCLXX. The *Danes* leaving his Body in the place, carried his Head into the Wood called *Egleston* or *Halesdon*, and cast it among the thick Brambles, on purpose that being found it might not be committed together with the Body to Christian Burial. But how this Head crying out it self *Here, here, here*, when they sought for it was found, and how belittled, it's not proper for us here to relate. We only give the Reader what Account we can of the first coming of the *Danes* into the Island, and that the first of these Stories concerning the Incontinency of *Ofritb*, and what followed thereupon, may not seem altogether improbable let him remember what we have said in our History of Spain concerning the first Invasion of the Moors in that Country. Nothing is more certain than this that Sin foretells punishment, Vice and Debauchery enervate a People, and prepare a Nation for Ruine and Destruction. This farther observe, that our Writers call these *Danes* sometimes *Dani*, otherwhiles *Daci*. Some of them write of them as several Nations, which from the beginning of *Ethelwulf's* Reign till the coming of *William the Norman* afflicted the Land, though they commonly be known by that one of *Danes*. In the Chronicle of *John Brompton* they are thus marshalled: *The Danes with the Gorbis, the Norwegians with the Swedes, the Wandals with the Frisians.* Neighbours to the Saxons, Angles and Jutes, if not of the same Original, as the Reader by considering the places whence they all came may easily find.

The time of the first Arrival of the Danes.

37. To return to *Byrhtic*, in whose third year, the first landing of the *Danes* happened, we have little else to observe during his Reign, than that fiery Dragons were seen flying in the Air, which afterwards were interpreted as forerunners of two grievous sorts of mischiefs, viz. a great Famine, and the Pagan Nation of the *Danes*, and *Norwegians*, which as *Huntingdon* writes in the tenth year of *Byrhtic*, first miserably wasted the Parts lying North of *Humber*, and then cruelly destroyed the Churches of Christ in the Province of *Lindisfarne*, together with the Inhabitants, on the Ides of January. In the mean while, *Eadburg* the Daughter of *Offa*, and Wife to *Byrhtic*, behaved her self in a most insolent manner toward her Husband's Subjects, coveting to act like her Father, and incurring the indignation and hatred of all Souldiers, Magistrates, and the whole People. All Religious Persons she backbited to the King, and got such an hand over him, that either bewitched by her flatteries, or wearied with her importunities, such as the accused were deprived either of Life, or banished them his Dominions; but in case she could not prevail so far, they would dispatch them with Poyson. At this time there was a certain young Man, Noble and Rich, and in great favour with *Byrhtic*, whom not able to undermine in that former way, she resolved to poyson. Her design took effect upon him, and on him whom she never intended, the King himself, who by accident tasted of the deadly Cup. The King being dead, out of fear of being called to account for her Villanies, she fled with great Treasures into France, and presented her self with great gifts to *Charles* the Great. He, whether taken with her Beauty, or with a design to try her, bid her chuse either him "or his Son that stood by him, whether of them she would for her Husband; the "answered suddenly and plainly, that if she might chuse, she had rather have "the Son than the Father, as being far the younger of the two. The King replied, that had she chosen herself, she should have had his Son, but because his "Son she had chosen, she should have neither the one nor the other. But he

B b

thought

Cujus (fil. Ethelwulf) temporibus omnipotens Deus crudelissimas gentes immisit quae nec erat sine stans parcescens, scil. Daci cum Gorbis, Norwegensibus, cum Suedis, Wandals, cum Fris, qui ab exordio regni sui usq. ad Adventum Willelmi ducis Normannorum Angliam vastaverunt.

## Sect. 2.

But comes to a miserable end.

Egbert recalled, and made King.

Overthrows the Britains in Cornwall and Wales.

Subdues the Mercians.

Conquers the East Angles.

The Northumbrians submit to him.

As reduces all Britains to obedience.

"thought a Monastery the place fittest for her, there to bewail her heinous sins; in which having assumed the religious habit, she hypocritically spent a few years; as she lived wickedly in her own Country, so rather more wretchedly did she behave herself there, under the cover of a Veil. Being on a time, as was expected, and thought busy at her devotions, she was busy at another kind of work with a mean fellow of her own Nation, which coming to light, Charles caused her to be thrust out of the Monastery, though extremely against her mind and liking. The remainder of her days she spent in want, misery and disgrace, with one pitiful Servant, begging her bread from House to House, Town to Town, and City to City, till at last she miserably died at Pavia.

38. But *Egbert* being dead, after he had Reigned sixteen years, all men eyes were fixed upon *Egbert* the Exile, and by many Messengers, having recalled him, they admitted him unanimously for their King, in the third year of the Reign of *Æthelwulf*, the Empress *Irene*, much about the same time that *Charles* the Great received the Title of Emperour in the West, in the fourth of *Cuthred* King of *Kent*, and the fourth of *Cenulf* King of the *Mercians*, A. D. DCCC. He so well at the first understood his Interest, as to settle and establish his Kingdom at home in the love and affection of his Subjects. It then being time to look about him, the first trial of his Martial Conduct was against the *Britains*, of whom, first he subdued them that inhabited *Cornwall*, and then made those Tributaries, as *Malmesbury* expresseth it, who live North of them, being separated from the other by an Arm of the Sea, meaning those who live beyond the River *Severn*, and in those Parts we now call *Wales*. His success was such, as thereby his Neighbours were very much startled, as jealous whither his Power would grow. *Boornulf* King of the *Mercians*, was the first that really concerned himself, and thinking it a matter of glory by his courage and resolution, to remove the fears of others, was resolved to quarrel with him, and proceeding to a War, they met and fought at a place called *Ellendune*, of which we have already spoken. *Egbert* elevated by this Victory, and founding hopes upon the same grounds, his Neighbours had done their fears, while the fame of his late success was yet fresh, sent *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Eadulf* his Bishop (of *Sherburn*) and *Wulfheard* his General with a great Army into *Kent*, to conquer that Province, which he thought was easy to be done at this time, when the Inhabitants thereof were by laziness rendered unfit for War, and his very Name would strike a Terror into them. They that were sent, fireuously executed his commands, and passing over all the Country, found their work more easy than they could imagine; for having driven out *Baldred* the King beyond the *Thames*, they subdued *Kent*, *Surry*, the Southern and the Eastern *Saxons*. And the same year the King and People of East *England*, for fear of the *Mercians*, submitted themselves to his Vassallage and Protection. As for the times of these Victories, *Malmesbury* placeth that against *Bernulf* at the sixth year of his Reign, though the Annals set it at a far greater distance, and place those other Conquests with the submission of East *England*, in one and the same year, which his present Copy speaks of, as having happened in the twenty fourth of his Reign. Neither were these all his exploits of this year, as some interpret the Annals. For he fought against the *Devonshire Welsh*, they say, at a place called *Galsford*, now *Camelford*; there where *Leland* will have famous *Arthur* to have been slain, not far from *Indagium* or *Indogel*, his native place upon the Sea shore. Indeed *Marianus* writes, that in this place the *Britains* and *Saxons* fought a bloody Battle, in the year of our Lord, DCCCXX. But the Annals speak only of a fight of *Welsh*, and those whom they call *Dena* at *Galsford*, not speaking of *Egbert* being concerned in the Battle.

39. The East Angles having submitted themselves to *Egbert*, never left off till they had slain *Bernulf* and *Ludecan* the *Mercian* Kings, who never could rest from troubling their Neighbours. Their Successor *Witthlaf* he first drove from his Kingdom, then afterwards was received and suffered to Reign as a tributary Vassal. The same year that *Egbert* subdued the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, the Moon was Eclipsed on *Christmas* day, at night, and he led an Army into *Deira* against the *Northumbrians*; who submitted themselves with such humility, that they parted lovingly without a stroke; for fearing his displeasure of a long time conceived against them, they gave up hostages or some other security for their quiet and obedient deportment. Having now reduced all *Britain* to obedience, all the rest of his Life, faith *Malmesbury*, for nine years together he lived in tranquillity, save only that toward the latter end of his Reign, a Company of *Danish* Pirates landing in his Country, grievously disturbed the Peace of his Dominions. Such is the

the uncertainty incident to humane Affairs; that he who first ruled over all the *English* should have little cause to rejoice in the obedience of those of his own blood, being disturbed by a Foreign Enemy, whose violence extended not only to himself but his Successors, without intermission. When he led his *English* Forces against them, as if Fortune was tyed to certain Rules and Methods, he did not court him in the usual manner, but seemed to be taken with new Faces. For when he little doubted of the Victory which had inclined to him the greater part of the day, he lost the Garland when the Sun went down, though by the darkness of the night, he covered the shame of being beaten. In the following Battle with an inconsiderable number he put to flight a great multitude. At last, having Reigned thirty seven years, and seven months, he died and was buried at *Winchester*, leaving to his Son great opportunities whence to raise him Glory, and predicting his happiness, in case what he had obtained by industry, he lost not by laziness, too familiar to that Nation.

40. But to be more particular than the Monk, the Annals signify that the Heathen men, so they call the *Danes*, wasted *Scapige*, and the following year that *Egbert* fought against thirty five Ships of Pirates, at a place called *Carrum*, where was made a great slaughter of men. That the *Danes* remained Masters of the Field: that *Hereferth* and *Wigen*, two Bishops, were slain, and moreover died two great Officers (Ealdormen) *Dudda* and *Ofmod*. The defeat was received near *Carr*, a River in *Dorsetshire*, whereon standeth a Town called *Carmouth*, just as it discharges it self into the Sea, lucky to the *Danes*, who here not only had the better of *Egbert* in a Sea fight, but eight years after King *Ethelwulf* his Son. And this was the only check we read of that ever *Egbert* received in his fortune, for the Annals tell us, that the very next year a great Navy of *Danes* arrived at West *Wales* or *Cornwall*, and joining with the Inhabitants marched against *Egbert*; notice whereof was speedily brought to him, and as speedily as he could he met them with an Army at *Hengestdune*, where he gave them Battle, and defeated as well the one as the other. The *Danish* Annals themselves of these Invasions make mention, but whether out of their own Records or ours may be justly doubted, for as to those times they are much unknown in the dark; little have they but fabulous or uncertain, which is the reason we cannot give either theirs or the History of their neighbouring Northern Nations a part or share in this present work. As for *Egbert*, as if he had now done enough to prevent any more misfortunes which might blur the lustre of his former Achievements, he died the following year; a great man, whose fortune so concurred with his Abilities, that he arrived at the Monarchy of the *English* Nation. For so now we must call it by his order and appointment, who having conquered already four of the other six Kingdoms, and swallowed up the other two also in hope, to the end that they which were subdued and reduced to the Rule of one Prince, might be conjoined likewise in one Name, commanded by an Edict or Proclamation, that the whole Heptarchy should be called *Englelone*, or *England*, whereupon it got in Latin the Name of *Anglia*, taking its Denomination from the *Angles*, (though he himself was King of the West *Saxons*, and Conquerors are wont to impose their own Names) as being of the three Nations most in number, great and of greatest power. For they possessed the Kingdoms of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, very great and large Countries, together with East *England*: Whereas the Posterity of the *Jutes* held only *Kent*, or with it the Isle of *Wight*: The *Saxons*, *Eastsex*, *Southsex* and *Wessex*, a small parcel indeed if compared with the spacious Territories of the *Angles*.

41. Such was the importance of this Confederation, that even long before this they were generally and throughout called *English*, and in their own Language *Englahtod*, *Anglcyne*, *Englcyne*, and *Engliscmon*: Albeit every Kingdom had a particular Name of its own. This appears sufficiently out of other Authors, but especially *Bede* who intitled his History *The (A) Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, a Name sufficiently known to the Learned and best Intelligent Persons, although King *Alfred* translating the said History for the understanding of the meaner and general sort added to it the word (*B*) *Saxon*. Nay, during the Heptarchy, these Princes that bore sway over the rest were stiled *Gentis Anglorum Reges*, or Kings of the *English* Nation. Now lay the Name of *Britain* forgotten and quite out of use among the Inhabitants of the Island, remaining only in Books, and not taken up in common Speech; inasmuch, that any other word would down rather than it. Boniface the Bishop of *Mentz* defended of this Nation, called this his Country by the Name of *Saxony* beyond the Sea. Yet did *Eadred* about the Year of our Lord DCCCXLVIII use in some Charters and Patents the

## Sect. 2.

An. Deccccxi. b. ep. h. a. ene men op. b. e. g. a. p. g. e.

An. Deccccxi. b. ep. h. a. ene men op. b. e. g. a. p. g. e.

(a) Historiam Gentis Anglorum Ecclesiasticam, quam mper edidit. (b) Hicreyen. t. e. f. j. r. e. l. l. e. n. i. c. n. i. q. u. i. t. e. o. u. s. a. m. o. n. g. t. h. e. i. n. h. a. b. i. t. a. n. t. s. o. f. t. h. e. I. s. l. a. n. d. r. e. m. a. i. n. i. n. g. o. n. l. y. i. n. B. o. o. k. s. a. n. d. n. o. t. t. a. k. e. n. u. p. i. n. c. o. m. m. o. n. S. p. e. e. c. h. ; i. n. s. o. m. u. c. h. t. h. a. t. a. n. y. o. t. h. e. r. w. o. r. d. w. o. u. l. d. d. o. w. n. r. a. t. h. e. r. t. h. a. n. i. t. B. o. n. i. f. a. c. e. t. h. e. B. i. s. h. o. p. o. f. M. e. n. t. z. d. e. f. e. n. d. e. d. o. f. t. h. i. s. N. a. t. i. o. n. c. a. l. l. e. d. t. h. i. s. h. i. s. C. o. u. n. t. r. y. b. y. t. h. e. N. a. m. e. o. f. S. a. x. o. n. y. b. e. y. o. n. d. t. h. e. S. e. a. Y. e. t. d. i. d. E. a. d. r. e. d. a. b. o. u. t. t. h. e. Y. e. a. r. o. f. o. u. r. L. o. r. d. D. C. C. C. X. L. V. I. I. u. s. e. i. n. s. o. m. e. C. h. a. r. t. e. r. s. a. n. d. P. a. t. e. n. t. s. t. h. e.

**SECT. 10.** Name and Title of *King of Great Britain*; and *Edgar* about the Year DCCCCLXX assumed this Title, *The Monarch of all Albion*. But not only the Name of *Britain*, but of *Saxons* also was laid asleep; as to the *English* themselves who thenceforth called themselves no more by it. We lay as to themselves: It was in their power to call themselves *English*, but not to procure all their Neighbours to do the like. For as we have formerly hinted the *Britains of Wales* and *Cornwall*, knowing them first by that of *Saxons*, and having such smarting causes never to forget their first coming into the Island, it so stuck with them, that they never took any notice of the change, neither at this very day in their Language do it. They term us not *Englishmen* but *Saxons*, and our Language *Saxonæ*. And not only they but the *Scots*, which still retain the true ancient *Scotch* or *Irish* Tongue, and the *Irish* themselves write us *Saxonæ* in their Orthography, but pronounce us *Saxonæ*. For as well the *Irish* Language as the *Welsh* even to this very day is utterly unacquainted with the Names of *England* and of *Englishmen*.

## SECT. X.

### The Monarchy of the English Saxons in Britain, from the Death of Egbert, to the Monarchy of the Danes in Britain.

The Space of One Hundred and Eighty Years.

1. **TO** Egbert succeeded his Son *Ethelwulf* (otherwise called *Adelwulf*, *Arhelwulf*, *Athulf*, *Edulf*, and *Edwulf*,) in the eighth year of *Theophilus* Emperour of the East; the twenty fourth of *Ludovicus Pius* Emperour of the West, the twelfth of *Witlaf* or *Wiglaf* King of the *Mercians*, the fifteenth Indiction, A. D. DCCCXXXVII. *Malmesbury* writes, that he Reigned twenty years and five Months, a Man of a mild Disposition, who chose rather to live quietly than to rule over many Provinces; for contenting himself with the West *Saxon* Kingdom the Inheritance of his Ancestours, the other Appendices (as he calls them) which his Father had subdued, he bestowed upon his Son *Ethelstan*, who died, when and how is utterly uncertain. *Burthred* King of the *Mercians* he assisted with his Forces against the *Britains*, and not a little graced him by the Marriage of his Daughter. The *Danish* Pirates who straggled through the whole Island, and by their sudden Inroads infested all the Sea Coasts, he not once put to flight himself, or by his Captains; although, according to the chance of War, he received very frequent and heavy losses from them, the City of *London* and all *Kent* in a manner being laid waste by them. The greatest help against them was the Activity of his Counsellours, who took such order, that the Enemy never acted any Hostility, but was one way or other chastised for it. For he had two most excellent Prelates in his time: *Switthin* of *Winchester* and *Alstan* of *Shireburn*, who knowing the King to be dull and heavy, by their often Admonitions and Instructions, still excited him to the discharge of his Royal Duty. *Switthin* despising Temporal things instructed his Sovereign in Matters Celestial. *Alstan* concluding that Civil Affairs were not to be neglected, animated him against the *Danes*, both furnishing the Treasury with Money and taking care for the raising of Armies. Such as read the Annals shall find many things both sedulously began and happily brought to conclusion by him. By these two *Ethelwulf* being supported, took good care for Foreign matters, and neglected not his Domestick business. After his Triumphs over his Enemies he turned himself to the service of God, to whose Servants he granted the Tenth of all the Hides within his Kingdom, free from all Duties

*Ethelwulf*  
the King.

Assists the  
*Mercians* against the  
*Britains*.

Restraints the  
fury of the  
*Danes* by ad-  
vice of his two  
Counsellours.

*Degeffii Reg  
Anglorum.  
lib. 2. c. 2.*

Duties and Molestations. But this is but a small matter faith the Monk. Having taken order for his matters at home he went to *Rome*, where to *Saint Peter* he offered that Tribute which *England* pays at this very day, in the presence of Pope *Leo* the Fourth, who had honourably received *Elfreda* his Son formerly sent to him, and had anointed him King. Having there made a stay of a whole year he repaired the School of the *English*, which as was reported, being first founded by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, was burned the year after. Thence returning home thorough *France*, he there Married *Judith* the Daughter of *Charles*, King of that Nation, surnamed the *Bald*.

2. At his return he found, what he never suspected, that he had incurred the displeasure of some about him. For *Ethelbald* his own Son, *Alstan* the Bishop of *Shireburn*, and *Eunulf* Earl or Count of *Somer[et]shire* conspired together to depose him; yet upon better advice it was agreed that the Kingdom should be divided betwixt Father and Son. However the Partition was very unequal, his Adversaries prevailed that the Western part of the Countrey, being far the better, should be allotted to his Son, and the Eastern left to him, who yet shewed such incredible goodness, that out of hatred to strife and contention, he patiently yielded to his Son, and gently repressed the People, which concerned for his Honour and Dignity, were already assembled to assert them. All this stir was raised about his Wife being a stranger, yet entertained her with great respect, and placed her on his Throne, contrary to the custom of the West Saxons. For out of hatred to the wicked Practices of *Eadburgh* Daughter to *Offa* King of the *Mercians* and Wife to *Byrthric*, and they neither suffered the Wives of their Kings to sit by their Husbands, nor so much as to have the honour of being called Queens. Such was the Decree they made to prevent such mischiefs for the time to come, but he out of his kindness to *Judith* now repaid it. A few Months before his Death he made his Testament, whereby after the Division of his Kingdom betwixt his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbirth*, he assigned a Portion to his Daughter, and for ever in every tenth Hide of his Inheritance, he commanded that a Poor man should be fed and clad; as also every year three hundred Marks of Gold to be sent to *Rome*, whereof one hundred to be conferred on *St. Peter*, another upon *St. Paul* to find them with Lights, and an hundred as a Present given to the Bishop. He lived two years after his return from *Rome*, and then dying was buried in the Bishop's Church at *Winchester*.

3. So much *Malmesbury* from *Afferius* concerning *Ethelwulf*, his History being the best and most substantial of all those of Monks, which therefore we take as text whereon to comment in making out the Affairs of these obscure times; for obscure enough they are, though our baren Writers are so ridiculous as to excuse the length of their short Stories, and tell us they are so short in their Relations, out of study to avoid Prolixity and Tediousness, whereas their Accounts they give us are so scant, that little profit can be made of them, and they attribute their brevity to their own contrivance, which indeed is to be ascribed to their want of Intelligence. As for what he writes concerning his giving to *Ethelstan* all that his Father had conquered, his words are (a) such, as *Ethelstan* may be conceived, not the Son of *Egbert*, but of *Ethelwulf*, and some makes him to have been the Son of one, and some of the other. A late (b) Writer tells us, that the *Saxon* Annals, the Authority of whom is ancient, says expressly, that *Egbert* himself gave to *Ethelstan* his Son the Kingdom of *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey* and *Suffex*; but the Annals say no such thing, their (c) Translators indeed has foisted in the word *Egbertus*, but the text (d) it self which possibly he consulted not, hath no such word in that sentence, but only mentions *Ethelwulf* therein. Be he Brother or his Son it seems he parted with so great a share of his Dominions to him, which for some years he held, though how long, as *Malmesbury* observes, is utterly uncertain. The unwelcome disposition of *Ethelwulf*, might well give encouragement to the *Danes*, who the year following the death of *Egbert*, came again to the

territory perturbatione Affertus. † Quid autem sibi vult illud Affertus defuncto autem Ethelwulfo Regi; sepulchre apud Sintonem?

\* Gens namque occidentalis Saxum Reginarum iuxta Regem federare non patitur; nec etiam Reginarum appellare; sed Regis conjugem permittit quam contra vestram iam infamiam: de quadam personâ & mellecula quidem gentis Regina erat fuisse majores illius

\* Singulorum autem bellorum gesta sine Regis auctoritate non fieri debent; sed Regis auctoritate debent fieri. Regis auctoritate debent fieri. Regis auctoritate debent fieri.

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The Monarchy of the English Saxons in Britain, PART IV.

SECT. 10.

The Danes are twice defeated by his Captains.

upon the Coasts with three and thirty ships. The Annals (e) say that Wulfhard the Baldorman, fought with them at Hamtune, that great slaughter was there made, and that he obtained the Victory; but died the same year of Age, it's very probable as one observes, seeming to have been one of Egbert's old Commarior, who was sent with Ethelwulf to subdue Kent. This repulse did not discourage them, but that either pressed on by those that sent them, or allured with plunder and booty, the same year they landed in another place, and gave Battel at Port (or Portsmouth) to (f) Ethelhelm another of the King's Captains of the Dorsetshire Men. For a good while (so the Annals word it) he had with the Danes, and at length the Danes became Masters of the Field, and the better of them. But at length the Annals term both Dux and Baldorman (they put to flight or rather slew him in the place.

Who being encouraged invaded Lindsey, Wulf East England with Kent. And London.

4. Animated by this Success, in Prosecution thereof, they gave Battel the following year to \* Herebryht (or Herbert) another of his Officers whom with many others they slew at a place called Merswar, whence driving as it were all before them, they suddenly invaded Lindsey (that part of Lincolnshire, which lies North from the City) where waiting all with barbarous Hostility, they pierced into East England, and thence into Kent, putting many to the Sword in all these places. Here was no opposition made against them, or so ineffectual that they proceeded, and not onely did great Michief at Canterbury and Rochester, but Ethelwulf came to London, and here did their pleasure the next year after. Ethelwulf seemed at his Wits end, as great Violence being by these attempts offered to his peaceable mind, as to the Persons of his Subjects; but by those about him (the Bishop of Winchester especially, as Malmesbury affirms) he was excited to make resistance, and to provide a Navy, his best defence; for had the English in those ignorant times understood their true Interest as well as afterward Egbert did, they had not endured those Miseries they suffered from those barbarous Romans, they had not been to secure the Land but by being Masters at Sea, the best Bulwarks against those hostile Invasions, being stout and well manned ships. But such was their small practice, and thereupon little skill in Maritime Affairs. For that they were inferior to the Pirates, continually exercised in Navigation. For the year that followed the Slaughter at London, Ethelwulf fighting against thirty and five of their ships at the River Carr, had the same fortune his Father had and before in the same place, the Danes remaining Masters of the place of Fight. Yet that the English might not be utterly discouraged, Fortune seemed a little to own them in the next attempt they made the following year. For one Eanulf with the Somersetshire Men, Ealstan a Bishop (Alstan of Winchester, doubtless the same that Malmesbury speaks of) and Osker another Officer with those of Dorsetshire, at the Mouth of the River Pedridan, engaged with an Army of the Danes, made great slaughter of them, and got the Victory.

Masters him at Sea.

In the next engagement Ethelwulf's Captain obtained a Victory.

The Danes are twice more beaten.

Yet they enter the Thames and sack London.

5. If a judgment be to be made of the state of these Affairs from these small hints we have from the Annals (the foundation of all the later Histories of the Monks) we are to conclude that the Defeat they received at this place was of great consequence. For, for five years after, or more, we hear nothing of them, nor any thing else of Ethelwulf and his Officers, who seemed so amazed with these Danish Wars, that they were attentive to nothing else, durst meddle with no other business left they should be unprepared for a fresh assault. And their care was without its due effect. For when they had reassumed their former confidence, and landed again, one Ceorl \* an Baldorman, affilit with the Shire of Devon, Afferius relates, and the Annals from him, fought with them at a place called Wigornius, where he killed very many of them and remained Victor. Neither did he fare better in other places. The same year King Ethelstan, together with Ealchere a Captain, defeated a great number of them at Sandwich, and taking nine of their Ships, forced the rest to shift for themselves: and the Pagans were constrained thereabout to Winter, which they did, as Afferius writes (and that first time) in the Isle of Shepey. Yet for this same year enter the Thames Mouth, depredation, with fifty Ships did they this same year enter the Thames Mouth, whence they ranged as far as Canterbury and London. Fabius Ethelward writes, that they destroyed both. Afferius, though he encreases the number of their ships to

(e) A. 837. Depulsihe and ealdorman geseceane ær þam tunc. (f) J. 837. ylcangeage geseceane Ethelhelm dux pp denirone hepe on Pope mro dojratum. J. 70 de phile se nehepe geseceane. 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## SECT. 10.

this. But the Heraldry of the Annals is the Ancienter. Let such as desire various Readings upon this Learned Subject, compare this Genealogy with that of his and others: some perhaps may have so little to do. And Reader, if thou hast heard of a wonderfull Atchievement, which some who thought themselves very Learned, they say, performed of deriving King James his Pedigree from Adam, behold here the greatest part done, it's but carrying on this Pedigree to the Sister of Edgar, *Ethelring* married to the King of Scots, and her Daughter to our Henry the Second.

*Ethelbald and Ethelbert succeeded in the Kingdom.*

8. *Ethelwulf* being dead, his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert* divided his Kingdom betwixt them. *Ethelbald* reigned over the West Saxons. *Ethelbert* obtained Kent, Essex, Surrey and Suffex. *Ethelbald* began his Reign in the sixteenth year of *Michael* the third Emperour of Constantinople, the second of *Ludovicus*, the second Emperour of the West; in the days of *Charles the Bald* King of the Franks, the sixth of *Burbrd* King of the Mercians, A.D. DCCCLVII. He was, as *Malmesbury* from *Affarius* sets him out, heavy and sluggish, one that defiled his Father's Bed, Marrying after his Death his Wife *Judith*. But he dying after five years, the whole Kingdom fell to the other Brother. The Annals speak nothing at all of him from his coming to the Crown till his carrying to his Grave, which they say, as *Malmesbury*, was at *Sherburn*. They add that *Ethelbert* (or *Ethelbryht* as they call him) obtained the whole Kingdom of his Brother (his Father rather) and governed it in great peace and concord. During his Reign a great Fleet of the Danes arrived at *Hampton* (saith *Malmesbury*) and sacked the City of *Wincheſter*, which the Annals do confirm, as to the latter place not mentioning where they landed. But they were speedily encountered by \* *Ofric* the *Ealdorman* with *Hamptonſhire* (now *Hampſhire*) and *Ethelwulf* the *Ealdorman*, with *Beawulfſhire* (or *Berkſhire*) who put them to flight and became Masters of the Field. The Monk to this relation adds, that being beaten away by the King's Captains, after much loss received they went over the Sea, and taking a great compass, chose the Isle of *Thanet* to Winter in. This he relates as done all in one year, whereas from the Annals it appears, that their coming to *Thanet* was not till six years after. The Kentish men found themselves concerned to purchase Peace with them by a sum of Money; but the Pirates under pretence of receiving this Money, and confirming the League, made an Excursion into the Countrey, and waited all that part of Kent which lies toward the East. *Malmesbury* again adds, that the Inhabitants united themselves and drove away these perfidious Wretches. About the same time died *Ethelbert* after he had Reigned but five years, and his Body was buried with his Brothers at *Sherburn*.

*Ethelbald dies and is buried at Sherburn.*

The Danes took Wincheſter but are afterwards put to flight.

*Ethelbert dies*

Is succeeded by Ethelred.

9. After the death of *Ethelbert* succeeded *Ethelred* his Brother, another Son of *Ethelwulf*, in the first year of *Basilius Macedo* Emperour of Constantinople, the twelfth of *Ludovicus* the second Emperour of the West, the sixteenth of *Burbrd* (titular) King of the Mercians, A.D. DCCCLXVII. † *Malmesbury* having told us, that he obtained his Father's Kingdom, the same number of years which his two Brothers, falls into a bemoaning of the fate of all the three, their miserable and deplorable fate, as he terms it, that they should all die an immature death, yet indeed being Royally defended, and the Nation being involved in such dreadful Calamities, they might well prefer an honourable death before a miserable Reign. They so courageously and valiantly demeaned themselves in defence of their Countrey, that no default is to be charged upon them, if prosperously did not succeed what they resolutely had intended. This King nine times in one year fought with the Enemy in the Field, (as the chance of War is, with various success, yet usually with advantage) besides many sudden Excursions whereby, as he was excellently skilled in Strategems, he often repressed the Infoleny of these Rovers. On the side of the Danes were slain nine Earls or Captains, one King, and multitudes of People without number. But above all memorable is the Battel he fought at *Eſſedendune*. The Army of the Danes being drawn up in that place, one part of it was led by two Kings, the rest by other skillfull Leaders. The King with his Brother *Alfred* comes upon them: The King must engage with the Parties, that this day justified not to determine the Quarrel, the Controverſie must be adjourned to that which followed. Scarce did the light appear when *Alfred* was up and ready. His Brother laid in his Tent busie at his Devotions, and though a Meſſage was brought him that the Pagans with great rage came on, he refused to stir until they were ended. This Religious Confidence of the King was very seasonable for the retraining of the heat of his Brother's youth, who was already engaged. For the Battel of the

Who fought several pitched Battels with the Danes.

the English went to the worst; the Infidels had the Advantage of the Ground, and made such use thereof, that the Christians began to think of flight. Now comes he unexpectedly into the Battel, beats back the Enemy, encourages his Friends and demeans himself with that Valour and Conduct that by God's assistance the Danes were discouraged, betook themselves to their Heels and ran away. There fell their King *Oſeg*, five Earls, besides an innumerable company of the Vulgar sort.

The Mercians and Northumbrians endeavour to revolt.

The East Angles, Mercians, and Northumbrians, waited by these Robbers.

10. Here our Writer will have us to remark that the Kings of the Mercians and the Northumbrians taking advantage at these Danish Wars wherewith *Ethelred* was incumbered, withdrew themselves from the yoke of the West Saxons as much as they could, and had almost recovered their former Independency, each Province therefore envying the prosperity of the other, the several Kings chose rather to harbour the Enemy in their own Bolsores than give any relief to their distressed Countreymen; and by this means studying rather a recovering than a preventing course, by their laziness they let their Countrey run to ruin. The Danes grew upon them without any opposition, the English were discouraged and terrified, and every Victory by means of the abundance of Captives became instrumental to procure another. The Territories of the Eastern English with their Cities and Villages were possessed by these Robbers, and their King *St. Edmund* being killed by them in the eight hundred and seventieth year from the Incarnation, on the nineteenth of November by a short Temporal death purchased an Eternal Crown. The Mercians being overrun more than once, lessened their Miseries by Submission, and giving up Hostages. And those of Northumberland having been sometime tossed with Civil Dissentions, when the Enemy was at their heels fairly composed all their Differences. *Ofberth* their King whom they had expelled, they now received again, and having made great preparations, they goe and meet the Enemy. But they are easily beaten, and shut themselves up within the Walls of *Tork*, which being quickly set on fire by the Conquerors, and the flame increasing, burns the Buildings, and therein they perish and cover their native Soil with their own Bones. Thenceforth Northumberland falling by right of War to the share of the Barbarians, for a long time groined under their Dominion, and fought at the thought of its former liberty. As for King *Ethelred* though unbroken with all his many labours he died at last, and was buried at *Winburn*.

Hingwar and Ubba arrive.

11. This short but good account we have from *Malmesbury*, of the state and condition of these times, how the English Affairs stood both in reference to the Enemy, and to one another. What he speaks of in general, we shall illustrate as much as we can by particular instances, as to title and place, the best course we can take in these obscure matters. In the very first year of his Reign a vast Army of Danes invaded the Land, Commanded by *Hingwar*, and *Ubba*, two great Souldiers but very cruel: *Hingwar* was very crafty and subtle, *Ubba* was a Man of extraordinary Courage. They landed in East England, where wintering, they made truce with the Inhabitants out of design to obtain from them a sufficient number of Horses whereon to mount their Men. Being now become a strong Body of Horse; the following year they passed over *Humber* as far as *Tork*, where the Civil dissentions of the People afforded them a notable advantage whereon to work. As *Malmesbury* observes they had driven into banishment *Ofberth* their King, and set up a Tyrant, one *ella* in his room; but now though it was late, and the year declined, they recalled him, and so composed their matters that they feared not to meet, and encounter this puissant Army at *Tork*; into which City part of the Pagans had already entered: They brake into the Town, but were received warmly by the Danes, that within as well as without, great slaughter of them was made, and the quarrel was decided betwixt their two Kings, both of them being slain in this Action, together with a great multitude of the People. The Remnant got as good terms from the Enemy as they could; but they were overrun, and the Countrey harassed as far as the River *Tine*. *Egbert* one of the English Race, was appointed King over them in room of *Ofberth*. And now should come in the story of *Bricen*, whose Wife *Offa* is said to have ravished, and who called in the Danes to revenge the injury upon the King. The thing if true was very remarkable, but we know not where *Bampton* had it; his Authority is not great, his Antiquity small.

The yavade Mercia.

12. But the Danes having wrought their will in the Parts beyond the River *Humber*, the next year invaded Mercia, and bent their course toward \* *Swettenham* (then, and long after so called from the Caves in the Rocks) at present Nottingham. There they took up their Winter Quarters, which so alarmed *Bur-*

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Sect. 10.

But at Nottingham he was so crafty, as knowing himself unable to grapple with them, he would not stir a foot out of the Castle, so that no considerable fight happened, and at length with good words he, faith Huntingdon, obtained a truce of the English, who were not able to break the Wall. Though the Annals seem rather to say that the Mercians obtained it of him, yet Ingulphus writes expressly, that Burberd constrained the Danes to quit Nottingham, where at the Siege he renewed the Charter of Privileges to his Monastery of Croyland, which bears date from the Siege in the year 868. on the five and twentieth of July, from the subscriptions to which it appears that both Erhelred, his Brother Alfred, and also Edmund King of East England, was at the Siege. But a peace or truce was made, and the Danes returned back to York with great booty, where they stayed a year, and there cruelly demeaned themselves. When Winter was over they passed over Humber into Lindsey, and landing at Humberston, as Ingulphus farther tells us, miserably wasted all the Country; particularly that most famous and ancient Monastery of Bardsey they destroyed, killing without mercy all the Monks in the Church. Having made their stay in those Quarters all the Summer, and with Fire and Sword consumed all things, about the Feast of St. Michael, faith he, they enter Kesteven; another part of Lincolnshire, at this time, as well as the other, distinguished by name) where they waste, kill and burn every thing they light on. At length, in the year of our Lord, eight hundred and seventy, in the month of September. Algar the younger (so called in respect of the late Earl Algar his Father) that most valiant Earl, got together all the youth of Humberland (now Holland; mark, Reader, the antiquity of these three Divisions of the County and their names, they continuing at this very day the same) and two Souldiers Senefcals (as he calls them) Wibert and Leofric, (from whom two Villages, the places of their residence, took the names of Wiberton and Lefrinkton) together with a Company belonging to the Monastery of Croyland, consisting of two hundred most stout Warriors, being for the most part fugitives: Headed by Fryar Toly, a Monk converted of the said Monastery, who before his conversion had been a Souldier of great Name throughout all Mercia, for warlike enterprizes; Besides these they got from Deeping, Langtoft and Balton, about three hundred stout Men fit for War; Morcard the Lord of Brumme (or rather Bourne) with his family which was both valiant and numerous, and the Vice Lord (as he calls him, meaning the Governour) of Lincoln, by name Osgot, an old Souldier and most hardy, joynd with them with the Lincoln Squadron, consisting of five hundred Men.

13. Being all drawn together in Kesteven, upon the Feast of Maurice the Martyr, they gave Battel to the Pagans, and by God's great mercy having killed three of their Kings, with a great multitude of the ordinary sort, they beat the Barbarians, as far as the gate of their Camp, where making most stout resistance, the Invincible Earl withdrew his Forces. That very night came into the Camp of the Pagans, all the rest of their Kings, from their several excursions, having divided the Country amongst them for the plunder, viz. Gogroum (or Godroum) Balge, Oskehtil, Halsden, and Hamond, with as many Earls, viz. Frena, (or Erena) Vnguar, Ulba and both the Sidroks, the Elder and Younger, with their Armies, and two hundred Booty, besides a multitude of Women and Children. Their coming being known, most of the Christians sorely terrified, slept away by night, so that with the said Earl Algar and his Captains of eight hundred (of which his Party consisted) scarcely two hundred Persons remained; with whom, as few as they were, by break of day, having heard Divine Service, and taken their Sacred Viaticum, being all of them most ready to dye for the faith of Christ, and the defense of their Country, they went into the Field against the Barbarians. The most Valiant Earl seeing his own Forces so much diminished, ordered Fryar Toly, with five hundred Men, who had gallantly demeaned themselves to stand on the right hand, assigning him for assistant Morcard of Brumme, with all his Followers. Osgot with his five hundred he placed on the left side, and with him joynd Harading de Rebele, with all the Stanford Men, who were young and but too Valiant. He himself with his Senefcals, stood in the midst to succour each quarter as need should require. The Danes being much enraged for the slaughter made of their Men, early in the morning buried their three Kings in a Village formerly called

Thence they go into Lincolnshire.

But renewing the fight burnt and destroy all before them.

called Laundon, but afterward Trekingham from their Sepulture, and now four Kings prepared themselves to fight together with eight Earls; for two Kings and four Earls were appointed to look to their Camp and Captives. The Christians being so few drew together in form of a Wedge, against the Archers, setting as it were a Palisado of their Bucklers, and against the violence of the Horse a wood of Lances, and in that posture, instructed by their Leaders, continued all the Day till Night now approached: The Enemy perceiving that neither his Bowmen nor his Horse could do any execution, resolved to counterfeit flight and to leave the Field, which the Christians beholding broke their Ranks, notwithstanding all their Leaders could do, and in pursuit of the Pagans were dispersed through the Plain without any Order or Conduct. The Barbarians hereupon return and like Lions fall upon so few poor Sheep. The most valiant, and never to be forgotten Earl Algar, with the Souldiers we named and Fryar Toly, clustering together upon an Hill, for a long time bore the brunt of the Barbarians, till seeing the stoutest Christians dead, they died also, fighting most valiantly over their Bodies. A few young men belonging to Sutton and Gadeney casting away their Arms escaped into the adjoining Wood, whence the next Night with much adoe, they got to Croyland, and thither brought the sad news of the overthrow, as Theodoras the Abbat and his Monks were at their Vespers. The Danes after this plundered and burnt the Abby of Croyland on the twenty fifth of August, killing the Abbat and all the Fryars, except one Boy of ten years old, Tugar or Turgar by Name, on whom young Sidrok laid him put on a Danish Coat. Thence went they to the Monastery of Medeshamsted, where they did the like; and thence with innumerable Spoils passed on towards Huntingdon, the two Sidroks bringing up the Rere as they ever did, and passing over a Bridge, two Waggon full of Treasure fell into the River Nene, which as the followers of young Sidrok were buied in drawing out, Turgar the young Fryar escaped from them and returned to Croyland.

Next for Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, which they plunder with East England.

14. The Pagans still marched on wasting all the Country as far as Grantebrig, now Cambridge, and so to the Isle of Ely, where having rifled and burnt the famous Monastery and killed all they found therein with much Plunder and Cartel, which for the reputed security of the place, had been brought thither out of the adjoining Country, they proceeded into East England, where meeting with Earl Walktule, who made vigorous resistance, they cut him off with all his Army. Having taken also the most Holy Edmund King of that Country and led him to a Stake as a Burt to shoot at, they first with many Arrows shot him through, and afterward cut off his Head. Having possessed themselves of all East England, there they spent all the Winter, at Thetford say the Annals. The year following (having received great Supplies, as Huntingdon hints, who calls their Army a new and mighty one, and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it) they bent their Course toward the West Saxons, the Territories of whom alone had not felt the effects of their Covetousness and Cruelty, who alone were in capacity to resist them; for the overturning of the Hierarchy (the Monarchy being not yet fully established) had weakened all the other Provinces, wanting now at Ecob-officers as should vigorously defend them. Coming to Reading they fortified popa. themselves betwixt the two Rivers Thames and Kener, and after three days sent out two Earls to forage the Country, but they were encountered by Erhelwulfe Earl of Berksire, who at Englefeld (or Englefeld) gave them Battel, killed one of their Earls (Huntingdon names Sidroc) and obtained the Victory. Four days after came King Erhelred with Alfred his Brother and the main Body, and gave Battel to the Danes, wherein on both sides very many fell: Earl Erhelwulfe here lost his life, being by Erhelward the Historian called Adulf, who writes that he was buried in the Province of the Mercians, at a place called Northworthige, but in the Danish Tongue Deoraby, and the Danes became Masters of the Field. Yet far from was not the disadvantage so great on the English side, but that four days after the King and his Brother appeared again in the Field against them at a place called \*Aescel-dune or Apsdowne, where they engaged on both sides with their full strength. The Danes divided their Army into two Bodies, whereof the one was led by

And fight several Battels with Erhelred.

linguam Deoraby. Lib. 4. c. 2. \* De nomine sic Simon Dunelmensis ad Ann. DCCCXXI. Statuitur Legiones in loco qui dicitur Eboracum, quod Latine mons Fraxini postea reverteretur interpretari. Sic Aescel: in loco qui dicitur Aescel-dun 7 quoque Latine mons Fraxini interpretatur.

Sect. 10.

An Decet. Dep pas re hope opep opep Oyn- ce inman eart Engle j pntcp red namon et Ecob-officers as should vigorously defend them. Coming to Reading they fortified popa. themselves betwixt the two Rivers Thames and Kener, and after three days sent out two Earls to forage the Country, but they were encountered by Erhelwulfe Earl of Berksire, who at Englefeld (or Englefeld) gave them Battel, killed one of their Earls (Huntingdon names Sidroc) and obtained the Victory. Four days after came King Erhelred with Alfred his Brother and the main Body, and gave Battel to the Danes, wherein on both sides very many fell: Earl Erhelwulfe here lost his life, being by Erhelward the Historian called Adulf, who writes that he was buried in the Province of the Mercians, at a place called Northworthige, but in the Danish Tongue Deoraby, and the Danes became Masters of the Field. Yet far from was not the disadvantage so great on the English side, but that four days after the King and his Brother appeared again in the Field against them at a place called \*Aescel-dune or Apsdowne, where they engaged on both sides with their full strength. The Danes divided their Army into two Bodies, whereof the one was led by





19. † The Danes departing from *Hreopdune*, divided themselves into two Parties. One of them under Conduct of *Healfdene* one of their Kings, went into *Northumberland*, where they Wintered by the River *Tyne*, and subdued all the adjacent Countries, and wasted the Territories of the *Picts*, and *Pictish Britains*. The other Party Commanded by *Gothrum*, *Ofcittil* and *Amund*, three other of their Kings went freight to *Grantebrigg*, and there remained a whole year. *Alfred* in the mean time, sensible that all these mischiefs happened at Land, because he was not Master at Sea, rigged up a Fleet with intent to surprize the Pirates, &er they should Land. He met with five (says *Asserius*, seven say the Annals) of their Ships, whereof one he took, and the rest escaped. The following Summer the *Danes* moved to a Castle of the West Saxons, called *Werham*. *Alfred* now thought fit instead of Fighting, to Treat with them; either for that he being taken up in Sea Affairs was not well provided at Land, which made them so bold as to enter his paternal Territories, or because they doubted of their own strength, and were very willing to entertain Overtures. Some say by Money he purchased a Peace, whereby they were freighthway to depart his Dominions. For performance of the Accord they gave up what Hostages he himself named, took an Oath upon Holy Reliques, and upon a Sacred Bracelet; (an Oath so great and solemn as they never before would swear to any Nation) yet as it seems not with any intention to observe it. \* For not long after by Night they took their Horses (*Asserius* saith they killed all his, or their own; for the words are ambiguous) and went to *Exeter*. This same year *Healfdene* their King had brought his Affairs to that settlement and perfection in *Northumberland*, that he divided the Country amongst his Men, and began to cultivate it with Tillage. And this same year it was as *Asserius* affirms, that *Rollo* with his Normans having Wintered here in *England*, passed over the Sea, and invaded *France*.

habebat occidit verpuyque inde Donniamm ac locum qui dicitur Saxonicè Exanceatyr the Britanni  
mice autem Capuivry Latine quoque civitat in opentali pya plummur Vure ita epe ppe nape  
mepitatum 7 qua inceptur Galliam Britanniamque 7 inopinate epeixit 7 ibi hyemavit.

20. The

20. The year which followed being the DCCCLXXVI. of Our Lord, and the twenty sixth after the Birth of *Alfred*, part of the Pagan Army remained at *Exeter*, and another part in Harvelt time made excursions into *Mercia*. The number of these Rovers daily encreased, so as any that fought with and defeated them never so often, had but the same endless employment as he that cut off the Head of *Hydra*; for if as this day thirty thousand of them were killed, to Morrow others would succeed them, and their number be doubled. *Alfred* perceiving that for all his labour for this reason he should profit nothing, but that each Victory (if he obtained it) would prove but a prelude to a farther trouble and danger, gave order throughout all his Dominions for furnishing out Gallies, or long Ships, to prevent the landing of these troublesome Guests. He himself hastened to *Exeter*, wherein he besieged the *Danes*, from whom to cut off all supplies, he manned out his Ships to intercept all provisions that should come by Sea. His Navy met with one hundred and twenty of their Vessels, upon which they set with all violence imaginable, and all the Vessels full of Men as they were, perished; how *Asserius* tells us not, and the Annals say it was by Tempest near *Smanawic*. The same year the Pagans quitting *Werham*, partly on Horseback, and partly on Shipboard, and thence at Sea when they came to the place called \* *Smanawic* perished to the number of one hundred and twenty Vessels, more if credit be given to the Copy of *Asserius*, whereas the Annals mention but one loss at Sea this year, and the identity of the number in *Asserius*, makes us suspect it one and the same loss, and that his Text is corrupted. However so it happened, that the *Danes* affrighted with this great loss (or losses) gave him what Hostages he desired, and promised to depart. This they did in the Month of *August* marching into *Mercia*, which Region they granted, partly to *Ceolwulf*, a certain silly Servant of the King, and partly divided amongst themselves.

21. In the year from our Lord's Incarnation DCCCLXXVII, and the twenty seventh after *Alfred's* Nativity, the often mentioned Army of the Pagans from *Exeter*, in *Christmas* departed to *Ceppanhamme* a Royal Village seated \* in the North part of *Wiltshire* on the Eastern Bank of the River, in *British* called *Abon*, *ryca* in *Welsh* where it wintred. Hence did it make excursions into the Territories of the West Saxons, of whom many it forced to quit the Land, and in great fear and want of all necessities to cross the Seas; such as remained were constrained to submit themselves to their Authority. *Alfred* with a few of his Nobility, with a small Party of Souldiers and some of his Vassals in Woods and the miry parts of *Somerfetshire* was purposed to hide his Head. A miserable life he led, having nothing whereby to subsist but except what by stealth and Irruptions he could get from the Pagans or from his disobedient Subjects which had submitted themselves unto them. He was forced *Abon* to take up his Quarters with one of the Keepers of his Cattel. The † Neatherd's Wife being on a time busy in baking Cakes upon the Hearth, the King fate by the fire side sitting and trimming up his Bow and Arrows with his other Habillments of War. It happened that the Cakes, set too near the fire, burned, at which the Woman very much concerned, in haste ran to the fire and snatched them away, but heartily chid the Guest upon the Bench, saying, *How now man wilt thou not turn Aquilum at the Cakes that burn? Thou wouldest be glad to have a share of them when they are bald*. The unhappy Woman (says *Asserius*) little thought the spake to King *veus* facies *convertere*. But so great affliction happened to him, as our Author guesses, for not having in his younger years when he first came to the Government, heard and relieved his oppressed Subjects, for which neglect *St. Neolus* his Kingman foretold out of a Prophetic Spirit, that these Calamities would fall upon him. In the mean time the Brother of *Elnguar* and *Healfdene* departing from *Northwales* with three and twenty Ships, where they had made great waste, failed into *Devonshire*, and facing a Castle called *Cynnoith*, were killed in a Salley made by the King's Garrison, with two hundred of their men. There was taken their Banner called *Reafan*, said to have been made at one Noon-time of the day by the three Sisters of *Elnguar* and *Elubba* the Daughters of *Lodebrock*. Before every Batel if they chanced to be victorious, the likeness of a living and flying Crow was reported to have appeared in it, but in case it happened to have the worst it would hang directly down and not move at all. And this hath often been proved by experience, saith our Author.

6. This



Sect. 10. 22. This fourth year *Alfred* built after *Easter* a Castle at a place called \* *Ethelningagæg*, whence with his Nobles of *Somerſetſhire* he made frequent excursions against the Pagans. In the seventh week after *Easter* he rode to the ſtone of \* *Æghryth* in the Eaſtern part of the Wood called *ſchwad*, in Latine *Silva Magna*, and *Cotmar* in *Britiſh*, (in the Eaſtern part of *Somerſetſhire*, now not ſo great) where met him all the Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire*, *Wilts*, and ſuch of *Hamſhire* as had not been driven beyond the Sea, who received their King as one riſen from the dead, with extraordinary Joy, and there they reſted themſelves that Night. Diſlodging as ſoon as it was light, they travelled that day as far as *Aglea*, and the next arrived at a place called *Ethandun*, (now *Edinon* in *Wiltſhire*) where they ingaged the whole Power of the *Danes*, and got the Victory. They purſued them to one of their fortified Caſtles, to which *Alfred* cauſed cloſe Siege to be laid, which having continued fourteen days, the Pagans pinched with hunger and cold and deſpairing of Relief, yielded on condition to have leave to depart out of the King's Dominions; for to depart they were, and gave up what Hoſtages he was pleaſed to nominate, confirming the Agreement alſo by their Oaths. *Gotbrun* alſo their King ingaged to become a Chriſtian and be baptized: All which Covenants they faithfully performed. For after about three weeks he came to *Alfred*, then lying at *Alre* a place near to *Ethelningagæg* (now *Aure* in *Somerſetſhire*) upon the River *Parret*, a Village conſiſting of a few poor Cottages) accompanied with thirty of the choicelt of his Army, and *Alfred* adopting him for his Son, received him out of the Font, and named him *Atthelſtan*; the ſolemnity of looſing his Chriſtial Ligament, was performed at *Wetmore* or *Wadmore* an Houſe of the King's, with whom he continued twelve days (or twelve Nights to ſpeak in the Dialect of our *Saxon* Anceltours) and then returned, both he and his followers having received very great Prefents. So good a change was wrought upon them, that they kept their word. For the next year they departed from *Cippanham* in *Cirenceſtre*, and there continued an holerwelve Month. Thence removed they to the Eaſt *Angles*, the Countrey whereof together with *Northumberland*, ſome write that *Alfred* gave to *Guntun* at his Chriſtning, to be held in fealty of him.

23. For the Gift of *Northumberland*, we have nothing to say, but as to the other there is extant the (a) Form of a League made betwixt these two Kings, in the first Article whereof the Limits of their Territories are thus described. *The Limits of our Land are first upon the Thames, then proceed they to the River Lee as far as his Fountain, then streight to Bedford, and so up to the River Ouse, as far as Watling-street.* The second Article, appoints the value of a Man slain, whether English or Dane, to be four Marks of melted Gold, and the Redemption of each four hundred Shillings. But if the King's Servant or Thane, was accused of Manslaughter. The third Article proceeds, that he be tried by twelve other of the King's Servants. In case he was not the King's Servant, but belonged to some inferior Lord, he should be tried by eleven of his Equals, and by one of the King's Servants. The same Order was to be taken in all suits, which exceeded four Marks. But in case he refused to undergoe this Trial, his fine was to be increased three fold. The fourth appoints Vouchers for the Tale of Men, Horses or Oxen. The fifth and last ordains, that none from either Army should pass to the other without leave. And in case it be by way of Trafficke, such shall find Sureties for their Civil Deportment, that the Peace may not be infringed. Such was the League the Prelate to which declares, that it was made betwixt the two Kings, *Elfred* and *Guthrun* (so the Saxon) by consent of all the wise men of the English, and of all those that inhabited East England, and that not onely in behalf of themselves, but of their Posterity. This sufficiently sheweth that the Eastern Parts of England belonged to the Danes. Yet *Polydore Virgil* calling this King by the Name of *Gormon*, vehemently contends that he had not that Countrey bestowed on him. *Krantzius* also denies, that *Gormon* was converted to the Faith; yet confesses that about this time, one *Froto* was converted. Whatever they write, this League evinceth the Distinction of their Territories, and the Testimony of *Afferius*, is uncontrollable as to his Baptism, who lived himself at this very time, not to mention that the Annals (ancient Monuments also) affirm the same.

24. But the same year that these things thus passed, another great Army of P<sup>ag</sup>ans came from beyond the Seas, and sailing up the Thames, wintred at Ful-  
l<sup>l</sup>onham, now Fulham, at present the seat of the Bishop of London, upon this Ri-  
ver. The same year happened also a great Eclipse of the Sun. In that which  
followed, the Army of Danes, that wintred at Fulham, passed over the Sea into

CHAP. II. *Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emb. Alfred*

the Eastern *France*, and continued a whole year at *Ghent*, whence the Summer following they pierced farther into the Countrey, and had battel given them by the *Franks*, with what Success as to particulars we know not, but with no great Disadvantage surely to the *Danes*, who after the Fight became Horleimen, and afterward passed up the River *\* Meuse*, farther into the Land, and there wintered. *Alfred* in the mean while, being by experience sufficiently instructed, that his main care ought to be employed how to become Master at Sea, in three years time provided him a Fleet, wherewith he engaged some Rovers, and took two of their Vessels, killing all he could therein. Two other ships were commanded by two of their Princes, who with all their Fellows being much wounded, and tired out in fight call'd down their Arms, and with bended Knees and humble supplications yielded themselves into his Hands. Their Countymen the following year, failed up the River *Scheld*, as far as a Monastery of Nunns called *Cundho*, and there took up their Winter Quarters.

25. The Year that followed being the DCCLXXXIV, of Our Lord, and the four and thirtieth of King *Alfred's* Age, this Army divided it self into two Bodies, whereof the one held on its course into the Eastern parts of *France*, and the other making for this Island, arrived in *Kent*, and laid siege to the City of *Rochester*. Before the Gate they built a Fort, and used all means they could to become Masters of the place, but the Inhabitants made stout resistance, and held out till King *Alfred* came to their relief, the noise of whose approach frightened away the Beliegers to their ships, wherein they were constrained to return to the Coasts of *France*. The League which was made betwixt *Alfred* and *Guthrum*, it seems, was broken by this time, probably by that Intelligence which the *Danes*, inhabiting East *England*, held with their Countrymen, that ever and anon arrived. *Alfred* found himself concerned to man out his Fleet, to lessen and restrain their Power, which design to prospered, that coming to the Mouth of the River *Stour*, and meeting thirteen of the Enemies ships, which came ready prepared for an Encounter, they took them and killed all their Men. But growing secure upon this Success, the *Danes* gathered together all the Vessels they could make, and setting upon them as they lay in the same place in a careles posture, spoiled their Triumph at their return. The year that followed, a considerable Number of these *Danes* who had come from the West, quitting *Britain*, returned into that Quarter by Sea, and passed up the River *Seine* as far as *Paris*. There they incamped where they could best intercept the passage of the Citizens, over the Bridge, the City being seated in the midst of the River in a little Island, and continued their siege for a whole year, but such was the Vigilancy and Industry of the Inhabitants, that they could not force their Entrance. While God Almighty thus preserved the City of *Paris*, from the Violence of the Barbarians, at the same time he was pleased to restore the City of *London* to her Ancient Lustre, the having as well as many other *English* Cities been defaced, and depopulated by these continual Invasions of the Pagans. King *Alfred* making it his chiefest care to repair it, made it habitable, and committed it to the Government of *Ethelred*, the Earl of the *Mercians*, to whom he gave his Daughter *Ethelfleda* in Marriage. To him turned now all such *English* and *Saxons*, as formerly had been dispersed, and had lived in captivity under the *Danes*, and willingly submitted to his Dominion, and from the Rovers he rested quiet for about eight years (some say thirteen, but to them the Annals bear not Testimony) four of which being expired, *Guthrum* the Northern King (as the Annals call him) who reigned in East *England*, departed this life.

26. All this while the other Northern Rovers employed themselves upon the Continent making continual Invasions into *France*, which they never left harassing till they had *Neufria* assigned them to inhabit, to which they affixed the Name of *Normandy*. Eight years being passed from the last hostility they had attempted in *England*, an Army of them being beaten out of *France* by the Emperour *Ernulf* and the *Britains*, passed from the Eastern to the Western parts of *France*, and went to *Bologne*, where furnishing themselves with Vessels, with two hundred and fifty sail, they made for the Eastern Coasts of *Kent*, and there put into a River called *Limex*, near to the great Wood *Andred*, a Wood which extended it self in length an hundred and twenty Miles, and in breadth contained thirty. Into this Wood they drew up their ships about four Miles from the Rivers Mouth, where they built a Fortrefs. After them one *Haesten*, with eighty Vessels more entered the Mouth of the *Thames*, and built a Fort at *Midleton*, while the former Army remained in a place called *Apletree*. *Alfred* to prevent the harm which he saw re-

Did \_\_\_\_\_ coming

*Alfred pre-  
pares to be  
Master at Sea*

The *Danes*  
vade *Kent*.

Guchrun die

The Rovers  
land in two  
Places.

*Latrunculi  
nimis 12 au-  
tis Gallias  
affluentes ad  
uxerunt ab  
Gruppulo In-  
venatore &  
Britannus  
multos prelis  
vixit, in du-  
tiam oppo-  
nunt scilicet  
unum annidis  
affligunt  
impellunt.*

Sect. 10.  
Are attended  
by Alfred.

coming fast upon him, resolv'd to hinder the Correspondence which was wont to be entertained betwixt the new Comers, and those that were already fix'd in the Country, a thing which ever prov'd pernicious Consequence. Those of *Northumberland* he oblig'd to him by an Oath of Fidelity and the Inhabitants of *Essex*, from whom he receiv'd Hostages, for ever as any Strangers invaded the Land they were wont either to join with them or commit some Hostility themselves, while the King's Forces were elsewhere employed. Having then got a sufficient Power together, he incamp'd himself betwixt the two Armies at such a distance, as to be ready for either of them, in case they offer'd to remove. And dividing his Army into two Parts, one he kept incamp'd with an Eye upon the Enemies main Body, the other was ready upon all Occasions to restrain such Parties as foraged the Country. They ranged up and down till they came into *Essex*, and thence again pass'd the *Thames* into *Surry*; where at *Farnham* the King's Troops met them, and put them to the rout. Their King was wounded, and with one Party slaid behind, the rest cross'd the *Thames* again into an Island near *Colne* (some say in *Essex*, others by *Colebrook*) where the King's Army besieg'd them so long, till Provisions fail'd. In the mean time the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, not able to hold their Hands while they saw their Countreymen enriching themselves with Booty, broke their Faith, and with an hundred ships coming to the East Angles, scour'd the Southern Parts, as they did with forty, the Northern Coasts, and failing about came to *Exeter*, which they presently besieg'd. Alfred hearing this halted thither with all his Army, except a strong Party of *Wessex*, which marching to *London* join'd with the Citizens, and others that came from the West, and then went Eastward to *Beamsfleet*. Where *Haesten* having built a Fort was himself gone out to forage, but had left a strong Party to defend it. But this Party they cut in pieces, plundered the Castle, took much Booty and Prisoners, and either destroy'd all their ships, or brought them away to *London* or *Rechefer*.

Their Armies  
join waiting  
all near *Severn*.

27. Among other Prisoners was taken the Wife of *Haesten*, with his two Sons which so affected the Barbarian, that he begg'd Peace of the King, giving Hostages and Oath for his peaceable Department. Alfred set his Wife and his Sons at Liberty, to one of which he himself was Godfather, and the other was the Godson of Earl *Ethelred*, and besides he bestow'd on him a good Summ of Money. But returning to *Beamsfleet*, he could not restrain his ravenous Inclination, but fell of waisting the County adjacent; which was under the Government of *Ethelred* his Godson. After this both *Danish* Armies joined, and coming to *Shobury* in *Essex*, there built another Castle. Thence passing the *Thames*, with such as joined with them from *Northumberland* and East *England*, they march'd on to *Severn*, waisting all in their way. Here the King's Captains, *Ethelred*, *Ethelnoth*, and *Ethelnoth*, with Forces taken out of all the Countries adjoining, pitch'd their Camp over against them at a place call'd *Buttington* (in *Montgomeryshire*) the River running betwixt them, and there they faced one another for many weeks. In the mean time the King by a siege sorely distress'd the *Danes* in *Exeter*, who having eaten part of their Horses resolv'd to sally out, and join with the fellows that lay incamp'd on the East side of the River, but the King let reason upon and discomfited them all with loss of *Ordhelm*, and several other of his own Officers. Those that remain'd fled to *Essex* to the Fort they had there built, and their ships. But no sooner was one Party suppress'd, but another arose. Lest one of their Leaders, before Winter gather'd a great Army out of East *England* and *Northumberland*, and depositing their Wives, Ships and Moneys in the Hands of the East Angles, march'd, Day and Night with such Expedition, that they came to a City of the West call'd *Wirbeal* which they took, &er the Army that pursued could reach them.

The *Danes*  
invade *North-*  
*wales*.

28. Having waisted the Countrey round, the year following, they quitted the place and invaded *North Wales*, which after they had plunder'd, they return'd home into *Northumberland*, and some into East *England*; whence proceeding into *Essex*, they seiz'd on a small Island lying toward the East, call'd *Merefig*, and another Party returning by Sea from the Siege, landed upon the Coast of *Sussex*, where the Inhabitants of *Chichester* Sailing out, slew many of them, and took some of their Ships. The same year they that seiz'd upon *Merefig*, drew up their Ships, and some into the River of *Thames*, and others into *Lee-Road*, on the Bank of which, the year following, they built a Fort about twenty miles from *London*. The *Londoners* looking upon this as a curb not to be endured, with other Assistants, endeavour'd to demolish it, but were beaten back with loss of many Men, and amongst

mongst the rest, three of the King's Officers. Hereupon the King in time of Har-  
vest incamp'd nearer the City, to restrain the incursions of *Danes* upon the Rea-  
pers. As he was Riding on a time by the River *Lee*, it came into his Head, that by digging of large Ditches on each side, he might turn the Stream from the Channel, and so cause their Ships to rest upon the dry ground; which thing having devised, he attempted with such success, that the *Danes* perceiving they were not to be got off, sent away their Wives and Children into East *England*, and on foot march'd as far as a place call'd *Quatbrig* upon the *Severn*, where they built a Fortres and Wintred. The Citizens of *London*, very joyfully and in Triumph, brought such of their Ships as they could get off, into their own Road, and the rest they burnt or disabled. This happened three years after that from the transmarine Parts, these *Danes* first arriv'd in the mouth of *Lirne*. During these same three years rag'd a great Plague, both amongst Men and Cattle. The King lost most of his choicest Nobility, as *Switbulse* Bilhop of *Rochester*, and several great Earls; *Coolmund* in *Kent*, *Britbulse* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, besides *Ealhard* Bilhop of *Dorchester*, *Eadulf* the King's Officer in *Sussex*, *Beornmulse* Governour of *Winchester*, *Eigulse* Master of the King's Horse, and many others.

29. This Disaster was followed by many irruptions made by the *Danes* Inhabiting *Northumberland* and East *England*, into the Territories of the West Saxons, by means of their long Gallies, which they had built many years before. To overmatch them, King Alfred commanded other Gallies to be made twice as long, higher, and yet both swifter and steddier than they, some of sixty Oars, and some of more, like to which were not then in use, either amongst the *Danes* or *Frisons*. At this time the Isle of *Wight*, the Coasts of *Devonshire*, and other Maritime Parts were much infested by six Pickering Vessels which hovered upon these Quarters. The King commanded some of these new Gallies to be Manned out against them for an experiment. The Fight was partly by Water, and partly by Land, managed with dexterity and courage enough on both sides. Two of the Pirates Ships were strand'd, one escap'd away into East *England*, and all except but such as serv'd in this, were either slain or taken; but not without considerable loss also on the King's side. Here fell *Lucamon* the King's Earl, *Ethelweh*, *Ebba* and *Ethelere*, all *Frisons*, and *Ethelfrith* the Overseer of the Cynnetes King's Castle. All the *Frisons* perished, of the *English* sixty two, and of the *Danes* seven. one hundred and twenty. The Prisoners were led to the King to *Winchester*, where he commanded them to be hang'd as Pirates and publick Enemies. This year perished *Cywalder* the Master of the King's Horse, who was also his Governour of *Wiltshire* and *Wales*, which therefore was at this time subject to his Command. The year following hath nothing notable, but that *Ethelred* the Earl of *Wiltshire* died nine years before *Midsummer*, and this was the last of *Ethelred* Earl of *Devonshire*, and of the Bilhop of *London*. These usher'd into another world the King himself, who having enjoy'd two or three years of Peace, as a preparation to everlasting Repose and Felicity, in the five and twentieth of *October*, in the one and fortieth Day of his Age, and the thirtieth of his Reign, in the year of our Lord, DCCCC. passed from a temporal to an eternal Kingdom.

Alfred dies.

30. Whoever considers the worth of his Person, will find that our opinion of his happiness is not founded merely upon Charity. A Man who (humane frailty any can be found in these virtues to have been so accurate, by whose perpetual disquiet and dangers can excuse from the performing of all duties which the Relation, a Man stands in both to God and Men, exacteth from him. In what continual disturbances he liv'd and reigned, we have sufficiently seen already, how seldom he enjoy'd any repose and quiet, in what perpetual distractions, cares and anxieties, any other man would have been involved. But his inward griefs were as great and pressing as were his outward molestations, scarcely one day from his Infancy, till he came to be forty five years of Age, was he free from extraordinary pains in his Body. From his Childhood, till he came to be twenty, he was exceedingly troubled with the Piles. Then after his Marriage, seiz'd with so great and strange pain, that no Physician could guess what the cause should be, some imagin'd him bewitched, others thought it the mere effect of the Devil's malice, who hates and envies all good Men, others imagin'd it an unusual sort of Fever, and others his former disease of the *Flemorrhoids* increased to a greater

greater malignity. He was afraid lest Leprosie, Blindness, or some other dreadful Symptom should follow upon it, which render Men both despicable and unrevivable. Therefore as formerly sensible of the proneness of Nature to fleshly Lusts in the heat of youth, and before he was married, he prayed that some Infirmitie might fall upon him which might abate these desires and inclinations, now that he might not be unusefull, he prayed for a Relaxation of this Grief, and as he had been heard in his first petition, so his second was not denied. But though seldom did his pain intermit, or if he enjoyed any ease for a Day, or a Night, or an Hour, yet the fear and apprehension of the return of his almost unupportable Torment, never forsook him, yet was the employment of his time so fruitfull in all respects, as if he had not had the least diversion. Of this *Asferius* his Chaplain an Eye-witness gives us in the History of his Actions, this full account.

His management of Affairs.

31. Amidst his Wars, the many disturbances of his Life, the Invasions of Pagans, and the daily Infirmities of his Body, he ordered the matters of State concerning his Kingdom, practised all the Art of Hunting, instructed all his Gold-Smiths and Artificers, his Huntsmen and Falconers, contrived new Buildings more sumptuous than any of his Predecessors, he himself being the Inventour and Architect, read *Saxon Books*, got *Saxon Verses* by heart, and saw that others did the like. Constantly was he present at Divine Service, Psalms or Prayers he read, his diurnal and nocturnal Hours he ever celebrated, alone in the Night time when all others were asleep, he frequented Churches and then performed his Devotions, over-saw the distribution of Alms to Poor and Strangers, set himself to the searching out the Causes of unknown things, and in all these Employments, and during his Pains behaved himself with incomparable Affability, and pleasantness toward all Men. Many *Franks*, *Frifons*, *Galls*, *Pagans*, *Britains*, *Scots* and *Armenians* on their own Accord, became his Subjects, as well noble as ignoble, all whom according to their several Qualities and Conditions, he loved, honoured and relieved as his own Nation. Sermons either from Strangers or his own Chaplains, he heard constantly and attentively. His Bishops, the whole Clergy, his Earls and Nobles, his Servants and Familiars, he loved most affectionately. Such of their Sons as were at Court he took personal care of no less than his own Children, instructing them himself Night and Day in good manners and literature. But as if in all these he had no comfort at all, and as if no other thing either internal or external troubled him, Night and Day he was very sad, and with many sighs bewailed his condition both to God and his familiar Friends, that he was destitute of Divine Wisdom, and of the liberal Arts.

His desire and improvement in Learning.

32. He made it his business to get such men about him as could best supply this defect which his own humility represented to him far greater than indeed it was. As his utmost wish and the greatest Boon he beg'd, was like that of *Solomon*, so the success of his Prayers was (though not proportionably) the same, God giving him both learning and Wisdom, and (if not Riches yet) Honour in such abundance, as no Prince of his Age, nor for many Ages afterward attained. Four learned Clerks he sent for out of *Mercia*, and some he had in his own paternal Dominions of the West Saxons, by whose endeavours his insatiable desire of knowledge was still exercised. For both Night and Day when he had any spare time he heard them read, never being without some one of them in attendance, whereby it came to pass that he had a thorough knowledge almost of all sorts of Books. Yet not to pass that he had a thorough knowledge almost of all sorts of Books. Yet not to contenting himself with what they could teach him, he sent for the learnedest men he could hear of out of *France*, and out of *Wales*, for *Asfer* the Writer of the Story, all whom he rewarded and preferred suitably to their Merits. By assistance of these men he arrived at such eminent learning, (that Age especially considered) that he became not only the most knowing of all Kings, but in universal knowledge exceeded almost all, both his own Subjects and others. He was skillful in Speech, but especially made it his business to be thoroughly versed in Divine and Practical knowledge. He penetrated to the profound Mysteries of all Liberal Arts, which he acquired with utmost diligence. The greatest part of the *Roman Library* he made familiar to his English Subjects. He was so universally learned that he became both an excellent Grammarian, Philosopher, Rhetorician, Historian, Musician and Poet; nay, a most perfect Architect and Geometrician. He himself for the benefit of his Subjects, whom the Invasions of the Barbarous *Danes* had well nigh deprived of all Learning, translated into their own Language the History of *Orosius*, the Ecclesiastical History of *Bede*, (which Translation we make frequent use of) and death prevented his finishing an English Translation of the Psalms of *David*.

33. The

His Devotions.

33. The more wonderful this is still, if we consider that his Devotions took up so much time as scarcely any Religious Person, whose work alone it was, spent more in God's Service. He made a Vow to dedicate to him one half, excepting that of sleep and necessary Refreshings. And because herein he could not be accurate for the cloudiness of the Air and want of Clocks, (which in this Age were not invented) he caused six large Tapers of Wax to be provided, each twelve \* Inches in length, by the burning of which he measured out the four and twenty Hours, perceiving that the burning of them was unequal by reason that the Wind through the Windows, the Cranes of Walls of his Chapel, or the thin Cloths of his Tent, got to them; to prevent this inconvenience he invented a Lanthorn made of Wood and Horns of Oxen. But that which took up not the least part of his time thus divided with the hearing of Causes and Administration of Justice, wherein to relieve the Poor and Distressed, Night and Day he travelled indefatigably; for in all that Kingdom (saith our Author) besides him alone they had no Protector, or very few, Persons of publick Spirits as well as Employment, having always been rare in this Nation. Such Partiality and Contention were there amongst inferior Judges, that he was perpetually pestered with Appeals, wherein he was so sedulous an Inquirer, that all Villany was ever brought to light. But besides Appeals few Causes were heard in Inferiour Courts of any moment, which however decided he did not examine. If he found his Judges unskillful, he gravely admonished them as such, who in case they did not study improvement were to loose their Places. This made them so vigilant and industrious, that though his Officers all in a manner were illiterate from their Infancy, yet in their elder Age did they apply themselves to learning, and such as by reason of Age or other Avocations could not do it, brought up their Sons, their Kinsmen or their Dependents and Servants to read to them. As he being the Superior Judge (not onely as to Authority but Administration of Justice) took care that his People should be furnished with able Ministers, so he provided them of good Laws, and for the better Government of the whole English Nation, brought up several laudable Customes, which still to this day continue, and we shall declare when we come to speak of the Laws and Policy of our Saxon Ancestours. To keep up Civility and Learning he erected Schools for the training up of Youth, and used severity against such as broke the Peace, that he might by Punishments deter, as well as by Rewards and Encouragements allure, the two great Engines of Magistacy. Thieves and Highwaymen he so prosecuted, that he rid the Land in a manner of them, to the terror of all such, causing upon high Posts in the Cross ways certain Chains of Gold to be hung, as it were daring any one to take them down; so that during his Government Justice did not onely reign but Triumph.

Encourages Learning.

And rids the Nation of Thieves and Highwaymen.

The management of his Revenue.

34. We have seen how he employed his time, one of the greatest Concernments of a Prince; another remains as great, viz. how he spent his Revenue. Making this a main point of Conscience, and having vowed to the Service of God, as well the half of his Revenues as his time, he commanded all his Annual Income to be equally divided into two parts. The first of these he appointed to secular uses and subdivided it into three Portions. The first he appointed to pay the Wages of Souldiers, his choicest Ministers, and those that by their turns attended him in his Court. For of such he had three Divisions each whereof waited their month, and then resting two at their own homes again returned to their former monthly service. The second Portion he assigned to Workmen and Architects, of whom he kept employed almost an innumerable Multitude of all Nations. The third he freely bestowed on Strangers that came to him from all parts far and near, whether they asked it or asked it not, as their Qualities were, and according to that which is written, *God loveth a cheerful Giver* with a cheerful mind. This did he employ the first half of his Revenue. The second half of his whole Revenues and Incomes with a most free will he devoted to the Service of Almighty God, and caused it to be divided into four Portions. The first of these he conferred on such Poor as flocked to him out of all Nations. The second on two Monasteries he had caused to be built at *Atbelingae*, and at *Scotseburg*. The third to a School which he had erected for the Instruction of the Nobility of his own Nation, said to have been at *Oxford*, but *Asferius* mentions no place. The fourth to the Monasteries round about in *Saxony* (the Countrey of the West Saxons he means) and *Mercia*, and some years by turns to the Churches and Servants of God in *Britain*, *Cornwall*, *Gall*, *Armorica*, *Northumberland*, and also in *Ireland* he either according to his ability sent relief, or resolved to do it as opportunity and his Treasury would permit.

35. Such

35. Such

Sect. 10. 35. Such was the demeanour of *Alfred* in his Religious and Civil kind of life, a demeanour accurate indeed, but not such as can denominate him a formal or foppish man, for under all this Discipline he was not frowne or melancholly, but carried himself (as an eye or ear witness left recorded after his Death, when he could have no temptation to flatter him) with wonderful Affability and Facetiousness. To his severer Studies and Practices he also joyned the gentle Divertissements of Musick and Hunting (things not possible to be reached by formal Fops, may our Wits be Judges) and his Military skill and valour was so admirable, that no Diffusers or Discouragements could abate it. *Malmesbury* testifies of him that while he was overthrowing and lay as it were groveling on the Earth, he was still a terror to his Enemies. In all Battels he was present every where, striking in to the Hearts of his Enemies fear and coldness, and palefies into their Faces, adding fresh Courage to his own Men. He alone would expose his Breast to the Enemies Swords, he alone would refores the Fight when his Army was ready to run away, and by his Example constrain his Souldiers to repel the insulting and pursuing Pagans. Nay, after he had been forced to flie, he became more terrible to his Foes, the memory of his Defeat made him more Circumspect, and an ardent desire of Revenge more venturous. Fifty six fet Battels by Sea and Land he fought against the *Danes*, and of these eight in one day, so that by his miraculous Courage and Conduct he so afflicted and tired them, though they still came in fresh numbers upon him, that they were forced to give up what Hostages he pleased, and to submit to such Conditions as he thought fit to impose. That these are not Flou- rishes, the universal consent of Writers bears Witness, all who admire him as an Heroe, and by an unparallel'd example tax him with no Vice at all; somewhat *Alerius* speaks of *Niulus*'s object to him the neglect of administering Justice, which was in his young years, and for which in his riper he made abundant Compensation. Upon the whole we cannot but dismiss him with the Exclamation of Wonder, into which *Sir Henry Spelman*, upon due consideration of all things, breaketh forth. "O *Alfred*, the Wonder and Astonishment of all Ages! If we "reflect upon his Piety and Religion it would seem that he had never gone "out of a Monastery: If on his Warlike Exploits, that he had lived no where "but in a Camp: If on his Writings and Studies, that he had spent his whole life "in an University: And lastly, If we regard his Administration of the Affairs "of his Kingdom and Subjects, one would think that his whole time had been "employed in useful life but enacting Laws, and promoting Justice in his Tri- "bunals and Courts.

36. King *Egbert* is generally esteemed the first Monarch of the *English Saxons*, and as such we have placed him, his time better agreeing therewith, but indeed was a Monarch in the same sense that the other seven were, which *Beda* mentions, the Authority of whom extended through the Heptarchy, though the several Kingdoms had their several Kings. He as *Julius Cæsar* to *Angulus* shewed the way, and chalked that out which was afterward perfected by his Glorious Son *Alfred*, who indeed was toward his latter end Monarch of all the parts of *England* *viz. Mah. Florib. Sic.* which were not possessed by the *Danes*, for if a petty King afterward was set up in *Northumberland* or else where, so inconsiderable was his condition as deserves not to be taken notice of. But, not only were the *English* his Subjects. The *Welsh* or *Britains* had also submitted to him, over whom he appointed a Governor, as we lately observed him by Name out of the *Saxon Annals*. But *Alfred* acquaints us with the Affairs of that his own Countrey, more particularly in relation to the Obedience they paid to *Alfred*. He tells us that at that time and long before all the Regions of the South (Western) parts of *Britain* (*Dextralis Britannia* he terms it) did belong, and so did fill to the Dominion of King *Alfred*. Namely *Hemeid*, with all the People of *Demetia* or *South West Wales*, being forced to submit to him by the violence of the six Sons of *Rotri*. In like manner *Howel* or *Howil*, the Son of *Ris King of Gleguising*, moreover *Brochmail* and *Fernald* Sons of *Mouric*, Kings of *Guent*, being oppressed by the violence and Tyranny of *Earl Eadred*, and the *Mercians*, of their own Accord submitted to him as their King, that by his means they might be protected from their Enemies. Besides these *Helised* the Son of *Tendry*, King of *Brecknock* (*Rex Breckonia*) driven thereto by the violence of the fore said Sons of *Rotri*, voluntarily gave up himself into his hands. Nay at last *Anaraut* himself with his Brethren the Sons of *Rotri*, deserted the Alliance they had contracted with the *Northumbrians*, from whom they received no emolument at all, but rather hurt; and earnestly desired the King's friendship. He was admitted into his Presence, and with much honour

His Divertisements.

### His Courage.

His Domini-  
ons.

nour entertained by him, who at his receiving confirmation from the hands of a Sect. 10. Bishop, acknowledged him his Spiritual Son, and at his departure presented him very richly. The effect of this Meeting was, that he subjected himself to the Sovereignty of King *Alfred*, to be obedient to him in all things as Earl *Ethelred* and the *Mercians* were. Neither in vain did any of these obtain the friendship of the King. For such as desired Earthly power hereby found a means to increase it, such as desired Money had Money, such as desired Familiarity got Familiarity, and such as would have both obtained both. All of them procured Love, Defence, and Protection on every side, as far as the King was able to protect himself and his own Subjects.

An Account of  
his Wife and  
Children.

37. King *Alfred* by *Elfwitha* his Wife, with whom he lived in all Conjugal temperance, had several Children. His Eldest was \* *Ethelred*, married to *Eadred* \* *Ethelred* Count of the *Mercians*. The next was a Son named † *Edward*. The third a † *Eadnope* Daughter, *Ethelred* as some call her, but *Afferius* names her || *Ethelgefnus*; the † *Ethelgefn* was Abbess in the Nunnery founded by her Father at *Shaftsbury*. The fourth was *Elfrida*, *Afferius* calls her \* *Elfthrith*, married to *Baldwin* the second Count of *Flanders*. The fifth and the youngest was \* *Ethelward*, who by Divine Council (faith our Author) and the admirable Providence of the King, together with well nigh all the Noble Children of the whole Countrey, and many of the Inferiour sort, was committed to the Discipline of the School under the diligent care of Masters. In this School Books of both Languages, *viz. Latin* and *Saxon* were diligently read. They were taught also to Write, inasmuch that before they had strength to undergoe Manly Exercises, which befit Noble Persons, as Hunting and the like, they became Studious and ingenious in the Liberal Sciences. *Edward* and *Elfthrith* were always brought up at Court diligently attended by their Nurseries and Governours (as designed to Princely Estate and Government) being exceedingly beloved by all, both home born and Strangers, to whom they carried themselves with all humble Affability and Gentleness. To their Father they shewed all manner of Duty and Subjection, neither were they amid their other Employments fuitable to their Birth suffered to live idly and carelessly without Liberal Studies. For they diligently learnt Psalms by heart, read *Saxon* Books, but especially got by heart *Saxon* Poems, and very frequently made use of other Books.

To Alfred suc-  
ceeded Ed-  
ward.

**A Glorious  
King.**

books. 38. Of these *Edward* the Eldest Son succeeded his Father in the sixteenth year of *Leo* the Sixth, *Porphyrogenitus* Emperour of the East, the second of *Lewis* the Fourth Emperour of the West, the same year that *Charles* the Simple began his Reign in *France*, in the Fourth Indiction, A. D. DCCCCL. *Ingulphus* and *Malmesbury* after him writes of him that in Learning he was far Inferiour to his Father, but incomparably more glorious in the Power of his Kingdom, that he indeed had conjoynd the two Kingdoms of the *Mercians* and the West *Saxons*, but held onely that of the *Mercians* as King in Name and Title, it being assigned over to Duke *Ethelred*. But his Son after the Death of *Ethelred* first wholly brought under his Dominion and Propriety the *Mercians*, then presently after fully the Western and Eastern *Englisb*, or those of *Norfolkb*, the *Northumbrians*, who had imbroided themselves with the *Danes*; then the *Scots* inhabiting the Northern part of the Island and all the *Britains* or *Welsh* did he subdue by his Sword; and having cast out the Pagans from all Cities and Walled Towns, placed Christians in their rooms; neither ever in any Battel was he worsted. He ingeniously invented ways to refrain the Excurfions of the *Danes*, by either repairing old Cities or building new ones in convenient places, which he furnished with sufficient Garrisons to protect the Inhabitants and to repell the Enemy. By this means the valour of the People was so much excited, that upon report of the Enemies coming they would without consulting the King or his Captains arme themselves and valiantly charge the Invaders, whom they always overpowered both by their numbers and Military skill; so that the *Danes* became contemptible to the *Englisb* Souldiers, and a Laughing-stock to the King himself.

Despising the  
Attempts of  
the *Danes*.

**Ethelwald hi**  
**Kinsman Re-**  
**bells.**

39. But notwithstanding this his great felicity, the beginning of his Reign was much disturbed by *Erbeſwald* his Kinſman, viz. his Couſin German by *Erhelred* his Father's Elder Brother, though others call him the Brother of *Edward*, for his Genealogy is variously related. Moſt probable it is, that he was the Son of *Erhelred*, and founded his pretensions to the Kingdom upon no weaker ground than being Son to the Elder Brother, whom he failed to ſucceed only at that time for want of Age as ſome think, or rather becauſe *Erbeſwald* by his laſt Will and Teſtament had appointed *Alfred* his Youngſt Son to ſucceed, in caſe he ſurvived his three Brothers. For by the Teſtament of *Alfred* himſelf, which *Aſſerius*

## hath

Sec't. 10. hath transmitted to Posterity, it appears that this King had some scruples in his mind, or conceived that others might have some cause to question his legal Title to the Crown. "After the Death of my Brethren (saith he) the inheritance of King *Ethelwulf* my Father devolved upon me by virtue of an Authentick public Writing made by him, and confirmed in a general Assembly of the States of the Kingdom at *Langdene*. This Writing upon the Death of my last Brother, *Ethelred*, I commanded to be freely and openly read in the Audience of all the Deputies of the West Saxons. It being read, I required and adjured all that were present, as they loved me to declare sincerely whether they knew or had heard of any others who could justly claim any Right in this mine inheritance, for I my self did not know any. This Adjuration I again repeated in these words. "I beseech you my dear Friends, let not any of you either out of love or hatred to me, spare freely, to speak the naked truth: for I have no desire or intention at all to prejudice the Rights of any of my Kinsmen in the least matter. When I had thus spoken, then all the Nobles and Princes of my People with a serious protestation Answered. "That never any Notice had come to them of any one that had a juster Title than my self, neither could they imagine or by any Writings Discover that any such there were.

40. Though this may seem to have relation to certain Lands left him by his Father, yet is it evident from the Testament, that this was such an Inheritance as was to defend to all the Brothers, and the Regal Title so conjoined with it, that the longer liver of them both by their Father's ordination, and their own consent should possess it, together with the whole Kingdom, assigning such Lands to his Brothers Sons as were convenient for their subsistence. He came therefore to the Crown by virtue of his Father's Conveyance, which was both ratified by the States, and confirmed by the mutual agreement of the Brothers, yet to remove all scrupulosity this excellent Prince would have his Pretensions to be scanned, and his Title examined in another Assembly before such time as he would undertake the Government. However *Ethelwald* knowing his Title would be war-rahtable enough if he could but get success to strengthen it, resolved to try his Fortune, and for that purpose seized on two Towns, called *Winburn*, and *Tweonam*. In *Winburn* he fortified himself, affirming there he would live or dye; but his resolution profited him little, the memory of King *Alfred* having to great a place in all the Hearts of the People, that they had no room to entertain any Inclinations toward any other Pretenders to the Royal Dignity than his Son and Heir. *Edward* assured of their fidelity, led an Army down to a place called *Baddanbyrig*, not far from *Winburn*, which so affrighted his Rival, that he who had boasted of what valour and constancy he would shew in that place, fled out of it by night, and got him into *Northumberland*, where he joined himself with the Danish Army. The King commanded some to pursue him, but this being in vain, he caused his Wife to be seized, which being a Nun Professed without leave from the King, or licence of the Bishops, he had taken out of a Monastery, and returned to the place and Profession from whence she came. This Monastery was that at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where we have for merly related King *Ethelred* the Brother of *Alfred* to have been Buried. *Baddanbyrig* is now called *Badbury*, being a little Hill upon a fair Down scarcely two Miles off from *Winburn*, compassed with a triple Trench and Rampire. It's reported to have had a Castle which was the seat of the West Saxon Kings. But if ever there were any such, it now lyes so buried in its Ruines that no token of it appears.

41. *Edward* thus drove away *Ethelwald* without fighting, and the *Kentish* Men the year after at a place called *Holme* fought prosperously against a multitude of Danish Pirates. In the mean time *Ethelwald* was (as some Authors affirm) chosen King by the Danes of *Northumberland*, who deposited their King *Osbert*. † *Matthew of Westminster* writes, that from *Northumberland* he passed the Seas into *France*, there to strengthen himself by the addition of a greater Force, (Of *Normans*, as we may very well conjecture) who being of the same original with the Danes, had by this time obtained *Neufstria* to inhabit, a considerable Province of that Kingdom. The year after returning into *England* with an Army he thereto joined a great number of Pagans, inhabiting *Northumberland*, *East England*, and other Places, and then invading *Mercia* with Fire and Sword, destroyed all things he met with. A later Writer tells us, he drew into his Society *Eric* the Succellour of *Guthrum* the Dane, in the Kingdom of the East Angles, a Prince whose malice to the Nation of the English was most deadly. *Huntingdon* mentions his first landing in *Essex*, and subduing that Country without delay; to which

the Annals bear witness, but place his return from beyond the Seas, in the third year after his flying into *Northumberland*. In the following year he gathered together his Forces in *East England*, and wasted the Territories of the *Mercians* as far as *Geccagelade*, (so the Annals call the place) where passing over the *Thames*, he pillaged all places aswell within *Bradene* as round about, and so returned. King *Edward* with what force he could make made as much haste as possible after them, and laid waste all their grounds lying betwixt the Ditch and the River *Ouse*, as far as the Northern Marishes. Thinking fit thence to return, he gave orders that all the Army should Dislodge, and March together. But on the *Kentish* Men notwithstanding seven several messenges he sent to them, laid behind, which delay of theirs, and separating the King's Forces, encouraged the Danes to give them Battel, which was very bloody, many Men falling on both sides; the King, lost *Sigulf* and *Sigelm* Earls, *Eadwald* his Minister, *Conwulf* an Abbat, besides *Sigehyrt* and *Eadbold* the Sons of two Noblemen. Of the Danes, besides great numbers of cum lower Rank, died *Eolric* their King, and *Ethelwald* a Nobleman, the author of this War; *Birhfiger*, *Hjop* *Fold*, and *Oskeit* *Fold*. On both sides a great slaughter was made, but a greater of the Danes though they continued Master of the Field.

42. There being no better way both for understanding and remembering of History than a knowledge of the places where eminent Actions have happened; it will be the Readers Interest and Delight to have a brief Account of such Names of Towns, and other places he meets with, especially being in his own Country. That place by the Annals called *Creceglade*, by *Marianus* and others *Crecklade*, is that Town standing in the North Part of *Wiltshire*, watered with the *Thames*, known by the Name of *Greeklade*, which Name forsooth some believed it to have received from certain Greek Philosophers, who as the History of *Oxford* reporteth began there an University, which afterwards was translated to *Oxford*. That they call *Bradene* is *Breden* Wood, now *Breden* Forest, which beginning at *Wotton* (that is Wood Town) *Basset* not far from *Greeklade*, stretched it self far and wide. As for *Dike*, betwixt which and *Ouse* King *Edward* wasted all the Country, it's the same with that which the People call *Devil's Dike*, and cuts overthwart the Plain of *Newmarket* in *Cambridgeshire* so many Miles together. Those great and long Ditches which are seen in those Parts were (most probably) cast by the East Angles to restrain the *Mercians* who with their sudden Inrodes were wont to waste and spoil all before them. The first of them begins at *Hinkleton*, and runs Eastward by *Hilderham* toward *Horbeath*, about five Miles in length. The second called *Brentditch* near to the former, goes from *Melburn* by *Fulmire*. Another there is which begins at the Eastern Bank of the River *Cam*, and runs by *Fenn Ditton* (or more truly *Ditch Ditton*, saith *Camden*, so named of the very Ditch) between great *Wilberham* and *Fulburn*, as far as *Balsam*. It's now commonly called *Seven Mile Dike*, because it's seven Mile from *Newmarket*, but anciently it had the Name of *Fleam Dike*, that is in Old English, *Flight Dike*, of some memorable flight which there happened.

43. More Eastward from hence within the Country is to be seen the fourth Fore-fence or Ditch, meant by the Annals the greatest of all, with a Rampire adjoining; which the common People our of Admiration of its greatness, as the work of Devils and not of Men, use to call *Devil's Dike*; but others *Rech Dike*, of *Rech* a little Town where it begins. Above *Rech* the Country is fenny, and was therefore impassible where it lay open to Excursions, there this Dike begins, and ends near to *Cowledge*, where the Passage by reason of Woods, was more cumbersome. It was the limit aswell of the Kingdom as of the Bishoprick of the East Angles, but the Author of so great a piece of work is unknown. Some later Writers mention King *Cnut* the Dane, but besides what here the Annals say of this Battel, *Abbo Floracensis* who Died before *Cnut* was King of *England* describeth it, together with the site of East *England*. Such as wrote since the time of *Cnut* have termed it St. *Edmund's Limit*, and St. *Edmund's Dike*, verily thinking that *Cnut* cast it up, who being most devoted to that King and Saint, granted to the Monks of St. *Edmund's Bury*, to make satisfaction for the cruelties exercised by *Suane* his Father upon them, very great Immunities even as far as this Dike. Certain it is that the two Fore-fences last mentioned were called St. *Edmund's Dikes*. And therefore *Matthew of Westminster* (which the Reader may observe) hath written, that the Battel betwixt King *Edward* and *Ethelwald* was fought between the two Dikes of St. *Edmund*. Lastly, by *Ouse* must be meant *Ouse* the Greater, a River which disporting it self with manifold Branches and Divisions, separateth *Cambridgeshire* from *Norfolk*. This is the nearest *Ouse* to the Dike: for *Ouse* the Less

E e

separa-

Who fortifies himself at *Winburn*.

But upon the approach of King *Edward*, flies.

A bloody Battel betwixt the Danes and *Edward*.

The Town of *Creceglade*, where.

*Bradene*.

*Dike*.

*Cnecca*, *gela*.

*Phicum*.

## Sect. 10.

separateth (together with the River *Waveney*) *Norfolk* from *Suffolk*. As for *Ouse* or *Ips* which joineth with *Tame*, and makes the River *Thames*; *Ouse* in *Torkshire*, or others (for this is a common Name of Rivers aswell as *Avon*, and therefore in *British* is thought to have signified a River or Water in general, aswell as it) they can have no relation to the matter in hand.

Which produces a Peace.

44. To pursue our story, whatever was the Success of this Battel it seems to have produced this effect, that in the second year after a Peace was concluded betwixt the King and the *Danes* of East *England* and *Northumberland*, at a place called *Tittingford*, which lasted for the space of three years. Then was it broken, the Annals say not by whom first, but *Hoveden* lays the fault upon the *Danes*, who he says prevaricated with the King, and thereupon he sent an Army of West *Saxons*, and *Mercians* into *Northumberland*, where staying five weeks, it made a great devastation, and having killed very many of the *Danes*, compelled them to renew the Peace they had lately broken. But this Peace the Annals tell us they broke again the year following invading *Mercia*, where, as write *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worcester*, they were met by the *English* at *Totenale* or *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*, and overthrown. King *Edward* was then in *Kent*, and had got together about an hundred sail of ships, besides such as being sent to the Southward, met him at Sea. The *Danes* imagining that he had ship the main of his Forces, took liberty to rove up and down without hope of booty led them, beyond *Severn*. King *Edward* sent before the lightest of his Army, to entertain them, till he himself could be ready to come. Then following with the main Body, he set upon them in their return at *Cambridge* or *Cambridge* in *Gloucestershire*, where he gave them a very great defeat. The Annals relate, that many thousands of them were slain together with *Eowils* their King; but *Huntingdon* mentions two Kings, viz. *Haldene* and *Eowilse*, besides *Other* a Consul as he calls him and eight other Noblemen, whose Names are harsh and without any loss to the Reader may be omitted.

Ethered his Law dies.

Edward is employed in building and repairing several Towns.

45. The year that followed died *Ethered* the Earl or Duke of *Mercia*, the Brother-in-law of King *Edward*, who hereupon took into his Hands the Cities of *London* and *Oxford*, with the Territories thereto belonging. The year after about *Marctimas* he caused to be built the Northern Borough of *Hartford*, betwixt *Memeran*, *Benefican* and *Ligan*, and afterwards in Summer betwixt the Rogation days and Midsummer, he marched with his Army to *Maldene* in *Essex*, and there lay incamped while his Souldiers built the Town of *Witham*. At a good Part of the Countrey formerly subject to the *Danes*, submitted themselves to his Authority, and in the mean time another Part of his Army built the other Borough of *Hartford*, on the South side of the River *Ligan* now *Lea*. But whereas the Annals talk of building these Boroughs of *Hartford*, the Reader must know that that Town which gives name now to the whole shire, was much more ancient, being found in some Copies of *Beda*, called *Herudford* (which some interpret the *Red Ford*, others the *Ford of Harts*) where he treateth of the Synod there holden in the year of our Salvation, five hundred and seventy. Therefore by building some Houses, must be onely meant repairing of the Town. Or chiefly the Castle is to be understood, which standing upon the River *Lea*, tradition reported to have been built by *Edward* the Elder, as enlarged afterward by the House of *Clare*, to which it belonged. By *Memeran* and *Benefican* are meant two Rivolets, which scarcely a Mile off from the present *Hartford*, increase the Stream of *Ligan* or *Lea*, *Benefican* is guessed to be that on which standeth *Benington*, and *Memeran* the other Brook on which *Puckerich* is seated. *Maldene* is that we now call *Malden* in *Essex* upon the River *Chelmer*, even the same with the famous Roman Colony *Camalodunum*, which many Ages since adorned that shore. *Witham* is that now called *Witham*, in the same County, a fair Thorough-fair, a Mile distant from *Egbertford*, and as much from *Blackwater*.

Another rout given the Danes for their Inroads.

46. The year that followed, faith *Huntingdon*, but in the fourth year after say the Annals, *Egbert* being past, the *Danes* from *Northampton* and *Ligeracester*, or *Leicester*, broke the Peace by an Inroad made into *Oxfordshire*, where they committed all Rapine, and made great slaughter of all they met, while another Parity with worse success fell into *Hartfordshire*, where the Inhabitants now taking Courage, and sufficiently injured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove them back and recovered the booty they had taken, withall making themselves Masters of their Horses. In the mean time, *Ethelfleda* the King's Sister, Relict of *Ethered* the Duke of *Mercia*, having the charge of this Countrey behaved herself, as she had done all along in her Husband's Life time, with such

Courage

## Sect. 10.

The Queen of the Britains taken by Ethelfleda Sister to Edward.

Courage and Conduct as she became a great help to her Brother in his Wars, and stoutly defended all those that were under her Care. But the *Britains* who were Neighbours to the *Mercians*, disdainful to be curbed by a Woman, were so bold as to make some IncurSIONS into the *English* Pale. She to divert and chastise them, sent a Party into *Wales*, which easily routed the *Welsh*, took the Castle of *Bricenamer*, and besides thirty four other considerable Captives, brought away Prisoner that King's Wife into *Mercia*. By this *Bricenamer* is to be understood, that we now call *Brecknockmeer*, a Lake of standing water two miles from the Town of *Brecknock*. *Marianus Scotus* witnesseth that this Lady in the year DCCCXXIII, entering into the Land of the *Britains*, wone by assault a Castle at *Bricenamer*, and there took Prisoner the Wife of the King of the *Britains*. But whether this Castle was *Brecknock* it self, or Castle *Dinas*, which standeth over it upon a Rocky Hill, which the higher it riseth, the slenderer and smaller it becometh, is not certainly known, faith Mr. *Camden*. But so far as much as *Dinas* in the *British* Tongue signifies a Palace, and that the Queen of these *Britains* were taken Prisoner, I judge it next door to certainty, that this was the Castle whereof we write.

Her Buildings.

47. But this *Pirago* not onely took Castles and Towns from the Enemy, but is exceedingly celebrated by all Writers, so many the either repaired or built within the *English* Territories. *Hoveden* gives us a list of them, with the time of their building or repairing, which as a memorable piece of Antiquity, we are obliged not to omit. In the year DCCCCV. by command of her and her Husband *Ethelred* that City saith he which in *British* is called *Karlegion*, and *Legacestre* in the Saxon Tongue, was re-edified. Now there were two Cities in *Britain*, which the Saxons called by the Name of *Ligecestre*, from being the Seats of Roman Legions as is thought, though many others for the same reason might have had that Name, one of the *Coritani*, which we now call *Leicester*, and another belonging to the *Cornavii*, and a Roman Colony which we still (retaining the later part of the word) call *Westchester*, and simply *Chester*. Mr. *Camden* was of opinion, that the Town repaired at this time was *Leicester*, which *Ethelfleda* he saith strongly walled about. But we cannot agree with him in this point, because both *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worcester*, say it was that *Legacestre*, which the *Britains* called *Carleon* or *Caerlegion*, by which Name they never called *Leicester*, but if we give credit to their great Antiquary, *Humphry* \* *Lloyd* by that of *Caerbeir*, whence soever the Saxon Name of *Legacestre* was taken, which might first be given it upon some other account than that of a Legion, or rather one but like unto it. It is evident enough, that at the time when those Authors wrote, it had not the Name of *Caerleon*, but that *Chester* had is most certain, and that first by way of Excellency, then alone by it self, the Names of other Places being changed, as of that City which from *Caerwibeling*, by reason of the Roman Legions having changed its Name to *Caer Lleon*, afterwards from a Noble *Britain* that repaired it, received that of *Caerwayn*, and by the *English* is called *Warwick*. But besides this reason for the Name, another as strong may be fetched from the Place. Her repairing and building of Towns was not accidental, but as the Exigency of Affairs required, so as the Countrey might be secured against the *Danes* and *Britains*. Now there could not be so great need for *Leicester* to be reinforced as for *Chester*, which as some say by the Invasions of the *Danes* had been destroyed, besides it was a Frontier Town, and a mighty curb against the treacherous and inconsistent *Welsh*, if such they were indeed as our Writers would make them.

48. In the year DCCCCIX, on the second of the Nones of May, he marched with an Army to a place called *Seargeate*, and there built a strong Castle, and thence to *Brige* seated on the West side of the River *Severn*, where the caused another to be erected. The year following, at the beginning of Summer he went with her *Mercians* to *Tamworth*, and repaired the City. *Florent* of *Worcester* calls the Place *Tamewordin*; *Marianus* *Tamawordia*, but *Matthew* of *Westminster* more truly *Tameworth*, being the same with *Tamworth* in *Staffordshire*, situate upon the River *Tame*, whence it hath part of its Name, and the other half from the Saxon word *þeorð*, which signifies a Farm-House, as also an *Holme* or River Island, any place incompanied with water, as in *German* *Keyferwert* and *Bomelwert*, betoken as much as *Cæsar's* Isle, and *Bomel's* Isle. As long as the Kingdom of the *Mercians* continued, this was one Place of the King's Residence, a Town of great resort and very well frequented. *Hoveden* proceeds and tells us, that in the year DCCCXXI, he built a City called *Eadesbyrig*, and in the end of Autumn another called *Warwick*. *Eadesbyrig*, as several others, was some obscure place; as for *Warwick*, it must not



Sect. 10. by any means be granted that she built it anew, rebuild it she might, as one writes, that it is much bound to her because she repaired it when it was greatly decayed. It was an old Town by the Saxons called *Jappingburg*, but by the Britains *Caequarvic* and *Caeleon*, as we lately hinted from *Guarth*, which in British signifies a Garrison, and from the Roman Legions. For this was their *Præsidium*, or Garrison Town standing in the middle of the Country, as *Præsidium* in the Island of *Corfica* stood in the middle of that Island. These are such as *Hoveden* relates her to have built or repaired. *Matthew of Westminster* adds, that she went to *Stanford*, and there on the Northern Bank of the River *Weilond* repaired a Tower. That the same year wherein she built *Eadesbyrig* (which he calls *Jadefbyri*) she built another Town called *Warrham*. That the year following, she erected three more, viz. *Cherenburc*, *Weadburc* and *Runcoc* (now *Ruckhome* in *Cheshire*, brought by mutability of time to Cottages) to which some add *Stafford*, *Litchfield* and *Shrewsbury*.

*Huntingdon*  
*Cerbury*  
*Wardburc*  
*Runcoc*

49. What *Matthew* ascribes to her concerning *Stanford*, *Marianus* attributes to her Brother King *Edward*, writing that he built a Castle, but it was just over against the Town on the Southern Bank, as the Annals also affirm, which now is called *Stanford Barrow*, of which yet at this day there appeareth not the least token. *Weadburc* is now *Wedsborough* a Town in *Staffordshire*. But as for *Stafford* it self, it's ancienter than so being called *Betheney*, before it had the Name of *Stafford*, but a Castle was here built about the year of our Lord DCCCXIV, on the South Bank of the River *Sow*, which *Marianus* attributes to King *Edward* himself, which might be, because in his Reign it was erected. *Lichfield* was also ancienter, being by *Beda* called *Licidfeld*, which one interprets the Field of dead Bodies, from a Number of Christians which were there martyred under the Persecution of *Dioclesian*. And as for *Shrewsbury*, whensoever and by whomsoever it was built, it rose from the Ruines of old *Eboracum* now called *Wroxeter*, which being an ancient City of the Romans fell to decay in the Saxon and Danish Wars. Some four Miles from it arose that we now call *Shrewsbury*, in old time *Pengwern*, that is the Head of an old Alder, or and high Plat of Ground planted with Alders, in which fence by the Saxons termed *Scrobdesbyrig* from its being a thicket of Shrubs upon an Hill. It was the seat of the Petty Kings of Powis sometime, and when taken out of the Hands of the Britains might be new fortified and repaired, which our Builders to aggrandize the Act of this Heroical Lady call *Buildiger*. For this is observed of her, that such Places as were repaired by her were such as by her Valour and Conduct, were formerly wrested by her out of the Hands of the Enemy. But that we may conclude this story of this Lady all together, the year after she had taken the Castle of *Bracknock* from the Britains, a little before *August* she set upon the Town of *Derby* then in the Hands of the Danes, took it by storm, after that they refused Battle in open Field, and then subdued all the Country round, though with the loss of four of her choicest Officers who were slain at the Entry of the Gate. *Huntingdon* adds that after this Victory she conquered *Leicester* with the greater part of the Danish Army that lay in these parts, as also that those of *Tork* promised submission, and all good deportment. After this Convention, this most prudent *Virago* to be preferred before the ancient *Amazons* in the opinion of *Ingulphus*, died at *Lamworth* twelve days before the Feast of St. John, in the eighth year of her Government of *Mercia*, and was buried in the Porch of St. Peter in *Gloucester* by her Husband. *Huntingdon* farther writes, that she was reported to have been a Woman of so great Power, that by some she was not only called Lady and Queen, but King also, out of admiration at her worth. She left one only Child, a Daughter named *Alwina* (or *Algina*) for it's said that abhorring the pains of Childbirth after she was born, she would never more accompany with her Husband. To which passage *Ingulphus* adds, that in respect of the Cities she built, the Castles she fortified, and the Armies she managed, one would have thought she had changed her Sex. *Matthew of Westminster* tells us, she made her Daughter her Heir (of her Kingdom he terms it) but King *Edward* so far understood his interest, that within a year he sent for his Niece into *Wessex*, and seized *Mercia* into his own Hands.

After whose death Edward seized on Mercia.

50. That we may now return to him. The year after that *Derby* was taken, a new Fleet of Danes from the Southward arrived at *Lidwic* in *Devonshire*, under Conduct of two Captains, called *Ottor* and *Road*. Sailing Westward about the Lands end, they entered the mouth of the *Severn*; where landing, they wafted the North Welsh Coast, and coming to *Ircingafelda*, they there took *Cameleac* a *Leige* Bishop, and carried him away to their Ships, whom afterward King *Edward* released.

*Annal. ad An. DCCCXXIII.*

deemed with forty Pounds. As they proceeded, the Inhabitants of *Hereford*, *Gloucester* Shires, with others out of other Cities opposed their Progress and put them to flight, killing their Captain *Road*, with the Brother of *Ottor* and very many others. They pursued them into a Wood, where they besieged them till they had given security for departing out of the King's Dominions. The King hovered with his Army between *Severn* and *Avon*, so that they durst not touch upon those Quarters, except in a stealing manner twice by Night, and then they came short home, being all cut off, but some that by Swimming escaped to their Ships: The rest being almost all famished in a small Island, removed from place to place, till at last about Martinmas time they passed over into *Ireland*, this was the Issue of this Invasion, and the Country enjoyed a breathing time from these Calamities. Those that bore the greatest brunt of this Storm were the *Herefordshire* men, especially those of that part of it which from *Gildenevale* declining and bending Eastward, was in those days called *Ircingafelda*, and at this time with like variation *Ircenfeld*, but in Doomsday Book *Archenfeld*, which Book signifies that certain Revenues by an old Custom were there assigned to one or two Priests, on condition that they should go on Embassies for the Kings of *England* into *Wales*. And whether it was in memory of their Sufferings and Service in this Inroad of the Danes, the said Book hath this farther Observation: *The Men Archenfeld whenever the Army marcheth forward against the Enemy, by a Custom make the Vant Guard and bring up the Rere in their Return.*

He forces the Danes in Back and Bedfordshire to submit.

51. The Pirates being gone, King *Edward* to secure himself better from the Attempts of their Country men who lived about the Shires of *Buckingham* and *Bedford*, and full were ready to joyn with any fresh Gametlers, led his Army to *Buckingham*, where he staid an whole Month, and gave order for raising Forts on each side of the River *Ouse*. This it seems so startled the Danes that judging that they could not now do better, several of them submitted themselves, as *Thurcytel* an Earl, together with most of the considerable men about *Bedford*, and many of them that belonged to *Northampton*. This obliged him the following year to go down to *Bedford*, which soon yielded it self to him whither then repaired such as had been formerly on his side. Here he also staid a Month and took care for building a Burh, as the Annals call it, on the Southside of the River *Ouse* which *Townelate*, as the best Copies of *Hoveden* have it, was in the Saxon times called *Micelgate*. The year following, somewhat before Midsummer, he went again to *Maldon*, where he built another Burh and fortified the Town, and in this year *Thurcytel* finding he was like but to have a small Trade here, where the King so minded his business, got leave to carry over some men into *France*, where he knew his Countrymen might find him employment. And the King followed on his business indeed. The next year before *Easter* Holydays he went to *Toucester*, which he caused to be fortified, and about Rogation Week caused a place called *Wiggamere* to be built and strengthened. That *Toucester* is now the Town called *Torcester* in *Northamptonshire*, in the Roman times *Tripontium*, from three Bridges made over so many Channels, into which the little River divideth it self. *Marianus* names it *Toucester*, writing that it was so fortified in the year of our Redemption DCCCXVII, that the Danes by no means could win it by Assault, and that King *Edward* the Elder afterwards incompassed it with a stone Wall. Yet now no Tokens of any such Wall appear. Only there's an Artificial Hill remaining, which they call *Beryhill*, turned into Private Gardens. *Wiggamere* is now called *Wigmore* a Town of *Herefordshire*, not far from the River *Lug*.

Several Skirmishes betwixt the Danes and Edward.

52. While *Edward* was busied about the Fortifications of *Wigmore*, the Danes of *Northampton* and *Leicester* not being well pleased to find themselves curbed with so many strong Towns, laid Siege to *Torcester*. For a whole day they belaboured it, but it standing stilly out till Supplies came to them, they went their ways by Night, but were pursued and surprized betwixt *Barnwood* and *Eglebyrig* or *Aylebury*, where many of them were taken with the loss of much of their Baggage. Much at the same time the Danes of *Huntingdon*, not judging their Castle convenient enough demolished it, and being assisted by those of East *England* built another at *Temesford* as more opportune, from whence to make their Excursions. They went also to *Bedford* with intention of recovering that Town, but the Garrison issued out repulsed and slew a great part of them. After this a greater Army was raised both out of East *England* and *Mercia*, which went and laid Siege to *Wigmore*, plundering the Country round about, but after a days tryal the Defendants obliged them to rise and be gone. Hereupon many of King *Edward*'s Friends about these parts gathered themselves together and uniting their Forces went and Besieged

Se<sup>ct</sup>. 10. Besieged *Temsford*, which they took by Assault, therein slew their King together with *Toylea* and *Mannan* his Son both Earls, his Brother and all the rest they could find, for they peremptorily stood it out against them. This *Temsford* is a Town in *Bedfordshire* standing upon the confluence of *Ouse* and another Brook which some call *Tuel*. Provoked or encouraged by the example of their Countreymen the men of *Kent*, *Surrey* and *Essex*, and several out of other places went and laid siege to *Colne Caesle* or *Colcheffer*, and so pertinaciously carried on their Assault that they took it, and put all they found therein to the Sword, except such as had the good hap to escape over the Walls.

53. Hereat many *Danes* both inhabiting the Country and the Port Towns much alarmed gathered themselves together, and being prevented as to the Relief of *Colcheffer* pleaded themselves with the hope of revenging the Injury received upon *Maldon*, but the Inhabitants held out till relief came, which so discouraged the Besiegers that they drew off, but in their Retreat were pursued, and many thousands of them slain, Pirates and others, by those that they hoped to have devoured. King *Edward* being jealous of all their Countreymen hasted this very Summer with an Army of West Saxons to a place called *Paslanham*, so called from passing over the River, now *Pasbam*, a little distant from *Stony Stratford*, where he continued till *Torcester* was incircled with a stone Wall. This had such influence upon the *Danes* of these Quarters, that *Thurferth* an Earl with the Lords of the Towns thereabout, and all their Army as far as *Hampton* North of *Woolind* came and submitted themselves unto him. Now the King's Army desired to return home, yet part of it was ordered to *Huntingdon*, where it repaired the Town and repaired such Breaches as the King had formerly made, upon sight whereof all the People of those Parts submitted, desiring the King's Protection. Then with his West Saxon Forces this very year before Martinmas did he march to *Colcheffer*, which Town he repaired and fortified at what time the People of East England and West England living under the *Danes*, together with the *Danish* Army in East England, swore obedience to him, as well by Sea as by Land fully to observe his Commands. Those of them also that lay at *Grantbrig* took the same Oath as he had commanded. The year following wherein died his Sister *Ethelfleda*, betwixt Rogation Week and Midsummer he went to *Stanford*, where, say the Annals on the Southern side he built a Castle, whereupon all such as held that on the other side, submitted themselves to him as their Lord.

54. By her death all *Mercia*, as we said, fell unto him and willingly submitted, and about the same time *Howel*, *Cledanc* and *Teothwell* the petty Kings of North Wales with all the Northern Britains, put themselves under his Dominion. After this he visited *Notingham*, which he repaired, and therein placed both English and *Danes*, of both which Nations, all inhabiting *Mercia*, now became his Subjects. To pursue and complete his good Fortune, the next year he went down with an Army to *Thelwall* in *Cheshire*, where he took care for the building and fortifying of the Town. The Annals only tell us so much, but *Matthew of Westminster* tells us the reason of the Name, which came from the Bodies of Trees (the Boughs being cut off) fast set in the ground, wherewith he fenced it round: For the Saxons in their Language called the Trunks or Bodies of Trees, *Thel*, and *Wall* as we name it at present. While he staid at *Thelwall* he sent for another Party of Souldiers out of *Mercia*, and ordered them to *Manice Caesle* in *Northumberland* to repair and Man it. This *Manice Caesle* is *Manchester* in *Lancashire* said to be in *Northumberland*, for that this Country, as well as others, North of *Humber* were formerly under the same Kings. Lying so as it doth, it seems to have been quite destroyed in the *Danish* Wars, wherein because the Inhabitants demeaned themselves like very valiant men, their succours will have their Town to have been called *Manchester*, that is, as they expound it, *The City of Men*; in which conceit they wonderfully please themselves. And so they should for me. But one already has told them that *Mancunium* was the Name of it in the time of the Britains and Romans, so that the Etymology thereof out of our English Tongue, can by no means seem so much as probable. He derives it rather from *Main* a British word, which signifies a Stone; because upon a Stony Hill it is seated, and beneath the very Town at *Colyhurst* there are very excellent and famous Quarries.

55. The next year King *Edward* to secure all about him went down with an Army to *Notingham*, where he ordered a Borough to be built on the South side of the River right over against, and a Bridge to be made for intercourse betwixt them. Thence he marched as far as into the Territories of the *Picts*, to a place called *Bedecanwyllan*, where he commanded a Town to be built and strongly forti-

The King of the Scots and several others submit.

Edward dies.

An Account of his Wife Edgna and her Issue.

56. Now did the King of the Scots submit unto him as his Lord and Sovereign, Sect. 10. together with the Scottish Nation it self, *Reginald* the Son of *Eadulf*, and all the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, *English* and *Danes*, in the North as well as in the Southern Parts, as also the King of the *Strangledwall* with all his Subjects. These are the great Achievements of King *Edward*, as they are summarily laid down by the Annals, which speak his Power so great, that no King before him extended his Dominions to such a Proportion. By another we are told that as it were to complete his Felicity, a little before he died he reduced to obedience the Inhabitants of *Chesler* and the Country about it, who having conspired with the neighbouring Britains, had attempted to shake off the Yoke; but he by his diligence prevented the joyning of their Forces, and by his Courage and the terror of his Name, constrained them again to submit themselves. In so great glory he died in his Return toward his ancient Province of the West Saxons at *Faverdun* a Town of *Berkshire*, where for the most part he kept his Court, after he had reigned four and twenty years.

56. He was well nigh as happy in his Issue as in the course and success of his Government, yet not so happy in that of his first Wife because he knew not certainly how to call their Conjunction a Marriage. Concerning their Acquaintance and first meeting together, besides the Monk of *Malmesbury*, *John Brompton* the Abbat of *Jornal* relates, That in the Reign of King *Elfred* when his Son *Edward* was young, there was in a certain Village of the West Saxons the Daughter of a Shepherd called *Edgna*, who falling asleep dreamed that the Moon shone out of her Womb so bright that all England was enlightened by the splendour of it. The Dream she told to a certain grave Woman that had been Nurse to several of the King's Children. She thereupon takes her into her House and brings her up as carefully and tenderly as if she had been her own Daughter, instructing her so to demean her self as might become a Person both of Birth and Breeding. In process of time it happened that Prince *Edward*, the King's Eldest Son, passing upon some occasion thorough this Town, thought himself obliged in honour and good nature to visit his Nurse, which as he did he got fight of this Maid, being exceeding beautiful, and fell passionately in love with her. By his importunity he got her consent to lie with him, and by one Nights lodging she became with Child, which proving a Son in respect to the Mothers Dream, the Father gave him the Name of *Aethelstan*, which signifieth the Most Noble. Some call this Woman his Wife, (he might be Married to her afterwards) and others reckon that Lady for his first, whom he Married afterward. However by her he had another Son named *Elfred*, who died several years before his Father, and a Daughter called *Editha* Married to *Sithric* the Danish King of *Northumberland*. So some write; but *Malmesbury* calls his second Son *Ethelward*, begotten of *Elfreda* Daughter of Earl *Ethelin*, a Prince very well learned and much resembling his Grandfather *Alfred* both in Countenance and Disposition, but he died presently after his Father.

His Issue by Elfreda his other Wife.

57. By this *Elfreda* his (first or second) Wife, besides this *Ethelward*, whom some call *Elward*, he had a second Son named *Edwin*, and a third called *Gregory*, as some write, who forsook the world and became an Hermit; of Daughters good store. As first *Elfreda*, who became a Nun in the Monastery of *Rumsey*, *Egwinna*, called also *Edgitha* and *Edgna*, married to *Charles* the Simple, King of France, Son of *Ludovicus Balbus*, and Grandson of *Charles* the Bald, whose Daughter, as we said, *Ethelwulf* married in his return from Rome; *Ethelbilda* who was never married; *Ethilda* married to *Hugh* the Great Count of *Paris*, to whom the bore *Hugh Capet*, afterwards King of that noble Country; *Edgitha* and *Elgna*, both which their Brother *Aethelstan* sent over to *Henry* Emperour of Germany, who bestowed the first on his own Son *Otho*, afterwards Emperour, and the second on a certain Duke, whose Territories lay near to the Alps. This numerous Offspring he had by his Wife *Elfreda*. By his last Wife *Edgna*, he had two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edred*, who both of them came to be Kings, as we shall see; and two Daughters, viz. *Eadburga*, who became a Nun, and *Edgna* a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, bestowed in marriage by her Brother *Ethelstan*, upon *Ludovic* Prince of *Aquitain*. His Daughters he so brought up, as in their Infancy they all were taught to read and write, and then to use the distaff and needle; by such employments to pass the time of their unripe Virginity: his Sons in such a manner, that first they might be fully accomplished with Learning, and afterward come not rude and ignorant, but like so many Philosophers, to publick business, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* words it.

Sect. 10.

Egbertwald  
514.Athelstan  
crowned.At Kingston,  
whence he  
called.A conspiracy  
against him.York seized by  
Ingulf King  
of the Danes.Northumber-  
land added  
to his Domi-  
nions.

58. Of his Sons, *Ethelward* died a few days after his Father, and by his death, made way for the Succession of *Athelstan*, who though the eldest, and legitimated as it were by the after marriage of his Mother, yet being born of a then Concubine, could hardly have obtained the Crown, by reason of the great love and esteem which was born to *Ethelward*, as well for his own Learning and Vertues, as for the great resemblance he bore to his Grandfather King *Alfred*. He being dead, and the rest of the Sons of *Edward* being too young for to weighty an employment, *Athelstan* by consent of all the Nobility was chosen King, and Crowned at the Royal Town or Village (as *Malmesbury* tells us) called *Kingston*, notwithstanding the foredefignment of his Father in his last Will and Testament, who might possibly guess that his Son *Ethelward* would not be long lived. He was now about thirty years of Age. By his own pregnancy and care of his Parents, he had arrived at very considerable qualifications of mind, suitable to his weighty Employment. For *Alfred* his Grandfather is said to have prefigured to him a lucky Reign, being much enamour'd of him for his great towardsness and the extraordinary elegance of his Features. When he was very young, he conferred on him the dignity of Knighthood, by investing him with a purple Robe, a Belt adorned with Gems, and a Sword of the Saxon Fashion, inclosed in a golden Scabbard. He caused him to be educated in the house of his Daughter *Ethelseda*, the Wife of noble and valiant *Ethelfrede*, that by the instructions and example of so great Captains (such we may term them both) he might by degrees be trained up in such actions as might render him fit for that good Fortune and Condition, which the hopes conceived of him did portend. Accordingly after his Fathers and Brothers, he was Crowned King at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, a Town as some have written, formerly called *Moreford*, and standing upon a flat ground, subject to the Inundation of the *Thames*, which caused it to be removed thither, where now the present *Kingston* stands. The Kings of the West Saxons now found it their interest, being Monarchs of the *English* Nation, to remove their Seat into these Quarters, not so much in respect to *London* (which for opulency and multitude of its Inhabitants, had not been all along these Saxon times so considerable, but sustained great Calamities by Fire) as to the Invasions of the *Danes*, which were frequently made up the River *Thames*, and to be nearer to the East Angles, amongst whom these Rovers had fixed themselves. Therefore *Athelstan*, and after him *Edwin* and *Ethelred*, were openly Crowned Kings at this Town; which from them took the name of *Kingston*.

59. *Athelstan* began his Reign in the sixteenth year of *Constantine* the eighth, Surnamed *Porphyrogenitus*, Emperour of the East, the sixth of *Henricus Aceps*, Emperour of *Germany*, the twelfth Indiction, A.D. DCCCCXXIV. His own defects, and the general affection of the People were not effectual to prevent all inconveniences proceeding from the condition of his Birth. One *Alfred* made considerable opposition against the choice, as of an illegitimate Person, and conspired with his Complices to lay hold of him in the City of *Winchester*, and to put out his eyes. But the Plot was happily discovered, and *Alfred* it seems denying it was sent to *Rome*, there to purge himself before that Bishop, where coming to take his Oath before the Altar of St. Peter, he fell down, and being carried by his Servants to the *English* School, there died the third night after. The Pope would not dispose of his Body, but sent to ask the advice of *Athelstan* what should be done with it, whether it was to be buried amongst those of other Christians. The Nobility and the Relations of *Alfred*, earnestly desired that it might be bestowed in Christian burial, to which the King assenting, and the Pope therewith acquainted, it was accordingly done, and his whole Estate was adjudged confiscate for his Treason. Such good fortune had *Athelstan* against this homebred Enemy. In other places he found little trouble, except on the Northern side of *Humber*; where *Ingalud*, one of the Danish Kings seized upon *York*, and *Sithric* who some time before had killed *Niel* his Brother, by force made himself Master of *Davenport* in *Cheshire*. The Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that he was a Barbarian both by mind and Nation. That he was Kinman to that *Gurmund*, of whom we read so much in the Acts of King *Alfred*, that having proudly contemned the Power of former Kings, now humbly desired the alliance of *Athelstan* by Messengers, whom he himself followed, to make good what they had prayed on his behalf. *Athelstan* found him so considerable, that he gave him in marriage his Sister *Edgitha*. But he enjoyed her but the space of one years, by his death giving occasion to *Athelstan*, of laying *Northumberland* to his own Dominions, to which he might lay claim, saith our Authour, both by an ancient Right, and a new Alliance.

Apud Regium  
Villam que  
vocatur  
Kingston Ca-  
strum.Charles que-  
dam Donatio-  
nem Monaste-  
rio Malmes-  
burienſi  
per ipsam  
Regem Athel-  
stanum apud  
Colinton. Mo-  
nachum de  
Gest. Reg.  
Angl. 12. c. 6.He invades  
Scotland.England in-  
vaded by the  
King.

60. Hereupon *Anslaf* the Son of *Sithric* fled into *Ireland*, and *Godefrid* his Brother into *Scotland*, whom followed shortly after Ambassadors from the King, both to *Constantine* King of the *Scots*, and *Eugenius* King of the *Humbrians*, demanding the Fugitive to be given up, or denouncing a speedy War upon refusal. And as others say, a War indeed he made, passing into *Scotland* with great Powers both by Sea and Land, where he drove his Enemies before him by Land as far as *Dunfedor* and *Werlermore*, and by Sea as far as unto *Cathness*. But *Malmesbury* affirms, that not daring at all to displease him, without fail they came to a place called *Dacor* (or *Dacre* in *Cumberland*) where each delivered up himself and all his into the hands of the *English* King, who was Godfather to the Son of *Constantine*, now ordered to be Baptized in Testimony of the Accord. But for all this *Godefrid* eluded while they were preparing for the Journey, and with one *Turfrid* travelling into several Parts, at length got some Men together, and laid Siege to *Tork*, the Inhabitants of which they assailed both by fair and foul means to let them in, but not prevailing they went their ways, yet were both taken shortly after and shut up in a Castle, whence they escaped by deluding their Keepers. *Turfrid* not long after was Shipwrecked at Sea, and became a prey to the Fishes. *Godefrid*, endured much misery both by Sea and Land, and at last came in the posture of a suppliant to the King's Court, who kindly received him, but after he had been profusely Feasted for four days together, he got him again to his Ships, grew an old Pirate, as accustomed to the water as a very Fish, in the Monk's opinion. In the mean time *Athelstan* demolished a Castle in *Tork*, which the *Danes* had fortified, that therein they might no longer shroud themselves. And the large Booty found in it he divided man by man amongst his Souldiers.

61. But a great tempest began to gather against him in the North-western Parts, where *Constantine* the King of the *Scots* exasperated by the late Invasion joined with \* *Anslaf* the Son of *Sithric* (others but more unprobably will have him not this Son, but another of his Name who was King of *Ireland*, and the Isles adjacent) and drew in *Eugenius* the King of *Cumberland*, with great Forces from several Nations to their Assistance. After preparations of some four years they invade *England* by the River *Humber*, and pass up the Countrey to a place called *Reggi* *Northumberland*, and placeth in *Glenale* of *Northumberland*, *† Brunenburg* or *Bruneford*, which *Camden* placeth in *Glenale* of *Northumberland*, on the *Scotch* Borders; *Athelstan* on purpose giving way, to obtain some better rest, &c. alius *†* *Ann. Brunanburgh*, advantage against them, as some write, or, as others, they being fearful to grapple with him. *Anslaf* perceiving with whom he had to doe, puts off his Royal Ensigns, and becomes a Spy in the habit of a Musician, attending with an Harp in his hand at *Athelstan's* Tent, to which Instrument Singing, he was easily admitted to the King's presence as one who got his living by that course of *Brunanmore* life. There he made them merry till such time as having eaten and drank sufficiently they began to debate seriously about the work they had in hand, and he all the while made what Observations he could, till then he received his wages, and was put out of the Tent. The Money scornful to carry with him, he hid into the Earth, of which a certain Souldier took notice who had formerly served him, and thereby coming to know him, after he was gone acquainted the King. The King blamed him for not giving timely notice, which the Souldier excused as having formerly taken in *Anslaf's* Service the Military Oath, affirming that had he betrayed *Anslaf*, he himself to whom now he was in the same Relation could have expected no more fidelity; but he advised *Athelstan* to remove his Tent into another place. This Advice was looked upon as very good, and how seasonable it was very shortly appeared. A certain Bishop coming to the Camp this night in that very place, as being pleasantly situated, pitched his Tent. Him *Anslaf*, with a design to destroy the King, fell upon, being ignorant of what had passed, and easily killed him with all his Followers.

62. *Ingulfus* (who is more to be credited than any other Historian in this matter) writes, that *Anslaf* though he had brought with him an infinite multitude of *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Scots* and *Picts*, yet either out of diffidence or the craft familiar to his Nation, chose rather by night to surprize his Enemy, than fairly give him Battel in the open Field and by day light. He fell suddenly upon the *English*, and killed the Bishop who was come but that night to the Camp, which causing a great tumult and noise, the King though a Mile off, and his whole Army took the Alarm, and putting themselves into such order as the surprize would give leave, by break of Day came up to the place of the slaughter, where they found the Invaders tired, and disordered by their late travel, and for want of sleep. It happened that *Athelstan* in person leading all the West Saxons, light upon *Anslaf* himself, and *Turketul* his Kinman and Chancellor,

ff

who

\* *Ingulfus* ſci-  
contra quem  
cum *Anala-*  
phus *Sithrici* fi-  
lius quondam  
Regis *Nor-*  
thumbrici  
armis inſur-  
get. &c. alius  
ſub *Anſlaph*,  
† *Ann. Brun-*  
anburgh  
hodie *Brun-*  
anburgh ap-  
pellatur.



Sect. 10

Edwin both by word of mouth and by messengers, by Oaths and Imprecations protested his Innocence. But this would not prevail against the Whispers of Parasites who affirmed, that being driven into banishment, he would be commiserated by foreign Princes, and still more endanger the King. Therefore is such a course found out, as under the Notion of Banishment, may lend him away to his long home. A ship rotten of it self, and not able to endure the violence of the Waves is found out, to the Government of which no mariners are appointed, only he himself and his Page (or Armour-bearer) put therein. For some time they weathered out at Sea, till the young Prince brought up tenderly, and not used to hardship being weary of his life, cast himself headlong, and so perished in the Ocean. His Servant better advised was contented to live, and making use of better fortune, landed with his Master's Boy at a place called *Whitland*, not far from *Dover*.

67. The fact was not long committed before *Athelstan's* Repentance began to follow, which he is said by a few years penance to have testified to the World, as by the Punishment of him who was the principal Instrument in the late Tragedy, and whispered jealousy into his Ears. This was his Cup-bearer, who upon occasion being to present a cup of drink to him, one of his Feet slipped, but by the nimbleness of the other recovering himself, he offered these words: *Thus one Brother helps another*. The King hearing them, and sadly calling to mind how little he himself had helped his Brother, oppressed by the Calumnies of this parasite, caused him to be put to death. This is the tale told by *Malmesbury*, and by *Matthew* the Flowergatherer who delivers it (as many other grand Improbabilities) for a truth, whereas the former tells it as a story of which he himself doubteth. But *Buchanan* the Scotch Writer runs away with it as a certain truth, joyning with it more of the same credit, viz. that he was the Murderer of his Brother *Edred* also, and was vilely suspected to have by his contrivance brought his Father himself to a violent death, forasmuch as Writers give him the Title of *Edward* the Martyr. The very mentioning of these brings the other into suspicion; for that *Edred* survived and succeeded *Athelstan* next but one in the Kingdom is sufficiently known, and the other suspicion shews the Writer both ignorant and malicious. For who but a mere stranger to *English* History, can imagine *Edward* the Martyr the same with *Edward* the Elder, the Father of *Athelstan*? If one consider his extraordinary kindness to, and care for all the rest of his Brothers and Sisters, this will still seem more improbable; for whose sake as some will believe he obtained even from Marriage, making them his Companions in the Kingdom. His mercifulness to his very Enemies, is taken notice of by Writers who generally incline to quit him from this charge of murdering his Brother, as grounded rather upon uncertain fame and rude songs, than upon certain or approved History. Even such as believe him Author of the Fact acquit him from the Crime, by affirming *Edwin* to have practised Treason against his Person.

68. *Athelstan* being dead, after he had reigned sixteen years, though the Annals give him but fourteen years and ten weeks. *Edmund* his Brother a youth of eighteen years of Age, succeeded him in the thirty second year of *Constantine* the Eighth surnamed *Porphyrogenitus* Emperor of *Constantinople*, the fifth of *Osbo* the Great Emperor of the West, A.D. DCCCXCL. In courage he was no way inferior to his Brother. In the second year of his Reign he invaded *Mercia*, which was generally held then by the *Danes*, and putting them out of Power, took from them five Cities, viz. *Leicester*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stanford* and *Darby*, where it seems they had been plac'd by King *Edward*, but at this time it was not thought convenient that they should continue. For from what *Simoon* of *Durham* relates it should appear that he had matter of Jealousie and provocation from the *Danes*, inhabiting *Northumberland*, the King whereof *Anlaf*, from *York*, wasted all Southward as far as *Northampton*, but was met and stop't by King *Edmund* at *Leicester*. Here Peace was made betwixt them by the Intervention of two Archbishops, *Odo* and *Wulfstan*, which was ennobled by the conversion of *Anlaf*, to whom as the Annals witness *Edmund* was Godfather the same year, who also a little after received *Regenald*, another King from the Hands of the Bishop at *South* by *Watlingstreet*. Who this *Anlaf* should be is something uncertain, whether him spoken of so much heretofore or another. *Huntingdon* will have him another, not that *Anlaf* who died this very year. But the Annals are rather to be credited, which two years after call this *Anlaf* (now first of all) the Son of *Sithric*, relating that *Edmund* now drove both him and *Regenald* the Son of *hansa*.

Guthferd

Which is punished with that of the Contrivers.

To *Athelstan* succeeds *Edmund*.Who invades *Mercia*.Subdues *Anlaf* and joins *Northumberland* to his Dominions.

Guthferd out of *Northumberland* which he subdued, and forced to submit to his Sect. 10 Dominion.

Haraldis Comberland, and gives it Malcolm King of Scotland.

69. The year that followed King *Edmund* harassed *Cumberland*, and gave it to *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*, on condition to assist him in his Wars both by Sea and Land. Hitherto, though much distressed and disturbed by their Neighbours, the *Picts*, *Scots* and *English*, the ancient *Welsh* in this Country had continued a kind of State and Government, even after several of them being wearied out, had retired into *Northwales*, and there erected the Kingdom of *Strathclyd*, which we formerly mentioned. From this time they continued under the Power of the *Scots*, but fell again to the Dominion of the *Normans* when they had conquered *England*, and at this day their Country retains the Name of *Cumbri* or *Kumri*, the same whereby the *Welsh* or *Britains* still call themselves, although the Remainers of them still inhabiting these Parts, by reason of continual Commerce with their troublesome Neighbours, have lost the Language which only ticks to certain Towns and Places, not so subject to alteration. But as to this conquest of *Northumberland*, *Matthew* of *Westminster* gives us farther the Circumstances, that *Edmund* did it by assistance of *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, and that he put out the Eyes of both the Sons of *Dunmail* King of the Provinces, whom he had deprived of his Kingdom. Thus did *Edmund* flourish, giving hopes of still greater things to be performed by him, when in the height of the Expectations of his Friends and his own Confidence; a too venturesome act cut him off, and a strange Accident deprived his People of him. The year which followed this Alteration in *Cumberland* he kept the Feast of St. *Augustine*, with many of his Nobles at a Place which has in Writers several Names, but now is called *Pucklekerke* or *Puckle-Church* in *Glocestershire*, in memory of his first converting the *English* Nation. As he late at *Malmesbury*.

Being assisted by *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*.Edmund is stabbed at *Puckle-Church* in *Glocestershire*.

Edred succeeds.

The *Northumbrians* revolt.

70. *Edmund* died not without issue Male, as we shall see hereafter, but his Sons being Infants, *Edred* his Brother, the third Brother of *Athelstan*, succeeded him, and was Crowned at *Kingston*, in the thirty eighth year of *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, the eleventh of *Osbo* the Great, and the DCCCCXVI. year of our Lord. The course of his Actions sufficiently shewed that he did not degenerate from his Ancestours. In his very first year he subdued all *Northumberland*, which ever was revolting by the practices of its petty Princes, and he so ordered his matters by the Reputation hereby attained, that the *Scots* swore obedience to him to will whatsoever he should will, as the \* Annals express it. But the *Northumbrians* ever \* An. unfaithfull, now also shewed the fickleness of their disposition. The Archdeacon DCCCXVI. of *Huntingdon* here talks full of *Anlaf*, as that he should once more be recalled, 70. *Simoon* of *Durham* Reigning four years, again be put to shift for himself. *Simoon* of *Durham* writes of their chusing one *Eric* a Dane, the Son of *Harald*, for their King, against whom *Edred* entered *Northumberland*, and having wasted the Country real 70. he turned. *Eric* fell upon his Rere in his Retreat, which engaged him to faceabout, and prepare to Charge the pursuing Enemy; which so affrighted the *Northumbrians*, that dreading again to prove what they had already sufficiently experienced, they cast off *Eric*, killed *Amanc* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with great Presents appeasing *Edred* again, submitted to his Government, and quitting the Administration of their petty Kings, were thenceforth Ruled by Earls, of which one *Osulf* is reported to be the first. Such is the account we have of this expedition in general, the only particular of consequence is, that *Wulfstan* the Archbishop of *York* sided, at least connived, as *Malmesbury* words it, with his Compatriots in their Revolt, for which he was committed to Prison, where having continued a considerable time (but a year faith *Stubbs*) he was at last pardoned, and released out of respect to his coat and function. As *Edred* thus proceeded to equal the worth of his Predecessours, he was taken away in the flower of his Age, when he had Reigned some nine years and an half, and was buried in the Cathedral Church at *Winchester*.

Are assisted by *Wulfstan* Archbishop of *York*.

Edred dies.

71. By

71. By this time *Edwi*, or *Eadwig* (as the Annals call him) the eldest Son of *Eadric* 1  
*Edmund*, was advancing to Man's estate, and therefore now upon his Uncle's death *Eadwig*  
 was admitted King, and crowned at *Kingston*, in the forty seventh year of *Con-*  
*stantinus Porphyrogenitus* so often mentioned as contemporary, as also the twentieth  
 of *Orbo* the Great, in the DCCCCLV. year of our Lord. He was about fourteen  
 years of Age, of Beauty, much above the ordinary comeliness of Men, which got  
 him the Surname of *Panculus* or altogether Fair; which Youth and Beauty expo-  
 sed him to the Arts and Allurements of bad people. He is generally ill spoken  
 of, though by some his actions are not reprehended with that disadvantage,  
 which particular prejudice in other writers may seem a little to have procured.  
 By them he is reported to have given extraordinary offence by his inordinate plea-  
 sure on the very day of his Coronation. There was in his Court a Lady nearly  
 allied to him, who had a Daughter far exceeding her self in Beauty, though she  
 was very handsome, called by the name of *Algina*. Mother and Daughter, by  
 their unchaste deportment, had so insinuated themselves into his favour, that nei-  
 ther he could be quiet, nor any publick business be dispatched without them.  
 The design of the Mother was he should marry her Daughter, yet is she said to  
 have had as vehement a desire to partake of their lusts, which she often did, he  
 being wont shamelessly to embrace the one in the others presence. The Ceremony  
 of the Coronation being over, the Feast was prepared, or else they fell into a fe-  
 rious consultation about publick matters. But the King quits the place, and with-  
 out any regard to so venerable an Assembly as consisted of his Prelates and No-  
 bles, flung away into the chamber of these women, where he cast himself upon a  
 bed betwixt them. The Lords hereat exceedingly fretted, as they had reason,  
 and consulted how to reduce the Youth into their company. This was undertaken  
 by *Dunstan*, Abbat of *Glastenbury*, and *Kinfi* Bishop of *Lichfield*, who was rela-  
 ted to the King, and therefore chosen as one whose authority would sway the  
 more with him. They enter the Chamber and find him in that indecent posture;  
*Dunstan* rebukes the women, and gently reprehends the King, praying him by  
 his absence, not to put so great an affront upon his Nobility. He times, they  
 taunt and scoff, but *Dunstan* takes him by the hand, pulls him from them, sets  
 the Crown upon his Head, which he had cast aside, and brings him back into the  
 Assembly.

72. The women hereat enraged to all degrees of malice and revenge, vowed to  
 procure the ruine of *Dunstan*, which they so far prosecuted, that the King caused  
 all the wealth of his Monastery to be seized, and banished him into *Flanders*, nay  
 to great aversion he conceived against men of his Profession, that miserable  
 was the estate of Monks at that time, as *William* the Monk of *Malmesbury* af-  
 firms; who complains that his Monastery, which for two hundred and seventy  
 years had been inhabited by Monks, was now made a Stable of Clerks, for so he  
 terms it. He and the Aurbour of *Dunstan's* Life, and this Monk are they who tell  
 this story with such tart reflexions upon his Person, which others not so much  
 concerned for the Monastical life, relate more indifferently. However he was a  
 Child, and so apt to be seduced, by the pleasing allurements of women, and the  
 conceit of his Royal Authority, which he looked upon as uncontrollable. But *Odo*  
 the Archbishop, is said to have excommunicated and pronounced a Divorce be-  
 twixt him and his *Algina*, and the People so to have resented the affronts offered  
 to Religious People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and  
 set up his younger Brother *Edgar*, leaving to him the Kingdom of the West Sax-  
 ons only, the ancient Patrimony of his family. As for the two Ladies, *Odo* con-  
 tented not himself with exercising his Spiritual Jurisdiction in cutting them off as  
 putrid Members from the Body of the Church, but by the Council and Assistance  
 of the Nobility, caused by force, and against the Kings will and pleasure, to be  
 drawn out of the Court *Algina* the Daughter, because she did most harm to his  
 King, and being nearer to him in blood, was incestuously used by him as his  
 Wife. But this severity ended not here: they added marks of scorn, defacing  
 her Beauty by branding her Face with an hot Iron; and they lamed her by cutting  
 the Sinews of her Hams, which done, they banished her into *Ireland*. *Edwi* ha-  
 ving been King four years, took these disasters to heart, and died not long after,  
 (some say two years he lived after his Excommunication) and was buried in the  
 new Monastery at *Winchester*.

73. *Edgar* his Brother, a Youth of sixteen years of Age, by his Death became  
 King of all *England*, in the one and fiftieth year of the often mentioned *Constan-*  
*tine Porphyrogenitus*, and the twenty fourth of *Orbo* the Great, A. D. DCCCCLIX  
 No

No sooner was he advanced, but to serve the Interest of the Party that set him up, Sect. 10.  
 in an Assembly held at *Branford*, he revoked all the unjust decrees of his Brother,  
 took care for pursuing, taking, and putting to death the Adulterers of *Edwi*, and  
 for recalling *Dunstan* with great Glory, whom within a little time he promoted to  
 the See of *Canterbury*. Concerning the Government of *Edgar*, *Malmesbury* gives  
 us this short account, that not any one year is mentioned in the Chronicles,  
 wherein he performed not some great thing, and necessary for the good of his  
 Country. Yet suffered his Kingdom no violence, either by domestick Treachery  
 or outward Force, a story going, that *St. Dunstan* at his Birth was told by an An-  
 gel, that Peace should flourish in *England* so long as this Boy Reigned, and as he  
 himself should live. That this Peace and Tranquillity was not obtained by ne-  
 glect and idleness, we may be sufficiently assured from his vast Naval prepara-  
 tions. He understood and practised the true Interest of his Country, which was  
 to give Laws, and to be Master at Sea. He was so wise as to know preventing  
 Physick to be the best, better to hinder the Invasion of an Enemy, than suffer  
 his own Kingdom to be the Seat of a War; which at best must bring devastation  
 and poverty, and make the Conquerour a very great loser by the Victory. He rig-  
 ged up such a Fleet as for number of Vessels, may seem incredible. Every Sum-  
 mer, saith *Malmesbury*, immediately after *Easter* he commanded his Ships upon every  
 Shore to be brought into a Body. He sailed usually with the Eastern Fleet,  
 to the Western Part of the Island; and then sending it back with the Western un-  
 to the Northern, and thence with the Northern he returned to the Eastern, be-  
 ing exceeding diligent to prevent the incursions of Pirates; and Courageous for  
 the defence of his Kingdom against Foreigners, and the Training up of himself and  
 his people for Military employments.

74. Each of these Fleets were so composed of one thousand and two hun-  
 dred Ships, and these also very stout ones, so that the number of all must have  
 amounted to three thousand and six hundred Sail; which \* some of our Authors  
 speak expressly. But others write of four thousand Vessels, and there are that  
 add to these three a fourth Fleet, by which means the number will be encreased  
 to four thousand and eight hundred Sail, as may be seen in *Matthew of Westminster*  
 and the Flowergatherer. To sustain this charge, besides the private Contributions  
 of his Subjects (of which we shall hereafter more conveniently speak) he had  
 Eight petty Kings, who being his Fiduciary Clients or Vassals, were bound to  
 him by Oath to be ready at his Command, and serve him both by Sea and Land;  
 which Oath they took at *Chester*, where he had given them order to meet him, as  
 he sailed about the North of Britain with a great Navy. Their Names are *Ke-*  
*ned* or *Kineld*, King of the *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland* (who at this time it  
 seems hath this Name, though as we said the *Cumbrians* had thrown off that Title,  
 and taken the other of Earls as more modest) *Macpise* of the *Isles*, and five of  
*Wales*, the Names of whom were *Dunval*, *Griffith*, *Huual*, *Jacob* and *Judetbil*.  
 Having these then altogether at his Court at *Chester*, to set forth the Splendour and  
 Greatness of his Dominion, he went one day into a Gally, and caused himself to  
 be rowed by the petty Princes, he himself holding the Stern, and steering the  
 Boat about the River *Dee*: Waited on by all his Dukes and Nobles in another  
 Barge, he sailed from the Monastery of *St. John Baptist*, where an Oration being  
 made to him, in the same state and pomp he returned to his Palace. Here when  
 he Arrived, he is said to have told those about him, that then his Successors  
 might boast themselves Kings of *England*, when by so many Kings they should  
 be so attended, and Arrive, as *Malmesbury* expresses it, at such a Prerogative of  
 Honours. As for these Princes, *Macpise* of *Florent* of *Worcester*, and *Floeden*,  
 is termed a King of very many Islands. *Matthew of Westminster* calls him King  
 of *Man*, and very many other Islands. And *Malmesbury* calls him an Archpirate,  
 by which word a Robber is not to be understood; but as *Affertus* and others of  
 that Age use it, one skilled in Sea affairs, or a Seaman so called from *Pira*, which  
 in the Attique Tongue, signifies Craft or Art, but afterward it came to be appli-  
 cable only to such as without any justice infest the Seas. Not long after, the Go-  
 vernour of a Ship of Pirates, came to be called a Pirate from *Pile*, the name of a  
 Ship in the ancient Gallick Language, some remainders whereof still continue  
 among the *Franks*. After the intolency of these Northern Rovers and Pagans  
 grew so great, all the Maritime Towns throughout Christendom might well be  
 sensible of their danger, and the means of their deliverance, as to express their  
 common Faith, and next their common Refuge under God, on one side of their  
 Coin they stamped a Cross, and on the Reverse a Ship, which gave Original to  
 that,

Sect. 10.  
 Edwi made  
 king.

Who is given  
 to Women.

Revokes his  
 Predecessours  
 Laws, and  
 calls back St.  
 Dunstan.

His Naval  
 preparations.

Is severe to-  
 wards Monks,  
 especially  
 Dunstan of  
 Glastenbury.

Is excommu-  
 nicated.

Part of his  
 Subjects rebel-  
 ling up his  
 younger Bro-  
 ther.

His Mistress  
 punished  
 which he  
 takes to heart  
 and dye.

Mar. Wf.

\* Floeden  
 Florentius  
 Wigorn.







Sect. 10.

St. Dunstan dies.

"cause he had preferred Silver before God himself, Money before an Apostle, and Covertness before him; the Calamities formerly related should speedily come upon him, but he the Bishop should first be dead. And within two years he died, his death being ushered in with strange Fevers upon Men, and Fluxes upon Cattel.

Febris hominum  
et huiusmodi  
que Angli  
Symbolum  
natura. Latine  
Suesum fluxum  
intercurrem  
dici possunt.  
Hoveden.

Suene deprives  
his Father of  
the Kingdom  
of the Danes.

But is afterwards  
ousted by Heric King  
of the Swedes.

Who being  
repulsed else-  
where is en-  
terained by the Scottish  
King.

83. Immediately followed these Mischiefs, which one less than a Prophet might foresee, the Danes, having got a measure of the present weak estate of the Nation through the King's sloth and want of Spirit. But they themselves had at this time a Prince of a quite contrary Disposition, one *Suene* or *Suene-Otto*, as *Adam Bremenfis* calls him, the Son of *Harald* the Great, one so undutifully active as to deprive his Father of his Kingdom. He made use of some whom *Harald* had constrained to profess Christian Religion, which now abjuring they renounced their Faith and Allegiance both together setting up *Suene* against his Father, and declaring War against the old Man, who had therein the fortune to miscarry, and flying to a City of the *Sclavii* called *Jamne* there died of his Wounds. *Suene* now rid of his Father persecutes Christians, and breaths revenge against the *Sclavii*; against whom making War he is twice taken Prisoner by them, and redeemed with vast Treasure. After this *Heric* King of the *Swedes* takes occasion to quarrel with him, and engaging with him in several Sea Fights has the better of him, and at length ousts him of his Kingdom which he quietly enjoys all his life. Thus justly rewarded for his horrid Crimes, he wanders up and down without relief. *Thurco* the Son of *Heco* then Prince of the *Normans* rejected him as a Pagan, and *Ethelred* the Son of *Edgar* (he calls him *Adalread*) remembering what mischiefs the Danes had brought on this Island, with scorn repells him. At length he is entertained by the King of the *Scots*, who taking compassion of him gave him free Quarter for fourteen years together. But so enraged was he at the repulse given him by the King of *England*, that ever after he made it his study how to plague and afflict the Country, sometime by his own peculiar Forces, and sometime by the assistance of others, as we shall see. How true this Story is we cannot assert, the Affairs of the Northern Nations as to those times being involved in so great obscurity. However we thought it not amiss to relate it as suiting with the Fortunes and Inclinations of this man, which proved so great a Plague to this our Country that he seems to have been acted by some extraordinary passion, whether of Revenge or Ambition or both together.

84. Not long after the death of *Dunstan* the Danes invaded the Maritime parts of *Devonshire*, against whom one *Goda* Lieutenant of that County, and *Strenewold* a most valiant Souldier, made head and put them to flight, but died themselves in the Combat. For two years we hear no more of them, but in the third they infested again the Eastern Parts and spoiled the Town of *Ipswich* (then and long after called *Gippwich*, from the River *Gipping*) their Leaders being one *Jufin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steitan*. They were opposed by *Brilnoth* the most valiant Duke of the East Saxons, who fought with them at *Maldon*, where a great Multitude on both sides were slain, but the disadvantage fell to the English by reason of the loss of their Captain. Now were all Havens, all convenient places of Landing filled with the Danes who swarmed in such Numbers into the Land, that it could not be known where most conveniently they might be met with. The readiest course, doubtless, had been for the King to imitate his Father in manning out a float Fleet to scour the Seas. But he was too lazy to follow his example, and as generally the humour of a Prince makes a strong impression upon the minds of his People, especially the Nobility and those near about him, as he lay idle and useless, so they contracted a great Rust; and resolved it was by the Advice of *Siricinus* the Successor of *Dunstan* in the See of *Canterbury*, and of two Dukes *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, that those who could not be beaten with Iron should be bribed with Gold; of which ten thousand Pounds were given them on condition to quit the Country, and no more infest the Coast. An infamous Example (saith *Malinesbury*) and unworthy of men, to redeem their Liberty with Money, which no violence can wrest from an unconquered mind.

185. Thus stoppt their mouths for a year or thereabouts, but then their appetite was more exasperated by what they had already tasted, being taught the way how to come by more. They land again in the North, and set upon *Bebbanburh*, now *Bamborow* an ancient Town in *Northumberland*, built by King *Ida* of which we have formerly spoken, which having taken they Plunder, and then directing their course to the Mouth of *Humber*, they waste the Country on both sides the River, *Lincolshire* and *Yorkshire*, burning all the Houses, killing all the Men, Women

Hoveden ad  
Ann. 991.

Simon Dun-  
elm. ad An.  
DCCCXIII.

They return.

Sect. 16.

and Children, and gather together vast Booty. The Country Men in an hasty and discomposed manner made opposition, but coming to fight, three of their Leaders, *Fraza*, *Frithegist* and *Godwin* being all of them Danes by the Father's side, betrayed them, and procured their defeat. At the same time no less treachery was practised at Sea, not upon the account of Confraternity, but Revenge. It was now thought fit to Man out a Fleet to intercept those Rovers before they could land, the Conduct whereof was committed to *Alfric* the Son of *Elfter*, Duke of *Mercia*; and another Nobleman called *Torold*. This *Alfric*, the King for some offence had formerly Banished, but now recalled, yet the affront had so inflamed him with malice, that being sent from *London* to surprize the Danes in some place of disadvantage, over night he gave them Intelligence, and then fled to them, as writes *Florent of Worcester*, which his Fleet perceiving pursued him, and took the Ship wherein he fled, yet he by some other convenience escaped from them, but by chance falling upon the East Angles they killed and drowned many of them. But *Huntingdon* says, that the Danes being forewarned by *Alfric*, not only all escaped, but afterward with greater number of Ships setting upon the King's Navy killed many of the *Londoners*, and led away in triumph many of their Ships, together with *Alfric* the Consul, as he calls him.

Wasting East  
England and  
other Parts.

Suene with  
Anlaf King  
of Norway  
makes another  
Invasion.

Anlaf bought  
off.

86. By this time was *Suene* King of *Danemark* arrived, who had brought to his Assistance *Anlaf* (or as some call him, *Olaf* the Son of *Thurco*) King of *Norway*, and with a Fleet of nine Gallies entered the *Thames*. On the day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin they set upon *London*, endeavouring to break into and Burn it when it was scarcely rebuilt, but the Citizens so stoutly behaved themselves that by the assistance of God and the Virgin, as the Monks write, they forced them with great loss to retire from the Siege. Exasperated by this repulse, they forced them to invade *Essex* and *Kent*, which they waste with Fire and Sword, especially the Sea-coasts, and then pass into *Suffex* and the Province of *Southampton*, where they burn the Villages, spoil the Fields, and without respect to either Sex, rage with all cruelty against Mankind and enrich themselves with great plunder. As length they horse their Foot, and then through many Countries make their outrageous progress, where they commit the same violence sparing neither Sex nor Age. To put a stop to their march by any force no preparation was made, the sluggish King and his as drowsie Counsellours implore again the aid of money, which by his Embassadors he offers to them to take them off from their furious courses. The sum agreed on was sixteen thousand pounds, in expectation of which they retire to their Ships and pass to *Southampton*, where they winter. This being a time for Complements rather than Action, *Anlaf* the *Norwegian* King received Hostages for his safety, and accepted of *Ethelred's* invitation to his Court which then was at *Andover*. Being royally entertained and accepted the King's Son at Confirmation (or Baptism) as also nobly presented, he engaged to depart the Land and molest the Kingdom no more; and accordingly returning to his own Country he kept his word.

Other Hostil-  
ties acted by  
the Danes.

87. This was no ill advice given to *Ethelred*, to take off from *Suene* so powerful an Assistant. But as Arms signify little abroad except there be good Council at home, so in cases of Hostility, Invasions especially, Consultations without strokes will not avail to remove a warlike, unfaithful and pertinacious Enemy. The influence of the late Tribute or Bribe operated but for three years, or scarcely so much, and then the Danes that had Wintered at *Southampton* and staid in *England*, fetching a compass about *Wessex*, entered the Mouth of the River *Severn* where passing they wasted *North Wales*, *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, and burning very many Towns killed multitudes of poor People, which done they fetch another compass about *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, where having acted the same Hostilities at last they came to *Tauestock* and there Wintered. The next year they failed to the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and wasted the greatest part of *Dorsetshire*, which done they made many Incursions into the Isle of *Wight*, and thence often returned into *Dorsetshire* so long as they continued in the Island receiving Provisions out of *Suffex* and *Hampshire*. The English several times made Head against them, but still as they were going to fight were hindered either by treachery or some other misfortune, and turned tail against their Enemies. The year that followed they had the confidence to come nearer to *London*, passing through the Mouth of *Thames* to the River *Medway*, up which they advance to *Rocheber*, and laid Siege to it. The Kentish Men took the Alarm and gave them a sharp Encounter, wherein many fell on both sides, but the Danes remained Masters of the Field. Now they horse their Foot, and spoiled in a manner all the West

Huntingdon.  
ad Ann. 13. Re-  
gis. Edm. I.  
Florent. Wi-  
gorn.

Simon Dun-  
elm. ad Ann.  
DCCCXIII.

Simon Dun-  
elm. ad Ann.  
DCCCXIII.

Sect. 10.

tern Coast of *Kent*, which things at last roused *Ethelred* and his Counsellours, so that they prepared both a Fleet and Land Army confisting most of Foot. But King and Commanders being all alike, they delayed their march from day to day, and oppressed the Countrey where they lodged. Neither the one nor the other Army, did any thing at all tending to the publick good, but burthened the People, wasted the publick Treasure, and by their ridiculous and effeminate carriage more imboldened the Enemy to proceed, who the year following passing over into *Normandy*, upon what account we know not, at their return did more mischief than before.

Item ad 4th.

Another invasion of the Danes.

88. King *Ethelred* and his Officers dare peep out when there is none left to hurt them, and are grown so valiant, that who is he that dare oppose them. They not only threaten the absent Enemy, but go to seek some out in *Cumberland*, where and in the Isle of *Man* the *Danes* of the old standing, lived as quietly as did the Natives. These unarmed People they set upon, harass all the Countrey with a Land Army, the Fleet being ordered to sail about and meet them, which hindered by contrary winds, it could not doe but those that were therein shipt, saw there was no danger of Foes in the Isle of *Man*, and therefore landed and overran it. But the *Danes* the next year returning out of *Normandy*, entered the Mouth of the River *Exe*, and presently laid siege to *Exeter*, the wall of which they battered, refusing to storm it; yet did the Inhabitants receive them so warmly, that not liking their entertainment they thought fit to retire, and vent all their malice on the poor Countrey which went sadly to wreck, having none but helpless People to defend it, which were murdered in great multitudes, after the loss of their Goods and Houses. At length those of *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire* assembled themselves together, and made some resistance at a place called *Penbo*, but being overpowered in Numbers were repelled with great slaughter. This both incouraged and enraged the insolent Enemy, who now horning all his men, did greater mischief in *Devonshire* than ever, and so returned to his ships, wherein he passed to the Isle of *Wight*, and sometimes in it, and other whiles in *Hampshire* and *Dorsetshire*, without any resistance followed his ordinary course of Life, doing such Execution by the Sword against Men, and by fire against Villages, that he affrighted every thing called *English*, from meddling with him either at Sea or Land. The King good man, was not a little troubled, and his People bemoaned one another with one Finger in the Eye, and another in the Mouth.

A third Summ paid to purchase Peace, and the departure of the Danes.

An Alliance betwixt Ethelred and Richard Duke of Normand.

89. At length they shake their Pockets, where finding something still rattle, they are again suddenly comforted, and a gay and effeminate Courier called *Leoff*, by advice of the Nobility with great Vapours, but fitter to eat than fight, except in the Combats of *Venus*, is sent to offer to the *Danes* a bountifull Present from the King who, brave Soul (they must know) did it out of his Munificence not any necessity that he or his had to court them. A third Tribute, for so it must be called is accepted but the sum inhaunc'd to twenty four thousand Pound, which paid down, the *Danes* abstained till the next time from all Hostility. The Messenger *Leoff*, while the business was transacting, basely killed another Nobleman as valiant as himself, one *Eafic* one of the King's best Officers, for which he underwent the pains of Banishment. *Ethelred* having done so great a work as to buy off his Enemy, in the strength of Reputation gained thereby, resolves to make a new Alliance. He had formerly had a quarrel with *Richard Duke of Normandy*; the first of that Name about his entertaining and protecting certain dangerous Persons that had fled the Kingdom, and it arose to so high terms, that *Pope John* the Fifth, whose Letter is extant in *Malmesbury's* History, was fain to interpose and dispatch his Legate into *England*, by whose mediation the King was wrought to send his Commissioners to *Reven*, where a piece was happily concluded. Now though we cannot say, that the falling out of Lovers here, proved the renewing of Love, yet their falling out proved the occasion at length of Love-matters. For after about ten years the Wife of *Ethelred* being dead, he asked and obtained the Daughter of *Richard* in marriage, which having now gallantly freed himself from all solicitudes, he had time and opportunity to solemnize. A great Train of the chief of his Nobles is sent to fetch the Lady, more being found ready to go upon this errand, than to fight against the *Danes*, and into *England* they bring her with wonderfull magnificence. Her name was *Emma* called by the *English* *Elgina* a Lady of admirable beauty, whereupon she was styled the *Flower and Pearl of Normandy*. Her Mother's name was *Gunnor*, descended from an eminent *Danish* Family, and therefore did the King enter upon this great Design, out of greater reasons of State. For it was hoped, that her interest might be able

to

A bloody Massacre of the Danes here in England.

Inhumane Cruelties.

Which are related to Swene King of the Danes.

Who prepares for an Invasion.

to work upon the unreasonable *Danes*, and so save him both blows and money. Sect. 10.

90. Such was the great Plot when he entered at first upon the treaty of marriage, the full advantage yet of which he did not then thoroughly understand. But having fully perceived the strength of his Alliance, he scorned now to buy a peace, he would by his actions command one, and make the Barbarians pay dear for all the Extravagancies they had committed within his Kingdom. One would now think he would rouse up himself, take the Field, provide himself by Land, of stout and experienced Souldiers, by Sea of skillfull Mariners such as knew how and durst effect such gallant Orders as he should send them. The *Danes* had by the Sword done much mischief, and by the Sword indeed he resolved they should be punished, they had broken many Leagues and Treaties, and it was no crime to deceive the Deceiver. But this must be done, not in the Field but at their private Houses, not by a fair Enemy but through surprise, not by a fight, but in a Massacre, Letters being sent into all Countries, commanding all the King's Subjects upon a certain day (the ninth of July) to set upon them, and without mercy to destroy them all. The pretence was (as no Massacre but has such kind of excuse) that they had a Design to deprive him of his Kingdom and Life, and to destroy all the Nobility, that so they might bring the whole Island into their own Dominion. The Command was executed, and the *Danes* thereby, who by a League solemnly sworn had been admitted to inhabit quietly amongst the *English*, were most shamefully and barbarously murdered. No Sex or Age escaped. The Women were butchered as well as the men, and the Brains of Children dashed against the walls. At *London*, when execution was to be done, many of them fled into a certain Church of that City, but so sacred a place was no security, for they were all without pity murdered as they stood by, and embraced the Altars. The Archdeacon of *Lincoln* informs us, that when he was a Child he heard some very old men who lived at that time, report that the King sent private Letters into every City, wherein Order was given to set on the *Danes* unawares, and either kill them by the Sword, or burn them to death. But they found out other Devices when they perceived themselves Masters of their Game. They were so barbarous in their revenge, that they digged holes in the ground, and therein set the *Danish* Women up to the middle, which done they set fierce Massives upon them, which cruelly tore off their Breasts.

91. A Popular fury, especially, when backed by Authority knows no bounds, nor Authority it self, when it has broken the bounds of publick Justice. There were several Persons of great Quality in the Land, received upon the publick Faith as Hostages, to ratifie the Peace lately accorded. Among the rest a Princess called *Gunildis*, the Sister of King *Swane*, and Wife to a Count whose Name was *Paling*. She had several years before this come into *England* with her Family, where she received the Christian Faith. She was a Woman of great prudence and temper, had often interposed to make Peace between the Nations, and now lately had given up her self, her Husband and her only Son as Hostages to King *Ethelred*. Duke *Edric*, to whose care she was committed, caused her Husband and her Son before her Face to be pierced through with four Lances, and after that her self to be beheaded. She most gallantly and undauntedly took her death, not the least fear or change of colour appearing in her Face, but assured the Murderer, that her blood would cost *England* very dear; which she might easily say without gift of Prophecy, scarcely ever any Massacre having happened, which procured not to the Actours much farther trouble. But that day that the Order was executed at *London*, where lay in the Streets vast heaps of dead Bodies, some of our Men of the *Danish* Nation, more swift than their Purifiers seized on a Boat in the *Thames*, with which adventuring to Sea they passed over to *Denmark*, and there related to King *Swane*, the butchery of their Countrymen in *England*. The King hereat conceived such sorrow as was answerable to the matter related, and assembling his Princes together, acquainted them with the Tragical Act, and desired their Advice what was to be done. Inflamed with rage and grief for the loss of their Relations, they resolved that Revenge was to be taken with all the force the Kingdom could make, whereupon they were sent back into their several Countries to make Preparations, and Posts were dispatched to the Neighbouring Nations, to invite all strangers to join with them in the Expedition, wherein they proposed to them great hopes of vast Spoils and rich Possessions. King *Swane*, now resolved to make another sort of War than formerly, not like a Pirate by taking Advantages and flying here and there, but like a just Enemy to push for all, and conquer the Kingdom. And his Provocation being just, he prospered accordingly.

92. This

Sect. 10.

The account  
of the Massa-  
cre,

92. This is the Account of the Massacre, as it is given us by the Generality of our Historians, all who charge King *Ethelred* alone with it, affirming, that his heart being puffed up with pride after his second Marriage upon confidence of his Alliance, on slight suspicions he exposed the *Danes* to the Revenge and Fury of the People. But the Monk of *Westminster*, who disagrees in the Account of ten years from the rest, has a story to tell by himself of one *Huna* General of the King's Forces, and his chief Minister, he taking notice of the Infoleness of the *Danes*, who infupportably arrogant they were grown after the late Agreement, forcing the Wives and Daughters of the *Englifs* of best Quality, and offering them all the Affronts imaginable, made a grievous complaint hereof to *Ethelred*, who conceiving from his words an implacable Indignation, by advice of the said *Huna*, sent his Letters above said into all the parts of the Kingdom. Whencefoever the Suggestion was received the thing was done by the King's Command, and so much innocent blood so perfidiously shed, crying for vengeance, procured him the loss of that which by this means his pretences were to preserve. The *Danes* lost no time, but also as the Spring opened, the frozen Seas with a powerful Fleet invaded *England*. Some say their first Hostility was acted upon *Torkshire*, where King *Snoane* leaving his Forces to refresh themselves, after their Voyage, failed into *Normandy*, and there with the Duke made a firm and perpetual League, by virtue whereof, the *Normans* were to have all the Spoils got in the War with *England*, sold to them at reasonable rates, in recompence for which privilege all that were sick or maimed in the *Danish* Army should have as kind entertainment in *Normandy* as if they had been in *Denmark* it self. But our Authors who trace the Steps of the *Danes*, make no mention of this Invasion of *Torkshire*; and though *Ethelred* doubtless contracted great obloquy and reproach from his Neighbours by the late Massacre, yet can we scarcely believe that the *Norman* would join in a League against so near an Ally as the King of *England*.

Matth. West-  
mon. ad Anti-  
1002.

Walsingham.  
Gemitic. de  
Duc. Norm.

The *Dances*  
land, waſting  
the *Country*.  
in ſeveral pla-  
ces.

93. The first Impression they certainly made was upon the South Western Parts, where by the Folly or Treachery of *High a Norman* Count indeed, whom Queen *Emma* had preferred to the Government of *Devonshire*, they broke into *Exeter*, and having demolished the City walls from the East to the Western Gate, retired with great plunder to their Ships. After this they waited *Wiltshire*, where a strong Body of Men, drawn partly out of that Countrey, and partly out of *Hampshire*, advanced to give them Battell. But when the Armies were come within sight of each other, *Affric the English* General, whose Son's Eyes the King had lately put out for his Fathers betraying the Fleet unto the *Danes*, now it seems intending to be revenged upon the King, counterfeited himself sick, and feigned a fit of vomiting, wherat the Army discouraged, instead of fighting eveyed a fit of vomiting, wherat the Army discouraged, and laughing in his sleeve at Fry Man blifted for himself, which *Swane* perceived and laughing in his sleeve at the mad Conduct of the *English* Affairs, went to *Wilton*, which he plundered and burnt, and having dealt in the same manner with *Salisbury*, then returned to his Ships. The year following to the Coasts of *Norfolk* he failed, where he landing, he plundered and burnt *Norwich*, using such expedition that he surprized *Wylketel* the Duke of the East Angles, and a very stout Commander, who having no time to leavy an Army, took advice with the Nobility of his Province, and made Peace with him. But this Peace *Swane* perfidiously brake, after a Fortnight or three Weeks time stealing from his Ships to *Therford*, which he plundered, lodged one Night in it, and the next day set it on fire. *Wylketel* having notice of his expedition, ordered a Party to go and burn his Ships in the Harbour, which they either durst not attempt or neglected to doe. He in the mean time with what secrecy and speed he could gathered together his Forces, and marched courageously against the Enemy, and as they retreated to their Ships made a fierce onset. But he was inferior in Numbers, and therefore most of the best Quality among the Eastern *English* lost their Lives. The *Danes* also received very great loss, and with difficulty recovered their Fleet, which they had never done, had all the Force of East England been present. They conspired that in the Island they never met with so rough an Engagement, as this they had with *Wylketel*.

Sim. Dunelm.  
ad Ann. MIII  
Huntingd.  
Hoveden.

g, Sim. Dunelm.  
i ad Ann. MIV.

Then followed a Great Famine by Land

94. The following year happened to great a Famine, that it forced a Cella-  
on, driving *Swane* back into *Denmark*, but supplied, as it were, the Place of his  
Sword in the Destruction of the poor People of *England*, as many of which are  
said to have perished by Hunger, as formerly had done in a year by his Cruel-  
ty. Most dreadful was the Estate of *England* at this time, which all sorts of  
mischief contended how to harass. A King it had so stout and warlike, that as if he  
had been born to sleep, and nothing else, was little moved by any of its Calamities, or

Sim. Dunelm.  
ad Ann. MV.

or if at some time he began to awake and rous'd himself upon his Elbow, yet either his own drowsiness or his adverse Fortune pulled him down to slumber again. The guilt of his Brother's Blood lay heavy upon him. No man can well reckon how many Armies at length he raised, how many Fleets he rigged, how often he gave out orders to his Officers, but all this to no purpose. For these Armies wanting the Authority and Courage of a Prince to give them life, and being rude and undisciplin'd either mouldred away before they came to Action, or else easily were overthrown when they came to it. In War the presence of a General avails much; much his known and approved Valour, but especially Exercise and Discipline, which these Armies wanting procured irreparable mischiefs to the Inhabitants, and afforded matter of scorn and mirth to the Insulting Enemy; a sort of Men most rapacious if not restrained by force, but if vigorously opposed base and cowardly. What the sluggishness and cowardice of the Prince and People effected not, the Winds and Weather procured; for when the Ships lay at Anchor upon the Coasts for their security, suddenly would a Tempest arise and dash them to pieces one against another. And what all these still left unfinished was completed by treachery, folly or fearfulness of Officers. If they met at any time in Council they never agreed in their Opinions, seldom did the Major part concur in anything that was seasonable and fit to be done, having ever a greater respect to their private animosities than the publick good; but if it chanced at any time that they hit upon a point convenient, their Councils were speedily betrayed to the *Danes*. For besides *Elfric* the Son of *Elfric* who murdered the late King, there was one *Edric* whom the present had made Earl of *Mercia*, the dreggs of Men (so the Monks words it) the opprobrium of the *English*, a flagitious Glutton, a crafty Knave who had not been enriched by any thing received from his Ancestours, but by his own prating and boldness. This Fellow being a crafty Dissembler, and an egregious Counterfeit, as a faithful Councillour would dive into the King's Secrets, and like a base Traitor discover them. Often was he sent to the *English* to mediate a Peace, and as often stirred them up to prosecute their former course of Hostility. *Disfketel* or *Dilil* (as he calls him) was the onely Man that made any considerable resistance. At length that no sort of misery might be wanting, what War had left, that Famine destroyed; and the Enemy so freely and without controll ranged about the Countrey, that from any place within fifty Miles distance from the Sea they fetcht away all they pleased without the least jealousy of any Ambushes, or the least fear of Intercepting.

Sect. 10.

**r** *Malmstedt*

### Tempests at Sea.

And the Treachery of *Edric*, which ruined the Nation.

### Another Invasion.

95. The year following in *July* an innumerable multitude of *Danish* ships were driven Du-  
seen in *Sandwich* Road, whence swarms of *Rovers* overran *Kent* and *Sussex*, sparring *Adm.*  
neither *Man* nor any thing else more than they had done formerly. King *Ethelred* *M/II*  
to oppose them raised an Army out of *Mercia* and *Welf Saxony*, but never  
could engage them, for they thifted from place to place, not thinking it fit to haz-  
ard a *Battel*, and robbed as they could ; so that till *Winter* they confumed the  
time, and retired then with infinite Booty to the Isle of *Wight*, and there staid  
till *Christmas* : when understanding that the King was in *Shropshire* (where if he  
could not kill *Enemies* he could murder *Subjects*, procuring by means of *Edric*,  
as was thought, *Alfhelda* Duke of great value to be slain, and the Eyes of his  
two Sons to be put out) they overran *Hampshire* and *Berkshire* as far as *Reading*  
and *Wallingford*, which they burnt with other places. Thence passed they to *Af-*  
*down*, and coming to the River *Kenet*, found the *Inhabitants* of the *Country*  
make head against them, but they engaged and easily routed them, and thence  
without molestation, returned to their ships. The King and his *Courtiers*  
were sufficiently tired by that Dance the *Danes* had led them : They thought they had  
done as much as reasonably could be expected from *Mortal* men ; no course re-  
mained to be taken with these cowardly pilfering *Villains*, but to give them more  
Money, a thing which a generous *Soul* values not. They sent to them again and  
offer to buy them off from their *Ravenous* course, but the price is still increased,  
it being as easie to obtain more as less of such easie *Enemies*. The *Sum* is now fix  
and thirty thousand *Pounds*, which is raised of the *People* throughout *England* al-  
ready ruined by their *Rapines*. And if some tell true, whom we are not wil-  
ling to believe, *Ethelred* in the Agreement of this year *MVII*, yielded to pay an  
Annual *Tribute* of thirty fix thousand *Pounds* to the *Danes*, for a longer continu-  
ance of the *Peace*. We read indeed that he yielded to the payment, but nowhere  
do we read or find that he did pay it and stood to his word. This year it was  
that *Ethelred* advanced *Edric*, surnamed *Streeme*, to the Dukedom of the *Mercians* ;

*Chronic. Mel-*  
*cosense MS in*  
*Biblioth. Cor-*  
*toniana.*

H h

3

Sect. 10.

a Fellow who having raised himself, as we said, to a great Estate by his cunning and a plausible Tongue, proved shortly a mighty Instrument in the ruine of England.

A Tax for Shipping.

96. The next year produced something laudable, which shewed the King to have a little care of his Estate. He enacted, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land should set out a Gally, and every nine \*Hides find a Corlett and Head piece, and throughout all England he commanded ships apt to be built; which being made ready, he Victualled and Manned with choice Souldiers, and appointed their Rendezvous at the Port of Sandwich, to secure the Bounds of his Kingdom from the Irruptions of Foreigners. Now a Hide (as the Archdeacon of Huntingdon and several others tell us) was *so much Land as a man could Till in one year with one Plough*, being the same with *Cassata* and *Carucata* in barbarous Latin. That it was a custome to tax the richer sort by the number of Hides in those days is very evident both from the *Saxon* Laws and the Breviary or Notitia of England, called *Doomsday Book*. But as for what *Huntingdon* adds, that there never had been so great a number of ships before in *Britain*, which also the *Saxon* Annals of *Abingdon* do testify, another Notion of Hide we must have to make this agree with their opinion. For if Mr. *Cambden's* Account be good, who out of the ancient Records of that Age casts up the number of Hides not to exceed two hundred forty three thousand and six hundred, the number of ships must have amounted to no more than seven hundred and eighty five according to the Tax; so that this Navy could not have matched that of King *Edgar* by some thousands. Others therefore there are who determine otherwise concerning an *Hide*; and most certain it is as a learned man observes, that it was very various according to the different custome of Countries. Whatever the number of the ships was one would now have imagined that England was in a fair way to be protected, when suddenly Diffention the bane of all good Designs, sprung up among the Great Ones. For this very year did *Brithric* the brother of Duke *Edric* as ambitious, proud, and deceitfull almost as himself, falsely accuse *Wulnoth* a great Officer of the South Saxons to the King, whereupon he judging it not safe to trust his life in their Hands, who he knew would condemn him right or wrong, got him to Sea with twenty ships and paid the Pirate upon the Coasts. Upon a report raised that he might be easily taken, *Brithric* with eighty Gallies went in quest of him, but when he had failed for some time, so grievous a Tempest rose that it wrecked all the Vessels and cast them upon the shoar where *Wulnoth* lay after burnt them. This misfortune did hearten the King and his Nobles, that they fairly returned home, and the Fleet by his command came up to London. And so was the People taxed and troubled to no purpose.

Which was rather a burden than a benefit to the Kingdom.

Turkill with other Danes arrive.

97. The next year after, which was the MIX of our Lord, *Turkill* a Danish Earl arrived with some ships in England, and in the Month of August was followed by an innumerable company of Danish Vessels commanded by *Hemming* and *Eilaf* which landed in the Isle of *Tanet*, and joyned with *Turkill*: To Sandwich they pass, where landing they go and endeavour to break into *Canterbury*, the Inhabitants whereof with their Neighbours of the East part of *Kent* purchase their Peace by the payment of three thousand Pounds. The Danes then going back to their ships sail to the Isle of *Wight*, whence passing to the Coasts of *Sussex* and *Hampshire*, they exercise themselves in their usual Trades of plundering and burning. *Ethelred* was again so sensible of his Peoples miseries as to leavy Forces throughout the Land, which he bestowed in places near the Sea to restrain their Irruptions, but it was done so unskilfully, at least so unsuccessfully that they came and went securely for all this, and practised their Rapines as before. On a certain time being gone farther than usual from the Sea, the King fleet betwixt them and Home, seizing upon the place through which they were to return with many thousand men, and resolved to die or overcome, as was the whole Army. But the Traitorous Duke *Edric* (who now might practise his Treasons more colourably, having married the King's Daughter *Egitha*) by subtle Arguments urged, that as Circumstances now stood, it was their Interest to let the Danes repass untouched. He persuaded them, and the Danes got back safe to their ships with great Joy, and much contrary to their expectation. After this when *Martinmas* was now past they went to the Coast of *Kent* and resolved to winter in the *Thames*. They maintained themselves by what they got out of *Essex* and other places, lying on each side of the River. They often also attempted to seize on London, were beaten back by the Citizens with very great loss.

Who might have been cut off, but for the Treachery of Edric.

Simen Du.  
necm. ad An.  
VIII.  
Marinus  
Sous.  
Hered.  
Florentin.  
\* Atti schi li.  
di habent ut  
Huntingdon  
necm. lib. 2.  
Westm. lib.  
Math. Paris.

Selden in insti  
claus. lib. 2.  
c. 11.

Simen Du.  
necm. ad An.  
MIX.

Sect. 10.

98. E'er Winter was over, in the Month of January they left their Ships and through *Chiltern* Wood passed to *Oxford*, which having burnt they returned by the River *Thames*, and wasted the Country on both sides in their Passage. In their return they had Intelligence that a great Army was gathering together at London to intercept them, which caused that part of their Army which marched down the North side of the River to pass over at *Stanes*, where joining with the other and loading with extraordinary plunder they passed through *Surry* to their Ships, in repairing of which they spent in *Kent* the Lent following. Easter being over they departed into East England, where near to *Ipswich* they came to a place called *Ringmere*, having heard that *Uketel* lay there with his Forces. He entertained them very warmly, and a fierce Battle was fought. But the English at *Pough* gave back, a certain \*Danish Servant, on purpose, so it seems, beginning the flight and lost the Field, though the *Cambridgeshire* Men as long as they could flood to it, and fought very manfully, † which procured them much honour so long as the English Kingdom stood. Here fell *Ebbelstan* the King's Son-in-Law, ‡ Of a Noble man with his Sons and many other, together with a great number of the ordinary sort. The Danes being Masters of the Field now had East England at their discretion, which horring themselves they spared not. no more than the most violent Enemy would do, spending three months in plundering, burning and killing all they could meet with. Having done what mischief they could in the Fens, they burnt *Thetford*, and *Grantebrigg*, or *Cambridge*; whence (as *Huntingdon* writes) going back over most pleasant Hills of a delightfull place called *Baleham* (now *Gogmagog Hills*) they killed all they could meet in their way tossing Infants on the points of their Spears. But one man (saith he) there was who deserves to be remembered for getting into a Steeple, and there defending himself from the whole Army. After this the Foot by Sea, and the Horse through *Essex*, returned to the *Thames*, where continuing not many days again they quitted their ships and went through into *Oxfordshire*, which first, and then the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford* and *Hertford* they wasted, and having burnt the Towns, and killed Mankind, with all other living Creatures, they returned again to their ships as so many ravenous and noxious Wild Beasts glutted with blood to their Dens. Yet still about the Feast of St. Andrew they burnt *Northampton* with all about it, as far as they pleased; and then passing to the *Thames* went into West Saxony, where having waited that called then *Cuningamerse*, and the greater part of *Wiltshire*, they returned after their accustomed manner to their ships about *Christmas*.

After a Battle the Danes become Masters of East England.

And waste part of West Saxony.

After more Devastations another sum is offered.

Canterbury is taken and plundered.

With its Archbishop.

99. They were neither yet so wearied with travel, nor satisfied with wealth, but that the year following they took a larger scope than ever. For on the North side the River, with Fire and Sword they wasted all East England, *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Hertfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, the Counties of *Oxford*, *Bedford* and *Cambridge*, with half of *Huntingdon*, and the greatest Part of that of *Northampton*: on the South side *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*; with the Counties of *Southampton*, *Wilt* and *Berks*. After all these Messengers are sent to solicit for Peace, promising more Money to buy them off from these horrid devastations. They give good words and accepted the Tribute, but without any intention to keep their Faith, which they presently break; first by Plundering the County in several Parties, and toward *Michaelmas* by besieging *Canterbury*, which on the twentieth day of the Siege they take by the Treachery of *Almure* the Archdeacon, and burn part of it. Here they committed all sorts of villanies against the poor Inhabitants, whereof some they slew with the sword, others they burnt; many they threw down headlong from the Walls, and some they hung up by the Privy Members. The Women they drag by the Hair of their Heads through the Streets, and then cast into the fire. Infants being snatched from the Breasts of their Mothers they either stuck upon the points of their Spears, or crushed to pieces by driving Carts over them. After the Archdeacon they take Prisoner, dead and contumeliously use. *Almure* the Abbat of St. *Aldin's* they permitted to depart. † *Godwin* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Leofruna* Abbess of the Nunnery of St. *Mildrede*, *Elsfreda* the King's Governess, with Monks and Clerics; and a vast number of the Common People were also taken. Christ Church they burn, Monks, Men, Women and Children are decimated, whereof nine are killed, and the tenth reserved to a life worse than death; so that of the whole multitude remained only four Monks, and eight hundred Men. The People being slain, and the whole City plundered and burnt, the Archbishop is taken out of Prison, driven away bound and wounded to the Fleet, where he is kept close seven Months together. In the mean time the

\* Turcetil Mirethredus id est caput furis primus fugam incipit et opprobrium meruit impietatem. Huntingdon. † Six Huntingdonensis sed homines Granubridgese viriliter obstituerunt, unde dum Angli regnarent, laus Granubridgensi Provincia floruit. lib. 6. Histor. ad Ann. MC.



**Secl. 10.** cruel and more than barbarous Miferants are visited with a Plague in their Guts, whereof two thousand of them miserably perish. Those that lived were sorely afflicted with the same Disease, and thereupon the Christians take occasion to urge the delivery of the Archbishop, but they still defer it.

100. As soon as Spring appeared, before *Easter* that traitorous *Edrick Strre- one*, and all the rest of the Nobility of both Orders Assembled at *London*, where they held their Councils and continued so long till the Tribute was paid to the *Danes*, which now amounted to eight and forty thousand Pounds. In the meantime *Alfge* the Archbishop had his Ransome set at three thousand Pounds, which he constantly refusing to pay or procure was at last murdered by them when they were heated with Wine, and farther exasperated by his prohibiting any one to offer any sum of money for his liberty. Being brought out into their full Assembly, they fell upon him with Swords, Stones, Bones, and whatever came to hand, and at length one *Thrum* whom he had Confirmed but the day before, out of an impious sort of Piety brained him with an Hatchet. His Body was the day following conveyed to *London*, and buried in the Church of *St Paul*. Afterward the Tribute being paid, and the Peace confirmed by Oaths on both sides, the *Danish* Fleet was separated, only five and forty Ships remained with the King for the Defence of *England* against all Foreigners on these terms, to be maintained by him with Victuals and Cloathing. From the Old Saxon Laws it appears that for repressing of Pirates, Robbers, or others infesting the Sea, it was resolved that a yearly payment should be made of Money, which from those who usually were the Practisers of this Trade was called *Danegeld*, that is to say, twelve pence upon every Hide through the whole Land, for the Pay of those that should be employed to hinder the Irruption of Pirates. This we are told by several Authours, continued from this or the following for thirty eight or thirty nine years, till it was remitted by *Edward* the Confessor, the Son of King *Ethelred*. The Reader must take notice that: there were two sorts of *Danegeld*. The one was, that Tribute or Tax so often mentioned by us, whereby our *English Saxons* were forced to purchase Peace, and remove Hostilities and Rapines upon occasion, the several sums whereof we have expressed in their places. It was not paid yearly, but levied now and then as the necessity of the Kingdom required. The other was this first raised in the Year of our Lord *MXII*. (the same wherein the eight and forty thousand Pounds were paid) to pay the *Danish* Navy which was now hired to guard the Sea, and defend the Coasts.

101. But both sorts alike contributed to the Ends and Designs for which they were paid. The former took but off the perfidious *Danes* for a small time, who then again without regard to Oath or Promise violated the Peace in expectation of another gratuity to be bestowed upon them. And this other was so far from securing the Coasts by scouring the Seas, that *Turkill* who staid behind as Admiral of this now *English* Fleet seems to have done it to no other purpose (besides the fleeing of the poor Nation of more Money) than to give Intelligence to *Swane* when it would be most seasonable to reinvade the Land. In *July* the year following with a strong Fleet he landed at *Sandwich*, where having laid but a few days, coasting about East *England* he entred the Mouth of *Hamber*, whence he passed up into the *Trent* which together with *Ouse* out of *Torkshire* falls into *Hamber*, and sailed to *Gainsborough* where he landed and encamped himself. Hither without delay repaired to him *Earl Othred* with the *Northumbrians*, the Inhabitants of *Lindsey* (that Part of *Lincolnshire* Northward of *Lincoln*, wherein *Gainsborough* stands) afterward those of *Fisburgh*, and by degrees all such as inhabited Northward of *Walling Street* (the great Highway crossing the Land from the East to the Western Sea) yielded up themselves to him, and delivering up Hostages swore to him Allegiance. He only now imposed upon them the furnishing of his Army with Horses and Provisions, and then delivering the Hostages and the Fleet into the Hands of *Canute* his Son, with a choice Party of Auxiliaries taken from amongst the *English*, undertook an Expedition against the Southern *Mercians*. Having passed over *Walling Street* he gave order to his Men to waste the Fields, burn the Villages, rob the Churches, kill all the Males they could meet with, reserve the other Sex for their lust, and do all other sorts of mischiefs they could devise. This being fully executed, in the terror thereof he came to *Oxford*, and became Master of it sooner than he expected, where having received Hostages he hastened to *Winchester*, the Inhabitants of which

Who is slain by them.

*Danegeld* raised to secure the Coasts from Pirates.

*Swane* and his *Danes* are master of the greatest part of the Island.

*Simen Du- nelm. ad Ann. MATI.*

*Vide Simen. Dunelm. Fie- rent. Wigorn. Hoveden.*

*Lambardus de priscei Angl. Legib. f. 128.*

*Danegeld lra. ad Domes.*

*nummus (p- Rans. Gelds, Gels, Belgis & Germanis vicissimum Nummus, Pa- cabatur alias Depegylo- sine Nummus Militaris. Lex Angli- phum.*

conquered also by the terror of his Cruelties, without delay made Peace with him, giving up what and how many Hostages he required.

102. From *Oxford* he bent his course for *London*, and in passing the *Thames* being neither careful for finding out a Bridge nor a Ford lost many of his Men. He endeavoured both by force and all sorts of devices to take this City, but King *Ethelred*, together with *Turkill* the *Dane* being then here Resident, he was beaten off and went to *Wallingford*, after that to *Bath*, where waiting all in his way he staid some time and refreshed his Army. Thither came to him *Ethelmar* the Earl of *Devonshire* with other Officers of the Western Parts and made Peace with him, giving up their Hostages, which things accomplished according to his desires, and being returned to his Fleet he was by all the Nation of the *English* both titled and accounted King, if by right one can call him a King (saith our Author) who acted all things in a manner like a Tyrant. The Citizens of *London* concluded that it was not safe for them to strive against the universal current, and therefore sent also their Hostages and made their Peace, for they feared he would be so enraged against them that having spoiled them of all they had he would either command their Eyes to be pulled out, or their Hands or Feet to be chopped off. *Ethelred* now in a manner unkinged thought it most consistent with the frailties of his Fortune to fend away *Emma* his Queen, with his Treasure and his two Sons *Edward* and *Elfred* into *Normandy* to her Brother *Richard*, the Second of that Name, Duke of that Province. He himself continued sometime at *Greenwich* with the *Danish* Fleet then lying in the *Thames*, and thence removed to the Isle of *Wight*, where having kept but a sad *Christmas* he followed them into *Normandy*, and at *Rouen* was splendidly entertained all the time of his abode. In the mean while *Swane* the Tyrant at *Gainsborough* laid insupportable Taxes upon the Country, besides the contribution for maintenance of his Fleet. And *Turkill* at *Greenwich* was not behind hand in his Exactions for enriching of himself and his Followers. So that they were fully agreed in this by their Violence and Rapines to harass and exhaulst the poor *English* Nation.

103. But *Swane* to all his other cruelties and impieties, added one, which in the opinion of our writers, completed his condemnation. He exacted a grievous Tribute from the Town of *St. Edmunds Bury*, or that where the Body of that King and Martyr then rested: Moreover, he would often detract from the worth of the Martyr, and dared to affirm he had no holiness. In case the money were not speedily paid, he often threatened that he would certainly burn the Town over the heads of the Inhabitants, utterly subvert and demolish the Church of the Martyr, and put the very Clerks to various Tortures. Now to tell a story which is so generally told, and was so universally believed, because he would not moderate at all, say they, his wickedness; Divine Vengeance would not suffer the Blaphemer longer to live. At *Gainsborough*, as he held a general Assembly, when it grew toward Evening, being incircled with Armed Men, he cast out these said threats, but he saw presently *St. Edmund* coming Armed upon him, whereupon he cried vehemently out, *Help, help, fellow Souldiers, look here, St. Edmund comes to kill me*, which words as he was speaking, he received a mortal wound by the Saint's hands, fell from his Horse, and dying till the dusk of the Evening in great torment, he then died on the 2<sup>d</sup> of *February*, and was carried to *Tork* and buried. So our writers report from the Legend of *St. Edmund*, which seems to hint this truth to us, that *Swane* was killed by an unknown hand; to be sure here he ended his days, and by his death ennobled this Town more than by his making it the Seat of his Kingdom or Tyranny, for so it was; here being his chief Residence all the short time of his *English* Royalty; here lay his Ships, hence he made excursions into all Parts.

Is killed by an unknown hand.

*Danorum Regem qui Swano patri apud Gainsburh mirabiliter & miserabiliter exinro successerat, regnum tandem cum eodem Cunctis aequi paravit.*

104. This Town conveniently seated upon the River *Trent*, which here Ebbs and Flows to a considerable depth, and by the convenience of Navigation and Traffick, hath procured it two famous Martyrs in a year, each of them of nine days continuance, is both ancient, and was of good account before it became more known by being the Rode of the *Danish* Ships. To omit impertinent Etymologies *Quidam in*

*super Edip hac habet: Genepp-bupuh, vel forte antiquius Genepp-bupuh ab Angl. Sax. Genepp Perjugium Aylum & Bupuh Oppidum. q. d. Oppidum perjugis Aylum.*

Sect. 10. as if it had its name from being an *Aflyum* or Refuge of I know not who, or from what, it was called *Gainborough* or *Gain(burh)* (in Latin *Gainorum burgus*) as indeed being the chief Burgh, Borough or Town of the *Gaini* or *Gains*. If it be demanded who these *Gaini* or *Gains* were, I answer, the same with those of which *Ethelfred* the Father-in-law of King *Alfred*, was Earl. *Affricus* writes, that *Alfred* Married *Oxorem* de Mercia Nobilem scilicet genere filiam *Ethelfredi Gairnorum Comitris qui cognominatur Mucil*. That *Alfred* Married a Wife out of *Mercia*, one of a Noble Stock, viz. the Daughter of *Ethelfred*, Earl of the *Gaini* or *Gains*, who was Surnamed *Mucil* or *Great*. There was then a sort of People called *Gaini* or *Gains*, and these *Gaini* were seated in *Mercia*, to which Kingdom of old *Lindsey* did belong, as is most evident, and not to *Northumberland*, from which it was separated by that River, though some particular Conquests of these Petty Kings of that Tract might cause sometimes some places to be mentioned, as within the Bounds of their Kingdoms, to which for the main they did not belong. The Reader must observe that, besides the common Names of *Jutes*, *Angles* and *Saxons*, when these People Planted in Britain certain Select Companies of them had peculiar Names, even as the ancient Britains themselves had, which either happened to them from their Principal Leaders or Governours, or were Names they brought from beyond the Seas, or else proceeded from some other accidents. Thus some of the *Northumbrians* were called *Deiri*, others *Bernicii*, the West Saxons were called *Geatish*, and we read of a People called *Wicci*, and another *Meauvari* Seated in *Hampshire*, not far from *Portsmouth*, besides the *Girni*, who as appears from *Ingelphus*, lived not very far from the *Gaini* and inhabited the *Fens*, lying in the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, *Huntingdon*, and *Cambridge*. Those *Gaini* were such a sort of People, from which this place being their principal Town or Burgh, received its name, as did *Ethelfred* his Title, though he was descended of the Blood Royal of *Mercia*. The Burgh of the *Gains* it was, and long after the death of *Swane* gave it not name, yet Habitation to the Noble Barons of Burgh, who by the Scotch Earls of *Athol*, and the *Percies* descended from *Sr. William de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, by whose intercession it obtained from King *Edward* the First (after the Conquest) the liberty of having a Fair. This digression is too much not to be practised upon the name of every Town; but so much I ought to this out of gratitude, having received in it a great part of my Education; though born in that of *Nottinghamshire*, which, on the other side of the River, stands over against it.

105. *Swane* being dead, his Subjects the *Danes*, chose *Cnut* or *Cnut* his Son, for his Successor. But the Inclinations of the English were toward their own true and natural Prince, whom hoping that he would demean himself more like a King for the time to come, as being disciplin'd sufficiently by adversity, they sent for home out of *Normandy*. *Ethelfred*, before he should put himself into their hands, thought fit to send over his Son *Edward* to promise all good deportment, and found the affections of the Nobility and People, who having found all things correspond with his desires, returned back with confidence to fetch his Father. The King was received with all joy and applause imaginable, and to make a Show, that he had offered violence to his former disposition, and of compliance with their expectations, used all dispatch in leaving an Army against *Cnut*, who lying now at *Gainborough*, with the Fleet and Hostages was not wanting to himself, but spent his time in raising Men, and getting Horses, threatening to chastise severely the Revolters from his Father's Empire. But *Ethelfred's* Forces took him before he was fully prepared, and constrained him to quit the Parts of *Lindsey*, the Inhabitants whereof, for their so readily siding with strangers, as they found them, they put to death. *Cnut* Sailed away with his Fleet, and by the course of the Winds, was driven into *Sandwich Road*, where to revenge himself upon the English Nation, he miserably deformed the Hostages he had in his power, cutting off their Ears, Noses, and Hands, and depriving some of their Genitals. This done, he set them on shore, and departed into *Denmark* to recruit his Army. These *Danes* being gone, another Calamity succeeded them; for on the twenty seventh of September, the Sea arose to such an height by the impetuosity of Wind and Tide, that it brake the Banks, and overwhelmed many Villages, drowning a great multitude of surprized People. However the Nation was hereby impoverished, yet necessity urging a Tribute of thirty thousand pounds, was levied for paying the Danish Fleet, which lay at *Greenwich*.

106. The year following, being the MXV. of our Lord, a great Assembly of the Estates was held at *Oxford*, as well of *Danes* as *English*, where by advice of *Edric*

*Edric Streone*, the King caused several Danish Noblemen to be put to death under pretence of a Conspiracy against his Person. *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, the Sons of one *Earnrun*, of a place called *Seanenburg* in *Northumberland*, *Edric* drew by good words into his own Lodging, and there secretly murdered them. Their Servants and Dependants thereupon arose, and endeavoured to revenge their death, but were beaten back by the King's Forces, and so closely pursued, that they were constrained to betake themselves into the Tower of *St. Fridewit's Church*, where Fire being set to the Steeple, they were burnt to Ashes. The King seized upon the Estates of the murdered Earls, and commanded *Alghith* the Wife of *Sigeferth*, to be conveyed to the Town of *Maidulf* (or *Malmesbury*) and there to be kept in Custody as a Lady of great Nobility and Interest. But not long after, *Edmund* the King's Son coming thither, fell in love with her, and without his Father's knowledge, married her, after which, he took her along with him into *Northumberland*, and there seized on the Estates both of *Sigeferth* and *Morcar* his Brother. At the same time Arrived King *Cnut* from *Denmark*, together, as some write, with two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, and *Olan* of *Norway*, and made for the Port of *Sandwich*, where it's said that *Turkil* joyned with him, and gave the English a notable Defeat. To be sure *Cnut*, Coasting about *Kent*, entered the mouth of the River *Frome*, and by it passed up into the Counties of *Dorset*, *Somerset* and *Wilts*, where he committed all sorts of Hostilities. King *Ethelred* at this time lay sick at *Cosham*, a Town in *Wiltshire*, but had his place very well supplied by his Son *Edmund*, whose only infelicity it was, that the false and traitorous *Streone* was joyned with him in command, which not only hindered his present success, but brought him into great danger of Life. For *Edric* made a faction in the Army, and plotted how to have him slain, which being timely discovered, the Prince was forced for his security to depart from the place where he lay. Now whether this discovery made him desperate, or for that he was before prepared, and resolved so to do, for other reasons, he openly revolted; carrying away to *Cnut* forty of the Danish Ships which served the King, to whom he submitted as his Leige Lord. The West Saxons awed by his inroads, did the same: gave up Hostages, and made provision of Horses for his Army.

*Edric revolts, swearing obedience to Cnut.*

107. *Cnut* being thus strengthened beyond expectation, in the following year, which was the MXVI. of our Lord, with *Edric* the Traytor, passed over the *Thames* at *Greeklade*, about *Christmas* Holydays, and invaded *Mercia*, where in *Warwickshire* especially, he burnt all the Towns, and killed all Persons he could meet with. *Edmund* the King's Son, upon the Report, gathered together what Forces he could, but when they were to march, the *Mercians* refused to engage against the *Danes* and West Saxons, except King *Ethelred* and the *Londoners* would joyn with them, and thereupon the Army disbanded it self. But *Christmas* being over, *Edmund* raised more Forces, and sent to *London* to his Father to come to him with all the preparations he could make, *Ethelred* complied with him, and they joyned their Forces together, but by the craft of the Enemy, a Rumour was spread abroad, that if the King did not carefully look to himself, he would speedily be betrayed. This struck such a fear into this pusillanimous Prince, that he disbands his Army, and retires back to *London*, which done, his Son hastes into *Northumberland*, as was imagined to raise a greater Army against *Cnut*. But in this they seemed well agreed, that whereas on one side *Cnut* and *Edric* wasted the Country, on the other, he and *Urbred* Earl of *Northumberland*, did the like, this being the only difference that one Party harassed the poor People, because they would not revolt, and the others pretended to punish them for their neutrality; for, first *Staffordshire*, and then *Shropshire* and *Leicestershire*, they miserably wasted because they refused to fight against the *Danes*. In the mean time *Cnut* and *Edric Streone*, committed all acts of cruelty in the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntingdon*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln* and *Nottingham*, and at last pierced into *Northumberland*.

The Country wasted on all hands.

108. This approach of theirs obliged *Edmund Clito*, as our Writers call him, to leave off his Trade of pillaging, and to betake himself to *London*. *Urbred* hereupon hasted into *Northumberland*, where shortly after he was constrained to submit himself to *Cnut*, to give up his Country, and deliver Hostages into his Hands, which notwithstanding either by Command or Permission of *Cnut*, he was killed by one *Turebrand* a Danish Nobleman, and with him one *Turketel*, the Son of *Navene*. This done, *Cnut* preferred one *Eric* to be Earl of *Northumberland*, and hasted Southward by another way to his Fleet; with which

Sect. 10. Compare Meth. W. R. cum. Sim. Dunelm.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MXVI.

*Cnut chosen King of the Danes.*

*Ethelred receives his Kingdom.*

*Driving Cnut out of Lindsey, and those Parts.*

An Inundation.

The rest obey  
ing *Cante*.

Several Battle  
twixt Ed-  
mund and  
Cnut.

*Cnutte besiegt  
London.*

Sim. Daneb.  
J. Malmstr.

re Florentio W  
de gornienfi  
y, Arcue.  
nd

Sect. 10

A bloody Ba  
rel at *Assan*  
*dune.*

Upon which  
Division of t  
Kingdom en  
fued.

A farther account of the  
Battel and Accord betwixt  
*Edmund* and  
*Cnut.*

\* In monte  
qui Affandun  
id est Mons  
Affini nomina  
tur, abeuntes  
est consecutus  
Sim. Dunelm  
† Clamavit  
Anglorum  
genti, Flet  
Engle, Flet  
Engle, de di  
Edmund, qu  
interpretatur  
Fugite Angl  
fugite, morie  
est Edmundu  
Huntingd  
Hist. lib. 6.

113. Henry

Sect. 10.

Another Relation of it.

113. Henry the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* speaking how after the Battel at *Esfildse* (as he calls it) the Armies in *Glocestershire* the seventh time faced each other, adds, that the Noblemen on one side dreading the courage of *Edmund*, on the other of *Cnute*, began to mutter among themselves what Fools they were so often to venture their Lives; and how they should let them fight alone, who designed alone to Reign. This saying pleased well enough the Kings, for *Cnute* was a King of no small honesty. The Kings therefore fought a Duel. Their Darts and Lances on both sides being broken, they fell to it with their Swords upon each others most incomparable Armour, the noise of which struck the ears of the Lookers on with terror, as their eyes were dazzled with the fire which was struck from the Swords upon such admirable Metal. At length the incomparable vigour of *Edmund* prevailed, whom *Cnute* very strenuously resisted, yet fearing the success, with fair Language instead of foul Blows thus accosted his Adversary. *Young man, of all others the most valiant; what necessity is there that either thou or I should die by the Sword, out of desire of Reigning. Let us be Adoptive Brethren and divide the Kingdom, let me have a share in thine; and do thou command in mine Affairs.* Denmark also shall be at thy disposal. With these words the generous mind of the young King was mollified, and a Kiss of Peace was given on either part; after which their Followers came together, and weeping for joy, *Edmund* had the Kingdom of *Wessex*, and *Cnute* that of *Mercia*, who thereupon returned to *London*. Thus much *Huntingdon*, with whom agrees *Matthew of Westminster* as to the Duel, mentioning *Edric* as the man who first moved it amongst the Nobility. But both *Hoveden* and *Florent of Worcester* agree with the first Relation of *Simon*.

Edmund died.

Leaving Issue.

Who are out-ed by Cnute.

114. The Danes retiring to *London* after the agreement (which was certainly made, whatever might be the Circumstances or the manner) were received by the Inhabitants, and permitted to take up their Winter Quarters in the City, where, about the Feast of St. Andrew died King *Edmund Ironside* unexpectedly, and was buried with his Grandfather *Edgar* at *Gloucester*. Concerning his death our Authors write variously. The History of *Simon*, *Florent of Worcester*, and *Roger de Hoveden*, tell us only that he died, without mentioning the cause. *Malmebury* confesses it was uncertain of what Disease or Casualty he died, but adds, that Fame charged *Edric* with hiring two of his Chamberlains, to whose Fidelity he committed himself, to murder him which they effected by thrusting a sharp Iron into his Body as he sat at Stool. *Huntingdon* will have it done at *Oxford* by one of the Sons of *Edric* as the King sat in an House of Office, with whom accords *Matthew of Westminster*; *Radulphus de Diceto* names neither place nor a certain person, but says it was done by an Iron Spit at *Edric's* procurement. *Edmund* thus in the same year both began and ended his Reign, leaving two Sons behind him, *Edwi* some call him, some *Edmund*, and *Edward*. By his own Mother he had a Brother called *Edwin*, and by *Emma* his Step-Mother two more, viz. *Elfred* and *Edward*. These Relations he left, but *Cnute* resolved none of them should succeed him but to Reign himself alone. "He summoned all the Bishops and Nobility to meet at *London*, and cunningly demanded of such as had been present "at the agreement betwixt him and *Edmund*, what provision was made by that agreement for the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund*, and whether in case he died "before *Cnute*, any of them was to succeed in the Kingdom of the West Saxons? "They overcome with fear answered, That to their knowledge *Edmund* neither living nor dying had made any provision for his Relations, but designed him the "Protector or Guardian of his Sons, till they should come to Age. For this their false Testimony they hoped for great Rewards, and some of them indeed he afterwards rewarded with an Halber or some Instrument of such like Desert. But *Cnute* taking the advantage it afforded him, exacted Oaths of Fidelity from all the Nobility, who readily chose him for their King, and abjured all the English Line, which was disposed of as we shall see hereafter, and set aside for a certain time.

## S E C T. XI.

## S E C T. XI.

The Monarchy of the Danes in Britain, from the beginning of that of Canute or Cnute, to the Death of Hardecnute, and the Restoration of the English Line in Edward the Confessor.

The Space of Twenty six Years.

Cnute King.

1. *Cnute* thus obtained the Kingdom of the English, of which his Father re-  
ther had a prospect than firm possession, about two hundred and twenty seven years after the first arrival of his Danish Nation, two years after his Father's death, in the one and fortieth year of *Basilus Junior* Emperour of the East, the seventeenth of *Henricus Junior* the German Emperour, in the Reign of *Robert* the Son and Successor of *Hugh Capet* King of the Franks. A. D. MXVII.

Is sole Monarch.

2. The Danes had formerly in some parts of the Land, as East England and Northumberland set up their petty Kingdoms, but now obtained the settled Monarchy of all England. Formerly they had been Strangers, now come to be the principal Inhabitants, not in Numbers but in Reputation. Before time they were fierce invaders, cruel and Savage Enemies, as bloody, as Ravenous, and base as ever any Invader had ever been, but now were turned Proprietors, and one of them Lord of the whole, sweetened and civiliz'd not so much by Christianity and good Education, as by self-seeking and worldly interest; for the late Inrodes made by *Cnute* were accompanied with as great Cruelties and Devastations, as those of his Predecessors. Bafenels and fear made the English Nobility servilely to truckle, so that there was no need of any thing more to work his Will but his bare Commands. Nay they would prevent his Commands by doing those things, to which they knew he was but inclined. For *Edwi* or *Edwin* the Brother of *Edmund*, a young Prince of excellent Endowments, and exceeding great hopes, they immediately voted to Banishment, which Resolution as soon as *Cnute* perceived so full of flattery and injustice, he went much pleased into his Chamber, and calling to him the perfidious Duke *Edric* asked him by what means he might trepan young *Edwin* to his death. The Traitor answered, that he knew one *Ethelward* who could easily do it if he would speak with and promise him a great Reward. *Cnute* sent for the man, and telling him what the Duke had said of him, not only promised him all that his Ancestors had enjoyed, but to hold him more dear than a Brother in case he would do him that Service. He promised to use his utmost endeavour, but as yet had no such intention; and said it only to put him off; for he was descended of the most Noble flock of the English Nation.

He divides the Kingdom.

3. *Cnute* being settled in his new Power and Sovereignty over all England, divided his Kingdom into four parts; whereof one he committed to the Government of *Edric*, viz. *Mercia*, it not being as yet seasonable to lay him aside. East England he assigned to Earl *Turkill*, Northumberland to *Irc* or *Eric*, and reserved West Saxony as that which being the ancient Possession of the English Line had most reason to bear respect to it, to his own Care and Vigilance. Then the first thing he did was to punish such as had an hand in the death of *Edmund*, whom having discovered their wickedness in hope of Reward he kept close up, and now in a great Assembly of the People caused to be put to death; as those whom their own mouths condemned. Having thus sweetened his way, a Covenant with all the Nobles and the whole People now he made, which was confirmed by Oath and an Amneity decreed for whatsoever had formerly pass betwixt the Nations. But this could not put him out of his fears so long as *Edwi* *Ethelred* lived, who was commonly called

Punisheth the Murderers of his Predecessor.

**SECT. II.** led King of the Countreymen. Banishment would not serve his turn, but after a seeming Reconciliation to ensnare him by his earnest Solicitations, he procured him to be made away by those whom he had most trusted. *Edric* now that his hand was in, advised him to put to death also the young Sons of *Edmund*, the *Clitunculi*, as *Simeon* calls them, viz. *Edmund* and *Edward*; but it being esteemed a thing very odious, and which would much incense the People to have them murdered in *England*, within a while they were sent to the King of the *Sweedes* there to be made away, who notwithstanding the League and kindness betwixt him and *Cnut*, abhorred the fact, and by all his Intreaties could not be brought to commit it, but conveyed them to *Solomon* King of the *Hungarians*, by him to be carefully brought up. *Edmund* in process of time in that retirement ended his life; but *Edward* Married *Agatha* the Daughter of *Henry* the German Emperor, by which Lady he had *Margaret* Queen of the *Scots*, *Christina* that married *Nun*, and *Edgar* *Etheling* hereafter to be spoken of. This is the Account given by the general Assent of Historians, although there be a Passage amongst the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, which hints, that this *Edward* out of fear of *Cnut*, fled to one *Malescol* King of the *Rugians*, who both received him with honour, and bestowed on him in Marriage a Lady of that Countrey.

He Marries.

4. *Cnut* having rid himself of all his Competitors, for the Sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma* were escaped into *Normandy*, and all others of the Blood Royal he had banished, thought he should much farther establish his interest by Marrying with *Emma*, which he effected in *July* following, concluding that it would win him the hearts of the People, and take off the thoughts of her Brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, from the Sons he had had by *Ethelred*, and he approved of the Match sending over in *July* his Sister into *England*. Being now arrived at the top of his Expectations, he thought fit to remove the Ladder by which he mounted, lest it should serve the end of some other Pretender. What use he had all along made of the Treachery of Duke *Edric* has been sufficiently discovered. Now instead of loving he abominated the man, not so much in hatred to his Vallany as for his own preservation, imagining that he who had betrayed those who had so well deserved of him, would not stick to do the same by him a Foreigner, when there should but a sufficient temptation or opportunity present it self. The former Treason serving his own ends, he loved, but hated the Traytour, because in his destruction he doubted not but he would be ready to serve the ends of others, and therefore resolved to make him away. It's reported, that after he had procured King *Edmund* to be slain in the manner before related, he came to *Cnut*, and bade God save him now the only King, to whom when he had told all the Story, the King answered, that for so great a piece of Service he would make him higher than all the *English* Nobility. Remembering therefore that Promise, he caused him in the time of *Christmas* to be Beheaded, and his Head to be set upon a Pole on the highest Tower in *London*. *Ingalphus* the Abbat of *Croyland*, who lived in or near those very days, writes, that unsatisfied it seems with what had been done for him, he upbraided *Cnut* with his great services in betraying the two King *Ethelred* and *Edmund*, and by his own Mouth being convicted of Treason, was as a Traytour hanged and thrown into the *Thames*. Later Authours in compliance with this Relation, say, that suspecting the King's intentions of depriving him of the *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Services, *Cnut* said to him with an angry Countenance, Traytour to God and to me, thou shalt die, thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master, my Confederate Brother, and the Lord's Anointed, and thereupon caused him to be strangled in the Room, and thrown out of the Window over the Wall of the City into the *Thames*, where his Trunk lay unburied, his Head being fixed on a Pole and set on the highest Tower, which as some say, *Eric* at the King's command struck off. Upon this occasion either for that they were familiar with *Edric*, or upon some other jealous grounds, as his Complices he put to death several other Noblemen, as *Norman* the Son of Duke *Leofwin*, and the Brother of *Leofric*, *Ethelward* the Son of Duke *Aeglemer*, and *Brihtic* the Son of *Elfege* who governed *Devonshire*, all reputed Innocent Persons. For all this he thought himself not yet secure except he kept on foot an Army, for the maintenance of which, the following year, he squeezed out of all *England* seventy (some say eighty) two thousand Pounds, besides fifteen thousand out of the City of *London*. But no less than these severities could be expected from an Usurper and a Foreigner. After some years he sent back his Army at the Importunity of the Nobility, having by a severe Law made against killing any *Danes*, taken security for the safety of his Nation.

Causes *Edric* and others of the Nobility to be executed.

Vide infra.

5. These

5. These things were done in the South, while in the Northern Parts a Quarrel arose between *Malcolm* Son of *Cyneth* King of the *Scots*, and *Uthred* the Son of *Waldelf* Earl of *Northumberland*, or rather his Successor *Eric*, for *Uthred* was (as we have heard) slain by *Cnut* two years before. The Rupture proceeded to a great War (as our Author terms it) wherein on the part of the *Scots*, *Eugenius* Calvus King of the *Lutinhenses* or *Lothians* was engaged; but what the effects of so great a controversy were, he doth not tell us. *Cnut* having united the *English* and *Danes* in one Government, though the best Cement would be to frame their minds to the same Laws and Customs, for which purpose he called a Convention to *Oxford*, where both Parties agreed to observe the Laws of King *Edgar*. Now he thought he had so well settled his matters here, that he might without any danger give a Visit to his ancient and Native Kingdom of *Denmark*, whither he failed the year following, being the third of his Reign, and continued there the whole Winter. The *Archdeacon* writes, that he led thither an Army of *English* and *Danes* against the *Wandals*, by which he must mean no other than *Sweedes*. That incamping near his Enemies with intention not to fight till the next day, *Godwin* the *English* General (whom he terms him) without his knowledge by Night set upon them at unawares, killed many and put the rest to flight. When it was day the King imagining that the *English* were either run away or had revolted to his Enemy, set his *Danes* in order of Battle, and marched toward the *Swedish* Camp, but here he found nothing but Bloud, Carkasses, and Plunder, which thing caused him exceedingly to prize the *English*, (who by their valour procured their Captain an Earldom and renown to themselves) and hold them in no less esteem than the *Danes* themselves. In Spring he returned into *England*, and in *Easter* Holydays held a great Council at *Cirecester*, in which he banished Duke *Ethelward* or *Edward* as others call him. This same year in the place of the Battle fought at *Elfdunne*, which won him the Kingdom, he was present at the Dedication of a Church which there he had caused to be built as others in other places of the Fights he had been in. In this building he was assisted by *Turkil* the Earl, whom the year following, suspecting it seems his power, he banished out of *England* with his Wife *Egitha*. With *Turkil* others joyn *Eric* or *Iric* the Duke of *Northumberland*, a *Dane* also by descent. As soon as they set foot in *Denmark*, *Matthew* writes, that *Turkil* (who had been the procurer of the death of *St. Elphege*; and had first persuaded *Swane* to invade *England*) was killed by the Noblemen of the Countrey. But whether it was that those he banished and sent home, stirred up the People against him, or that being absent his Authority was despised. *Huntingdon* writes, that in his ninth year he carried over another Army into *Denmark* against *Vif* and *Eilaf*, who had got a great multitude together against him both by Sea and Land, and now gave him such a Defeat, that of both Nations *English* and *Danes* very many were loit. But others make this the same expedition with the former.

He falls into Denmark.

And beats the Swedes.

At his return banished *Turkil* and other Nobles.

Subdues Norway.

6. And indeed had his matters been so much imbroiled now in *Denmark* he would not have cast his thoughts so soon upon *Norway*, whence having intelligence that the People despised their King *Olaus* for his plainness and religious simplicity, he sent great sums of Money to make way for him, that rejecting their true and natural Lord they should revolt and chuse him for their King. His Gold had such effect upon them, that not able to withstand the Operations thereof, they promised him a good reception whenever he would come, which the following year and the *MXCVIII* of our Lord he did, failing into *Norway* with fifty ships. The King *Olaus* he drove out of the Countrey, and then easily subdued it to his own Command, whither *Olaus* the year after returning to try the minds of the Revolters was slain by them with all his followers. The year after his Conquest he returned into *England*, but not till the Feast of *St. Martin* was past, where being arrived under a pretence of an Embassy, he sent into Banishment *Harcan* a Danish Count, who had Married *Gumilda* his Neice by his Sister and the King of the *Wandals*. This man was grown so powerful and popular, that he stood in fear of being killed or deposed by him, and thereupon he drove him to such straits, that within Twelve months he either perished on the Sea, or else was killed in the Isle of *Orkney*. Such were his fears, such were the means he used to prevent what he feared, sparing neither fair nor foul, sticking at nothing how unjust soever, for fixing the Diadem on his Head. Now he had no occasion nor temptation to be bad, and therefore resolved to be very good, and eminently religious, as such who have arrived at great wealth by griping and fordid Practices, many times think to make Heaven satisfaction by dedicating some of their ill gotten Goods to Religi-

SECT. II.

*Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. MXXV. et c.*





**Sect. 11.** Emperour of Germany, Before his Death it's said that he appointed *Swane* to be King of Norway, *Hardecnut* King of Denmark, and to *Harold* assigned the Kingdom of England. But this seems no ways probable that he would separate the Son of his dearly beloved Wife so far from her, especially if that be true, which some have written, that he formerly promised to leave the Crown of England to such Issue as he should have by her. However *Harold* by means of the *Danes* and the Citizens of London (whom *Malmesbury* writes to have been almost by this time degenerated into Barbarians by their continual intercourse with them) and afterward by injustice obtained the English Crown, but not till after much contention. For each Pretender endeavoured to strengthen himself with Friends and Forces: as *Earl Leofric* with the *Danes* and *Londoners* stood for *Harold*; so most of the English contended for *Edward* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and some for *Hardecnut* the Son of *Cnut* by Queen *Emma*. No expectation was there but of a great War to follow, which caused multitudes of People (who had not yet forgot the dreadful waives made by the *Danish* Inrodes) to quit their Habitations, and betake themselves into watrill and fenny places where they thought the Enemy either could not or would not pursue them, particularly to the Monastery of *Croyland*, where they caused such a disturbance that the Religious of the Place could neither meet in the Church, nor in their Refectory. All seemed now to tend to a slaughter, when by the Interposition of some of the more sober fort Advice was given to the Heads of all the Factions to meet and hold a Consultation to prevent the effusion of Christian Blood. The place appointed was *Oxford*, where when they sufficiently debated the matter by the Major part it was at last concluded, that the Kingdom should be divided betwixt *Harold* and *Hardecnut*, so that *Harold* should have all the Countries lying Northward from the *Thames*, together with the City of London; and *Hardecnut* enjoy all the Southern Provinces.

Which is ended.

11. *Hardecnut's* disadvantage was that at the time of his Father's Death he was in Denmark, whither he was sent to order matters, and by his entercurie to gain the affections of the People, and indeed he seems to have been designed by his Father both to the Succession of the one Kingdom and the other. *Harold* took his opportunity to gain Friends, and some think that at first he was chosen King alone by a prevalent Party, but *Hardecnut* arriving e'er he had confirmed his Possession, this Agreement was made betwixt them for dividing the Kingdom, which settled, *Hardecnut's* Affairs called him back into Denmark, and then again *Harold* taking an advantage at his Absence, being already in Possession of the greatest part, seized upon all. But whether in this juncture of Affairs *Hardecnut* returned into England or was absent all the while, *Harold* got to be sole King by assistance of the *Danes*, the *Londoners*, and now at length a Man made up of ambition and cunning, at the beginning of the Contest had professed himself a stout Champion of *Emma* and her Children, but now upon the turning of the tide resolved to swim with the stream, or was wrought upon by the promises of *Harold*, who made as if he would Marry one of his Daughters. Yet did the Clergy stick close to the Children of *Emma*, and though the Nobility sided with *Harold*, so much contended for them, that *Egelnoth* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* refused the Office of Crowning him, protesting that as long as any of the said Children lived he would never give his Assent or Benediction to any other, and affirming (as some write) that *Cnut* on his Death-bed had commended them to his care and fidelity. The Ensigns of Royalty he laid upon the Altar, denouncing a Curse against his Brethren the Bishops in case any of them should deliver them to *Harold*, and inhibiting him from meddling with such things, and by his private Authority taking them away which he had commended to God and that Holy Place. Yet for all this was he Crowned, for we cannot but believe \* *Ingulphus*, that he bestowed on their Monastery the Robe of his Coronation. That this Archbishop notwithstanding all this adoe overcome either by his threats or promises, performed the Ceremony, though one of his Successors writes, yet we dare not affirm. † Others will have him Elected King without the Royal Ornaments, but herein they are not to be credited.

12. *Harold* having secured now, as he thought, his Royal Estate, so far as the People were concerned (which if *Simen* tell true, he had by means of *Godwin* and others so far jollied, that from being King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, together with the Nobility, they chose him to Reign through all England, abjuring *Hardecnut*, who it was pretended, though sent for, would not return out of

Danemark)

*Danemark* cast in his mind, as the custome is, how to entrap and obviate his Emulatours and Rivals. *Emma* or *Algina*, as some call her, his Step-mother, he had already deprived of the greatest part of the treasure which his Father had left her, so the less reason he had to fear her effectual tampering with any for her Sons, having nothing present wherewith to allure them, and it being accounted but a spare diet to feed merely upon hopes. But her two Sons, *Alfred* and *Edward*, hearing in *Normandy* how matters passed, could not forbear looking on, if they could not be the principal Actors in these Revolutions: into England they came with asplendid attendance of *Normans*, and haste to their Mother then lying at *Winchester*. But passing through *Kent*, the Charge and Residence of *Earl Godwin*, *Alfred* falls into his hands, and then pretending (at least) to be going to London to the King who had sent for him, is stopped and put into close Custody: *Godwin* affirming it was dangerous upon pretence of Kindred, to bring so many strangers, and those of a crafty Nation into the Land, of his followers, some he put into Chains; of some he put out the Eyes, of others he cut off the Hands and Feet, and many he caused to be sold, some he tortured by pulling their Skins over their Ears, of others he caused the Guts to be bound about a stake, and then their Bodies to be turned round the stake till all the Entrails were drawn out, and in conclusion, by various and miserable deaths, six hundred Men he murdered at *Gaillford*; some write, that he only spared one in ten, and after that was done, thinking that too many *Normans* still survived, he decimated them over again, and amongst the rest thus murdered were twelve persons of great Nobility. *Emma* having notice of this Massacre, sent away her Son *Edward* into *Normandy*, to be out of harms way. And well did the ground her fears; for while the one Brother thus shifted for himself, the other that was entrapped by command of *Earl Godwin* and others, was sent away to the Isle of *Ely*, where he was scarcely Landed, when most cruelly his Eyes were pulled out of his Head, which done, he was led to the Monastery, and there delivered to the Monks to be safely kept. But he troubled them not long, presently after his sight ending his days, and in the Southern Porch of the Western End of the Church, was decently buried.

13. Thus cruelly was, poor *Alfred* dealt with, but still greater was the cruelty, if it was procured and ulthered in by the treachery and forgery of *Harold*, who as the Encomium of *Emma* (the Authour whereof seems to have lived about those times) gives us the Relation, on purpose to get those young Princes into his Hands, counterfeited a Letter as written by their Mother. "Herein personating her, she chides them gently for their delay in looking after their own concerns, seeing they could not but know, that it procured the dayly confirming of the Usurper in his Power, who omitted no Arts whatsoever to gain the chief Nobility to his Party. He assures them yet that the English Nation had much rather that one of them should be their King, and in conclusion, desires they would come as speedily and privately as they could to consult with her what course was to be taken. The Letter was conveyed by a suborned Messenger, who by presents sent as from their Mother, and by his insinuations plaid his part so well, that the truth of the Message was not doubted of. Now some Historians say, that the better to conceal themselves, they came into England several ways. Others in say, that *Alfred* only Arrived, and that *Edward* with forty sail of well manned Ships came to *Southampton*, where he found the Coast guarded with Soldiers to prevent his Landing. He adventured to fight, and that with good success, but finding himself too slenderly provided to march up into the Countrey, and Conquer the Kingdom, with much Booty he sailed back into *Normandy*. Indeed, considering that *Alfred* only was taken, these Relations seem nearer to truth, and that *Alfred* with a few Ships, and not many Men Landing in *Kent*, fell into the Snare laid for him by *Earl Godwin*. The Children being thus disposed of, the Mother he thought fit not to suffer here to remain, but presently after banished her the Kingdom, though Winter was begun, she retired not into *Normandy*, because, as some alledge, Duke *William*, the late Son of her Nephew *Robert*, was then brought up in the French Court, and some ad what may be more improbable, that her Son *Edward* was then gone into *Hungary* to consult with his Cousin *Edward*, surnamed the *Outlaw*, whom as we said, *Cnut* had banished thither. She went straight for *Flanders*, where she was courteously received by *Earl Baldwin*, who pitying the Case of a distressed Lady and Queen, assigned her *Bruges* to dwell at, and munificently provided for her all the time she there staid.

A Massacre of the Normans.

Among whom *Alfred* is killed by the Treachery of *Harold*.

He banished *Emma*.

\* *Ipsi dicit Mensefiro nistra Cildmationis fide de feroz am- figne fletum intercam. quam pofce Secretarius in committit in captiv. in captiv. in captiv.*

† *Perce in Amie. Dr.*

Sect. 10.

*Simen* Du- neim, ad Ann. 1036.

*Apud Gillings- ham ut firi- bis Malmesh.*

*Walfoulm. in Hypogin. Neufria, lib. 6. c. 4.*



as will make even the Lame man to find his Legs, and the Coward to grow valiant. Not able to bear the continual Indignities and burthen put upon them, they took this opportunity to shake off the yolk, reassumed some Courage and gathered together (saith mine Authour) a great Army, which was called *Houneber*, from one *Houne* who first gave the Advice and was their Captain in the Enterprize. Many *Danes* they slew, and the rest they banished out of *England*, (that is, such as they had most cause to be angry with, for that Multitudes had imbodied themselves with the *English* Nation and still continued, especially in the Eastern and Northern parts is evident enough) whither they never afterwards returned, when they had here tyrannized by times for above two hundred and fifty years, and of these been possessed of the Supreme Power or Royalty, twenty fix.

But at length  
were most of  
them banish-  
ed.

## S E C T. XII.

*The Monarchy of the English Saxons restored in Britain.  
From the Promotion of Edward the Son of Ethelred,  
(afterward surnamed the Confessor) to the Death of  
Harold the last King of the English Race, the final  
Period of the English Saxon Empire, and the Conquest  
of England by Duke William the Norman.*

*The Space of Two and twenty Years, Six Months, and odd Days.*

Sect. 12. I. **T**he *English* being rid of the *Danes*, resolved to have no King but of their own Native Race, and having so good an opportunity to discharge their Resolution, by reason that *Hardicute* died Childless, agreed to pitch upon one of the Posterity of their late King *Ethelred*. The generality of Historians concur as to *Edward* his Son by *Emma*, that their eyes were fixed upon him, yet *Henry of Huntingdon* tells a Story of *Alfred* his Brother, as if he were still alive in *Normandy*, and was now sent for by the Nobility, whom the concurrent Testimony of others affirms to have been before this blinded and imprisoned in the Isle of *Ely*. Most of our Writers will have *Edward* preferred by the means and procurement of *Earl Godwin* especially, yet some others tell a Tale, that *Godwin* for fear of life, as Conscious of what he was guilty of in reference to the Relations of *Edward* was fled into *Denmark* and returned not till he was owned as King, and held a Parliament in the City of *London*, by Mediation whereof he obtained pardon. But in this case we have best reason to trust to the \* Testimony of *Ingulfus*, who himself lived in this *Edward's* days, and writes expressly that his Promotion happened by the Advice and Persuasion of *Earl Godwin*. † *William of Malmesbury* after him, the Authour of most credit, gives us the Relation in this manner. *Hardicute* being dead, *Edward* was at a great loss in himself, not knowing what way to turn him, or wharcourse to take, but at last resolved to cast himself upon the Counsel and Fidelity of *Earl Godwin*, who being sent to for a friendly Conference for some time fluctuated in his thoughts whether he should own him or not, but at length was content to speak with him. "Edward getting Access, was about to fall at his feet, which when he would not suffer, he told him the sad Story of his Brother *Hardicute's* death, and with great Promises craves his assistance for his safe return into *Normandy*. *Godwin* gives him

*Edward made King by the assistance of Earl Godwin.*

*Vide Clemens in Joh. Bromton.*

\* Post tunc obitum omnium Electionem in Edwardum Consensu maxime Godwino comitis. De Gestis Regum Angl. lib. 2. c. 13.

"him this unexpected answer, that he had better live gloriously a King in *England*, than dye ignominiously in Exile; that the Crown did of right belong to him, as the Son of *Ethelred* and Nephew of *Edgar*, one who was of ripe Age, inured to Labour, and who had learnt by experience how to order publick Affairs with Justice, and had been taught by his own late afflictions how to remove and prevent the miseries of his People. To bring this about there would be no obstacle, for if he would but trust him, he should find that his Interest was very great in the Land. He told him that Fortune would be favourable to his inclinations, which way soever they tended, and if he took it upon him he was sure there would be none to contradict. On condition he would establish a fast Friendship with him and his House, prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, he should shortly see himself a King, who now as one Shipwrackt in his Fortunes, and a Man Banished from all Expectations, implored the help of another Person.

2. *Edward's* Case at this time was such, as not to reject so fair Proposals; but agree to every thing, and comply with the state and condition of the times, whatsoever he required he promised by Oath. *Godwin* was a Man fitted by Nature for managing such a Business, having a very smooth and pleasant Tongue, so copious and eloquent, that he could work upon the affections of the People, insinuate whatsoever he desired, and draw them with ease to any thing, he could but design. He procures a Council to be summoned to *Gillingham*, (some Copies have it *London*) and there some he persuades by his own Authority, some by promises, and others inclined before to favour *Edward's* Cause, he fully brings over to his Party, the rest that made opposition, were overpowered at present, disgraced, and afterward hurried out of the Land. On *Easter* day, which this year fell on the third of *April*, he was Crowned at *Winchester* by the two Archbishops, *Edsi* of *Canterbury*, and *Alfric* of *Tork*, assisted with other Prelates, of whom, *Living Bishop of Worcester*, contributed very much to the bringing about this design. Thus was the Empire of the *English* restored to the *English* Royal Blood, and the People so unexpectedly delivered from the *Danish* Tyranny, were exceedingly satisfied, yet still making a way for another Revolution, which they little imagined to be so near. Betwixt the Death of *Hardicute* and the Coronation of *Edward*, intervened about ten Months, the one happening in *June*, and the other in *April* following, so that this alteration required some considerable time, and probably found as considerable opposition, notwithstanding the great power of *Earl Godwin*. This Promotion of *Edward*, if we reckon no *Interregnum*, and begin his Reign where *Hardicute's* ended, fell out in the first year of *Constantinus Monomachus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, the fourth of *Henricus Niger* the German Emperour, in the year of our Lord, *MXLII*. But if we reckon from his Coronation, his beginning is to be fetcht from the year next following.

He seizes on his Mothers Treasure.

3. *Edward* the creature of *Godwin*, after his Advancement, conformed himself wholly to his Dictates and Advice. The first thing he did, was to seize on the Treasure of his Mother *Emma*, then at *Winchester*. The Cause pretended was, that he had been harsh to him in the time of his banishment and necessities; and indeed, she is thought to have born no great affection, either to *Ethelred* or his Children; but *Godwin* however seems to have been the Infiller of this Indignation into the King's mind, bearing her malice for concerning her self about the cruelty exercised toward her Son *Alfred*. *Simon* writes expressly, that *Edward* did it by advice of *Leofric*, *Godwin* and *Giward*, who accompanied him from *Glanom* or *Glocester* to *Winchester*, where coming on her at unawares, he took away from her whatsoever Gold, Silver or Jewels she had then about her; to which Relation, *Matthew of Westminster* adds, that he yet commanded that she should be supplied with Necessaries, and be free from all farther disturbance, which how far it was observed, we shall see anon. But whatever his Actions were towards his Mother, *Godwin* would take care he should deal fairly with him, in the marriage of his Daughter *Editha* or *Egitha*, which about this time he procured to be Solemnized. The Lady indeed for her perfections, both inward and outward, deserved a Crown, so that this was not the particular wherein this *Earl* imposed on him. Herein we may give credit to *Ingulfus* the Abbot, who knew her very well, and testifies that she was most beautiful, most chaste and virtuous, especially humble, and very well seen in humane Learning, favouring nothing of the rudeness either of her Father or Brothers, but mild, modest, faithful and honest, never doing any ill Offices, so that it became a Proverb, that as a Thorn produces

And marries Godwin's Daughter.

Sect. 12.

duces a Rose, so Godwin begat Egitha. When he was a School-boy, and came to see his Father, then living at Court he faith he met her very often, and she would often oppose him of his Lesson, both in Grammar and Logick, wherein she was very expert, and when by her subtilty arguing she had non-plus'd him, she would order her Maid to give him money, and not dismiss him till he did also fill his Belly with good cheer, thus she obliged him: but though she did this to him when a Boy he wrote not the story till he was Abbat and an Aged Man.

He banishes many of the Danish Nobility.

4. Edward thus settled in the Throne, yet thought not himself secure as long as any eminent Persons of the Danish Blood continued in the Land. He banished Gumbilda, the Daughter of Worgeren (King of the Vandals say some) and the Sister of King Cnut, married first to Hacun, and then to Harold both Earls, but now a Widow, and with her two Sons Hemmung and Turkil were also sent away. They first went to Bruges in Flanders, and thence afterward proceeded into Denmark. But while he thus as he thought prevented storms at home, a Tempest had like to have fallen upon him from the North, where Magnus King of Norway, the Son of Holy King Olave to revenge, it seems, the Injury done here to his Father in the Days of Cnut, prepared to invade England. Edward to secure himself provided a strong Fleet which lay expecting Magnus in Sandwich Road, but Swane King of Denmark, though he had no reason to befriend the English who had so lately expelled his Countrymen, yet to hinder the growth of his next Neighbour, diverted him by making an Inroad into his Kingdom. This he procured such feuds betwixt these two Northern Kings, that Magnus in revenge the year following entred Denmark, whence he quite expelled King Swane, and made himself Lord of the Country. Now Swane sent his Ambassadors to King Edward, hoping he would return such a kindness as he had received from him when he was in danger. Godwin was for supplying him with a Fleet of fifty Vessels both to requite Swane, and to give a check to the Success and Ambition of Magnus, and the thing had been done but for the opposition of Earl Leofric and Magnus, who thought it safer the King should sit still and be a looker on than perhaps disoblige the Conquerour, and bring danger upon himself. And whereas Swane had formerly indeed by the Inroad he made into Denmark, done that which tended much to the repose of England, yet seeing he took his measures from his own Interest not that of Edward, he could not take it amiss, that Edward also should steer his course by the same compass.

5. And their Counsel had this effect, that as Magnus during his Life (all which he enjoyed the Kingdom of Denmark) offered no more to attempt any thing upon England, so Harold Harvager his Uncle and Successour, as soon as he came to the Crown sent Ambassadors to Edward, and made a League and Alliance with him. Thus above ground there was nothing but quiet and serenity, when within the Earth happened on Mayday being Sunday a great motion and concussion, at Worcester, Derby and many other places. A great mortality of Men, and a Murder amongst Cattel followed, and Fires in the Air, or those Meteors which being kindled are called Ignes fatui, in Derbyshire and other Countries burnt many Villages and much Standing-corn. But while Edward was free from Wars at home, he was engaged by the Emperor Henry the following year against Baldwin the Earl of Flanders, with whom he had a quarrel about a Palace of his Country, which the Earl had fired. Pope Leo and Swane the King of the Danes he had to assist him by Land, and left Baldwin should escape by Sea he procured the King of England to secure the Coasts, which he did, lying so long with his Fleet before the Port of Sandwich, till he had an intelligence that an Agreement was made betwixt them. In the mean time Swane the Son of Earl Godwin, and whom some make Earl of Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, the Abbess of Chester whom he would have married, came back from Denmark with eight ships, pretending a great desire to be reconciled to the King. Beorn an Earl, and his Cousin German the Son of Olaf a Dane undertook to make his Peace. The War being at an end betwixt the Emperor and Earl Baldwin, this Beorn and Godwin who commanded the Fleet with forty two ships, by the King's leave were removed to Pevensey, the rest of the Navy, except what the King kept with him, being dismissed. To Pevensey Swane comes and solicits his Cousin Beorn, according to his promise, to carry him to the King, then lying at Sandwich and obtain his pardon; Beorn mistrusting nothing because of their Confraternity readily went with him attended onely by three Servants, but he having brought him

Siens spina regunt Godwinus Egi- tham.

Simen ad An. 1044. Alii.

Simen ad An. 1045.

Simen ad An. 1046. Florent. Wig. rom.

him to Bosenham where his ships lay at Anchor, and having carried him aboard cauled him first to be bound fast, and keeping him till he came to Dartmouth, there he murdered him, which done he cast his Body into a deep Ditch, and covered it with a bundance of Earth. Six of Swane's ships the Inhabitants of Hastings took, and killing all the Men they found aboard them, carried them to Sandwich to the King. With the other two he fled into Flanders, where he continued till such time as Aldred Bishop of Worcester brought him back and reconciled him, for all this, to the gentle King.

6. Crimes of this nature were at this time but too common and too little punished, such was the wickedness of the English Nation which now fell again into security, though the late dreadful Rod was but just removed from their backs. Nay it was at this very time again as it were shaken over them. For Osgod Clapa being it seems banished with his Wife as well as other Danes, had got together nine and twenty ships, with six of which taking his Wife from Bruges he sailed into Denmark, the rest went to the Coasts of Essex, where doing very much harm in their return they were seized with a mighty Tempest, and lost but two, which being driven into foreign parts were seized, and the men put to the Sword. But not onely were they put in mind hereby of the Danish Cruelties more lately practised, but by something then happened on the other side of the Island of the old Devastations made upon these parts by the Irish Scots, but here was the difference, that whereas formerly the Britains were sufferers, now they were become Actors with them. For, as Florent of Worcester writes, this same year in the Month of August, certain Pirates from Ireland with thirty six ships entering the Mouth of the River Severn, landed at a place called Wileceacen, where joyning with Griffin King of Southwailes, they foraged the Country and did some mischief. Then he at the head of them passed the River Weage, they burnt Dunedham, and slew all the People they could find, the Alarm being now taken by the adjoining Parts, Aldred Bishop of Worcester with some Gloucester and Herefordshire men hastened against them, but certain Welsh men that they had with them sent privately to Griffin, and gave him notice when he might most conveniently fall upon the English, and he taking the opportunity together with the Irish Pirates fell accordingly upon them early in the Morning and killed many, the rest making their escape. The next year that followed but one, King Edward to comfort and relieve his People, sorely vexed with a Famine of which many thousands died, took off the Tax of Eighty thousand Pound, formerly imposed by his Father, and called Danegeld, which had lain heavy on them for eight and thirty years. But as this effect of his good nature to them, tended much to their ease and convenience, so other Acts of his kindness to Strangers this very year, proved of ill consequence unto the whole Nation.

The Sea-coast is infected by Pirates.

The Tax of Danegeld re- mitted by him.

He is kind to Strangers.

7. Eustace Earl of Boleign Father to Godfrey and Baldwin who were afterward Kings of Jerusalem, and King Edward's Brother-in-Law by a Marriage with his Sister Goda, from Whitsand sailed over to Dover, and having had conference with the King about some affair of consequence, and returning back in the month of September, one of his Harbingers at Canterbury was so rude with a Townsman in seeking for Lodgings, that he provoked him to kill him in heat of Anger. Eustace enraged hereat with all his Company, hastened to revenge his Servants death, and killed him that had slain him with other eighteen of his Company; but thereupon the Citizens rising fell upon him and his men, whereof one and twenty they slew, and wounded many others, he himself hardly escaping with one Follower from the Tumult. To Court he posits with great Clamour, and assisted by some of his own Party, greatly incenses the King against those of Canterbury. Earl Godwin is sent for and commanded with all speed to march with an Army and punish the Offenders. He on the contrary affirms, that no man is to be condemned before he be heard, and frets that the King should favour all Strangers more than his own Subjects, for many of them he had preferred to great places, and trust in the English Church and State; one Robert a Norman lately Bishop of London he had made Archbishop of Canterbury, and another of that Country called William, he had promoted to the See of London, which thing exasperated the English against the Normans. Being backed by some others that loved their Country, he urged that the chief Actors in the late disorders were first to be sent for and fairly tried; in case they were found innocent to be dismissed, but if culpable to be fined, or undergoe some corporal Punishment for the breach of the King's Peace, and the Violence and Affront they had offered to the Earl. He farther put him in mind, that it was his part to protect his People, and not condemn them

Ingulphus.

Vide Malmesb. ubi supra cap. 13. Simen. Danelm. ad Ann. MLI.

Engages with Henry the Em- perour against Baldwin Earl of Flanders.

Sect. 12.

Godwin and his Sons take up Arms.

them without due process. In conclusion, the thing he refused to do, not esteeming the King's Anger which he thought would be but a fit; but Edward displeased with his refusal, and farther egged on to revenge called an Assembly of all the Nobility at *Glocester*, that the matter might be therein debated. All the Nobility was present or few excepted, only *Godwin* and his Sons appeared not, suspecting that the Nobility were too much of the King's humour, but Armed themselves, *Godwin* raising Forces out of his Earldom, containing (as *Simoni* writes) *Kent*, *Southsex* and *Wessex*; his Eldest Son *Swane* out of his, which comprised *Oxfordshire*, *Glocestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Somersetshire* and *Berkshire*; and *Harold* his Youngest Son out of his County, wherein *Essex*, *East England*, the Shires of *Huntingdon* and *Cambridge* were included.

*Quercus* *re-*  
*rum Regni* *pro-*  
*ceret* *pro* *Gu-*  
*estriam* *coe-*  
*ventre*.

*Haroldus* *de*  
*his comitatibus*  
*viz* *de* *Essex*  
*Saxonia* *Essex*  
*Anglia* *Han-*  
*tinordun* *et*  
*Grancie* *et*  
*gloster* *precia-*  
*cium*, *et*.

8. They took up their Quarters at *Beverston*, and gave out that they Armed against the *Welsh* who designing mischief against the King had fortified a place in *Herefordshire*, where *Swane* the Son of *Godwin* then lay Incamped under that pretence. But the *Welsh* having some notice of the Device prevented it by clearing themselves at Court, where *Godwin* and his Sons were rendered so odious, that the King's Army was expected to March against them. And *Edward* had sent to *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, and *Syward* of *Northumberland* to come and succour him in his extremity with all the Power they could raise. They at first came but with a few; but sending afterwards throughout their several Commands, got together in a little time great Forces, with which *Rodulph* the King's Nephew by his Sister *Goda*, and her former Husband *Walter de Maunt* joined himself though with small expectation, for being Earl of *Hereford* but a very Coward, he had turned (as we shall see) his back of the *Welsh* Men, and left his County with the City and the Bishop in it to their Sword and Fire, and they had done greater mischief if *Harold* had not by his industry and valour timely prevented it. *Godwin* and his Sons in the mean time proceeded into *Glocestershire*, and Incamped themselves at a place then called *Langtree*, whence they sent to the King then lying at *Glocester*, and demand *Earl Eustace* and his Company, together with such *Normans* and *Bulloignois* as held the Castle at *Canterbury* to be given up into their hands, upon refusal denouncing War. The King was very much discomposed at the Message, not knowing what course to take; but when he understood that the Forces of *Leofric*, *Syward* and *Rodulph* were on their March, he flatly refused to give them up, and with that Answer sent back the Messenger. They were scarce gone when the Armies came to *Glocester* so enraged that the King had much ado to keep them from going out immediately to engage *Godwin*. Now *Leofric* and others of the wiser sort seriously considering the sad consequences of a Civil War persuaded the King to come to a Treaty, of which there was the more hopes because *Godwin* had given order to his Sons not to fall on first, but defend themselves in case they were attacked by the King's Forces. They brought the Parties to this Accord, that Hostages should be given on both sides, and the whole matter referred to a farther Debate to be held at *London*.

9. The King hereupon encreases his Army by Leavies in *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and up to *London* he comes; *Godwin* also having done the like in *Wessex* comes up to *Southwark*. "Here his Son *Swane* to appease the King's anger is commanded to be gone, *Godwin* and *Harold* to appear before the Council "unarmed and accompanied only with twelve Attendants, and to give up all "their Forces into the Hands of the King. They pleaded they could not give "up themselves into the Hands of their Adversaries without sufficient caution "and security, otherwise they were ready to surrender their Forces, and do all "things else the King Commanded which were consistent with their Honour and "Safety; but to come unarmed was to hazard their Lives, and but with twelve "Followers their Reputation. The King by this Answer was farther exasperated, and thereupon an Edict was published by consent of the Council and Army that they should quit the Land in five days. His Souldiers it seems fearing the Issue began to drop away from him and his numbers to lessen, as concluding it was safest to give way to the times, he departed with his Wife *Gytha*, and his three Sons *Swane*, *Gyrb* and *Tosti* into *Flanders* to *Earl Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Judith* his Son *Tosti* had Married; with as much Treasure as the Ship could carry. *Harold* and *Leofwin* his other Sons went to *Bristol*, where taking a Ship that their Brother *Swane* had provided for himself they sailed into *Ireland*. *Harold's* Earldom was conferred on *Elgar* the Son of *Leofric* an Industrious Man, who as willingly afterward surrendered it to him again as now he received it.

And

And the King still pursuing his Indignation deprived *Edgytha* his Wife of all her Jewels and Treasure, and putting her away sent her with one only attendant to *Wakewell* or *Warewell* to be there kept in custody by the Abbess his Sister. The Enemy thus gone, *William* the Earl (as they call him) or Duke of *Normandy*, with many of his *Normans* comes over into *England*, where he and his are liberally Feasted, all other ways nobly entertained, being after some time as richly presented they return home, after they had been most impudently led up and down to Castles and Forts, and shewed the whole Strength of the Nation and what else, after some little time was to be their own. Although, as the Abbat *Ingalphus* writes, there was no hope as yet of Succession in the Kingdom, at least no mention made of it betwixt the King and the Duke.

*William* Duke of *Normandy* visits *Edward*.

*Emma* the King's Mother Dies.

The manner of Trial by Ordeal.

10. The year following \* *Emma* the King's Mother Died, and was Buried at *Winchester*; we have said before how ill she was treated by her Son, who under pretence of her harshness to him in his Adversity took away from her all her Treasure. She had several Enemies which incensed him against her, but especially *Robert* the *Norman* whom he had first made Bishop of *London*, and then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who accused her of being too familiar with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*: Hereupon she was sent to the Abby of *Werewell* having first all she had taken from her; and the Bishop was committed to Prison, *Robert* crying out that such villany was not to go unpunished, lest it should be an encouragement to others to do the like. She being kept not very strictly wrote to all the Bishops of *England* whom she knew to be her Friends, professing that she was now troubled at the disgrace offered to the Bishop than at her own infamy, and that she was ready to clear his innocence by passing, after the manner of *Ordeal*, over red hot iron. The Bishops hereupon met, and had easily brought the King to put up the business but that *Robert* opposed them. He demanded of his Brethren how they durst take upon them to defend that Wild Beast and not a Woman which had defamed the King her Son, and that had called her unconstant Lover, The Anointed of the Lord. "But loe (said he) this Woman will "purge the Bishop, but who shall purge her that consented to the Death of her "Son *Alfred*, and prepared Poyson for his Brother *Edward*? But be it so that "the may prevail above the condition of her Sex, If so be the will pass barefoot over nine red hot Plowshares, four tready paces for her self, and five for the "Bishop, let her pass for Innocent. The day for Trial is appointed, which come, the King and all the Bishops, *Robert* excepted, are present: he having the night before earnestly invoked the Assistance of St. *Swithin* at his Tomb, when the time came, passed unhurt over the Plowshares to the great joy of her self and all the Beholders, as also of the King that she had so purged herself, though to his great sorrow that he had been so credulous as to admit those Calumnies against his own Mother, whose pardon he begged, as also that of the Bishop, and received Penance from them on his bare Back, as some interpret it. But *Emma* for so great a deliverance gave to St. *Swithin* nine Manors, and as many gave the Bishop, the Innocence of them both being hereby cleared: moreover the King is said to have bestowed on the Church of *Winchester* the Isle of *Portland* and other Possessions. The substance of this Story is delivered both by *John Bromton* and *Henry de Knighton*, and *Harspfield* hath enlarged it with some circumstances. But Ancienter Authours, as *Malinesbury* and others, say nothing of it; and that which follows spoils all, viz. that *Robert* (whom some will have Bishop, and others Archbishop, at this time) fled out of the Land, whereas he continued in the Kingdom longer, as we shall see, and fled out of *England* upon another occasion.

11. This same year wherein *Emma* Died, *Griffin* the *Welsh* King made an Inroad into *Herefordshire*, and wasted a great part of the Country, against whom the Inhabitants arose, and the *Normans* that held the Castle of *Hereford* lifted out and gave him Battel, but were defeated, and he returned home with great Booty. Not long after *Harold* and *Leofwin* the Sons of *Earl Godwin* returning out of *Ireland* passed with many Vessels up the River *Severn*, and landing in the Counties of *Somerset* and *Dorset* there they spoiled many Villages, and whet out of *Devonshire* and *Somerset* many went out against them they routed them, and having slain thirty principal Officers, besides many of the ordinary sort, returned with much Booty to their Ships. King *Edward* alarmed with the noise, and expecting *Earl Godwin* was not far off, dispatched away forty Ships very well furnished into *Sandwich* Road to prevent his landing, but for all that he made a shift to come ashore undiscovered in *Kent*, whence he sent Messengers

L1

round

Sect. 12.

*Wagwell*  
*Malimb*, *at*  
*Wagwell*  
*Simoni*.

*Quem* *Rex* *per*  
*noritic* *ful-*  
*ripens*, *et* *a-*  
*liquandis* *so-*  
*lum* *revivens*  
*ad* *excitatus* *et*  
*Cassell* *regia*  
*circumdatus*,  
*et* *condignam*  
*humanitatem*  
*exhibens*, *tan-*  
*quam* *multis*  
*donatum* *ma-*  
*neribus* *ad*  
*propria* *dimi-*  
*si* *De* *juces-*  
*sione* *autem*  
*Regni* *per* *ad-*  
*huc* *aut* *mentio*  
*nulla* *falsa*  
*inter* *eos* *fuit*.

\* *Simoni* *El-*  
*giva* *Emma*.  
*In* *chara* *in-*  
*ter* *Evidentias*  
*Ecclesie* *Chris-*  
*ti* *Canuar* *le-*  
*gitur* *Elgy-*  
*na* *Imma* *et*  
*Elvina* *Imma*.  
*Emma* *autem*  
*fuit* *Saxoni-*  
*bus* *et* *Dan*  
*Elgiva*.

Who at length depart for Flanders.

*Rex* *in* *his*  
*concessit* *Can-*  
*ter* *exercitus*  
*unanimi* *con-*  
*sensu* *illius* *et*  
*quinque* *filios*  
*qui* *ex* *illis*  
*fere* *decem*  
*runt* *Simoni*  
*idid*.

*Godwin* and his Sons returning.

Sect. 12. round about, and drew into his Party first the Inhabitants of *Canterbury* who owned him as a Sufferer for their fakes, then those of *Suffex, Essex, Surry*, all the Mariners or Boat-men (*Buthefarlas Simeon* call them) of *Hastings*, and others of these Maritime Parts, who promised to live and dye with him. The Fleet having notice of his landing some were sent to pursue him, but he still concealed himself; they returned to *Sandwich*, whence they shortly after came up to *London*. *Godwin* then went to the Isle of *Wight*, and coasted about till he met with his Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* who joyned their Ships with his, which done they yet forbore all Hostilities, onely made bold with Victuals and other necessities. On the Coasts and elsewhere by fair means they drew as many Men to them as they could, especially Seamen, and so made for *Sandwich Road*, where no sooner they were arrived but the News thereof flew to *London*, and so startled them at Court, that command went out from the King to all his loving Subjects to haste and help him in a time of so great necessity.

12. Yet they delayed so long that *Godwin* had leisure enough to pass up the *Thames* as far as *Southwark*, where lying for a Tide he spent the time in conferring with the *Londoners*, whom he procured to doe whatsoever he designed. It being High Water he advanced farther, and no opposition being made upon the Bridge, rowed up by the Southern Bank till such time as he met with his Land Army, which he formed into a Battalia terrible for those on the other side to look on; and his Navy now he directed toward the King's Gallies, shipping his Men and making all things ready to follow. *Edward* by this time on *Middlesex* side had got together a competent Force, and all lookers on expected an Engagement, but the Souldiers on both sides agreed in this, that they were unwilling to fight *English* against *English*, which gave the wiser fort an opportunity of mediating a Peace, by virtue of which the two Armies were speedily Disbanded. The conditions of it were, that *Godwin*, his Wife and Sons were restored to their former honours and Estates, all except *Swane*, who as a Penance for murdering his Cousin *Beorn* had undertaken a Pilgrimage bare-foot and bare-leg from *Flanders* to *Jerusalem*, and in his return Died of a Cold he had got in *Lycia*. The King receives *Editha* his Wife the Earl's Daughter to her former Dignity; Right and Justice is now promised to all Men, and such *Normans* as had abused his Authority, and given him ill Council against his good Subjects are banished the Land. Some few, as *Robert* the Deacon, and *Richard* the Son of *Serch* his Son-in-law, *Alverde* the King's Groom, *Axfrid* surnamed *Cookesfoot*, and some others whom the King much favoured, and who had done no ill Offices, were permitted to stay. But *Robert* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* the Bishop of *London*, and *Olf* the Bishop of *Lincoln* with their Followers hardly escaped and got over Sea. Yet afterwards *William* being a good natur'd Man was permitted to return. *Osborne* surnamed *Pentecost*, and his Fellow *Engb* surrender'd their Castles, and by leave of Earl *Leofric* passing through his Government into *Scotland* were there entertained by King *Mackbeth*. This same year on St. *Thomas's* Night happened to great a Tempest, that it overturned many Churches and Houles, and broke and tore up by the Roots an innumerable quantity of Trees.

13. The next year being the M. LIII of our Lord, *Res* the Brother of *Griffin Simeon*, King of *South Wales* being taken Prisoner, as a Publick Enemy, for the many Insolencies he had committed, was by command of *Edward* put to death in a place called *Bulendum*, and his Head sent to the King then lying at *Glocester*. This ministered matter of discourse, but as little Noises are suppress'd by the greater, this was presently qualied by the Rumour and Talk about the death of Earl *Godwin*, which happened this same year at *Egster*. King *Edward* celebrating this Feast at *Winchester*, and *Godwin*, as his custom was, sitting at Table with him, was suddenly seized with so great a Distemper as struck him speechless, and made him sink down from the Seat on which he fate. His three Sons, *Harold*, *Tosti* and *Gyrth* being present removed him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a Fit, and that he would speedily recover, but he lay in that languishing condition four days and dyed on the fifth, being the fifteenth of *April*, and was buried in the old Monastery. This is the account of his death, to which the *Normans*, and such as write in favour of them, add a Circumstance which much shews either his guilt or their malice. It chanced at Table, that mention was made of *Alfred* the Brother of the King, who thereupon looked very sorrowfully upon *Godwin*. He to vindicate himself, told *Edward*, that he perceived how upon every mentioning of that Prince he look'd with a frowning Countenance upon him, But (saith he) let not God suffer me to swallow this Morfel, if I be guilty of any thing done, either toward

toward the taking away of his life, or against thine Interest. After which words Sect. 12. and straight choak't with the Bit he had swallowed, he sunk immediately down, and never recovered. A man of an active and turbulent Spirit, not tender Conscience in getting or keeping, and not to be excused for his so much meddling and forcing his Sovereign to what he list'd. But had he not been so great a lover of his Country and an enemy to Stranger, those that wrote in the *Norman* times, and durst not but write what would please their Masters, would have dismissed him without this Story, and with a fairer Character than usually they give him. His first Wife was the Sister of *Canute*, which brought him a Son, who in his Infancy mounting an Horse given him by his Grandfather, was carried into the *Thames* and there drowned. The Mother was killed by Thunder, a Judgment which it was believed fell upon her for her Cruelty, for she made a great Trade of selling handsome Boys and Girls into *Denmark*. After her death he Married another Wife, and by her had six Sons, viz. *Harold*, *Swane*, *Wined*, *Tosti*, *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*. His Earl-dom, some say his Dukedom, of *Wessex* was given to his Son *Harold*, and the Earl-dom of *Harold*, viz. *Essex*, and the rest was conferred on *Algar* the Son of *Leofrid* the Earl of *Leicester*.

Earl Simeon  
leaves on Scot-  
land, setting  
up Malcolm  
for King  
thereof.

14. The next year, which was the MLIV of our Lord, was *Seward* that valiant Earl of *Northumberland* sent with a great Body of Horse, and a strong Fleet into *Scotland*, where he fought a Battel with *Machber* King of that Country, whom he defeated, having slain many of his Scots, and such *Normans* as we mentioned to have gone over to him, and driving him quite away, made King in his stead *Malcolm* the Son of the King of *Cumberland*, according to the orders he had received from King *Edward*. But this Victory cost him dear, the lives of many both *English* and *Danes*, besides that of his own Son, of whose death when he heard he demanded whether he had received his Wound before or behind, and when it was answered before, he said he was glad, and otherwise should not have thought him, though his own Son, worthy of Burial. King *Edward* having sent him into the North to fight, much about the same time sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* with great Presents, to treat with the Emperor of *Germany* about lending for out of *Hungary* his Cousin *Edward* the Son of King *Edmund Ironside*, and remitting him into *England*; for having no issue of his own to succeed him, and the Sons of *Godwin*, being very powerfull, he took care for his nearest Kinman, to whom the Crown of Right should belong. But *Seward* the Duke of *Northumberland* survived his Victory, and his Son not long, dying the year following at *Tork*, where he was buried in the Monastery of St. *Mary* without the Walls, built by himself, as writes *Inghulphus*, though *Simeon* talks of his being interred at a Monastery called *Galmanbo* of his own Erection. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, who gives him the Epithete of *Consul Rigidissimus*, tells us his Disease was a Dysentery, and that he was much grieved he should end his days in such a manner. Perceiving his death to approach, he said, "How ashamed am I that I should not die in so many Battels, but thus to be reserved to the Ignominious Death of Cows. Put upon me my impetrable Corset, gird me with my Sword, and set my Helmet up on my Head; give me in my left hand my Buckler, in my right my gilded Scimitar, that being a most valiant Souldier, like a Souldier I may die. So he said, and as he said he died in that honourable posture he desired. His Son *Walteof* being very young his Government was bestowed on *Tosti* the Son of *Godwin*.

Seward Duke  
of Northum-  
berland dies.

15. This same year King *Edward* in an Assembly held at *London*, banished Earl *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*, without any cause saith *Simeon*, but *Huntingdon* writes, that he was in the Council convict of Treason. Whether guilty or not, he thought himself so aggrieved that he went over into *Ireland*, and there getting together a Fleet of eighteen Piratical Vessels, he therewith failed to *Griffin* King of the *Welsh*, and desired his Assistance against King *Edward*. *Griffin* ready to serve him in this particular, raised speedily great Forces, and joining with *Algar* invaded *Herefordshire*, against whom made Head as we formerly hinted *Rodulph* the Sister's Son of *Edward*, one who desired rather to Eat than Fight, and meeting them some two Miles from *Hereford* on the four and twentieth of *October*, horrid all the *English* contrary to their custom who were wont ever to fight on foot. But the Gentleman at the Fight was well begun, with his *French* and *Normans* first began to run, which the *English* seeing thought it was no shame to follow their Leader, but in their flight four or five hundred of them were slain, and many wounded. *Griffin* and *Algar* encouraged by this success entered *Hereford*, where they slew seven Canons which would have maintained the great Door of the Principal Church

Sect. 12.  
De eo sic In-  
ghulphus Wil-  
helmus Nor-  
manni pene  
hæc erant man-  
cipium.  
Anno Domini  
1052.  
Cum Godwin-  
nus comes in  
mensa Regis  
de nece sui  
fratris impe-  
teraret, ille  
post multa fa-  
cramenta tan-  
dem per bu-  
cellum deglu-  
tendum ab-  
juravit. Et  
puccella gus-  
tata continuo  
suffocata in-  
terit.

Wintonie  
scribit Simeon,  
as Huntingdon  
sanctus ait Ed-  
wardum morte  
grandis a-  
gud Wind-  
lar (quæ  
Windlesor) ubi  
plurimum vi-  
vere solent.  
Ad. An. Ed-  
wardi. 12.

Are restored  
to their Estates  
and Honours.

Some of the  
*Normans* Ba-  
nished.

A great Tem-  
pest.

Godwin Dies.



Sec't. 12. Church against them, which done they burnt the Monastery with all its Ornaments and Relicks, killed some of their Townsmen, took Prisoners more, and having plundered and burnt the City went their ways enriched with great spoil. *Edward* foundly alarmed with the noise hereof, commanded Forces to be raised throughout *England*, which meeting together at *Glocester* he committed the Conduct of them to *Earl Harold*, who Marching speedily into *Wales* incamped himself beyond *Straddale* where *Griffin* and *Algar* durst not look him in the Face, but knowing him to be a Man both of skill and metal fairly betook themselves into *South Wales*. He perceiving they were not to be reached, left there the greater part of his Men with orders to engage the Enemy if they could come at him, and with the rest returned to *Hereford*, which he fortified all ways possible; during which employment of his the two Captains thinking it best to obtain Peace, send their Messengers and procure a meeting at a place called *Byllyghelege*, where a firm Peace and Friendship was concluded, in pursuance whereof *Algar* sent his Ships to *Chester* till he could pay them off, and he himself went up to the King from whom he received his former Command. But *Griffin* the year after broke the Peace on his part by setting upon *Leofgar* Bishop of *Hereford* at a place called *Glabbyrig*, whom he there slew, together with his Clerks, *Agelnoth* the vice Earl of the County, and many others.

16. The next year being the MLVII. of Our Lord, *Edward* the Son of *Edmund Ironside* at the desire of his Uncle came into *England* out of *Hungary*, being defined by him his Successeur; but he Died not long after at *London*, and was Buried in *St. Paul's* Church, leaving behind him *Edgar Etheling*, and two Daughters *Margaret* and *Christina*. Not long after he was followed to a better life by *Earl Leofric*, who Died in his own Village of *Bromleage*, and was Buried in a Monastery of his own Founding at *Coventry*, a Pious Charitable Man, and the Nester of his Age, to his Councils all the Kings he served, and the whole Realm of *England* being beholden. In his Earldom succeeded his Son *Algar*, but quickly found a mis of him, being Banished the second time not a year after his Father's Death. Yet by the assistance of *Griffin*, the *Welsh* King, who would not desert him, and a Fleet of *Norway* Men, which by chance came in to his help, he is said shortly after by force to have recovered his Government. The following year, *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, came and gave a visit to King *Edward*, and contracted to great a Friendship with his Neighbour, *Tosti* the Earl of *Northumberland*, who brought him on his way, that they became sworn Brethren, though to what effect, the event shewed within two years; for *Tosti* being gone to *Rome* with *Aldrid* the Archbishop of *Tork*, to fetch his Pall from Pope *Nicholas*, his sworn Brother fell in upon the places under his Government, which he cruelly wasted, and brake the Peace of *St. Cuthbert*, in the Island of *Lindisfarne*, as *Simcon* complains. While *Malcolm* thus disturbed the Northern Parts, *Griffin* the King of the *Welsh*, ceased not by his frequent Inrodes and Depredations, both by Land and Sea, to hurry the Western, which gave so great discontent to King *Edward*, that sensible how much he was concerned in honour, he dispatch'd from *Glocester*, where he then lay, after *Christmas's* Holy-days, *Harold* against him with a Party of Horse, if possible, to surprize him. Yet got he notice of his coming, and made a shift to escape; but left behind him most of his Ships, which he commanded to be burnt, and so returned. But about *Rogation* week, having got a Fleet in readiness, from *Bristol* he set Sail, and compassing the greatest Part of *Wales*, joyning himself to the Horse, with which his Brother *Tosti*, by the King's Order, met him, and did such mischief in the Countrey, that the *Britains* yielded themselves up to him, delivered up Hostages, consented to pay Tribute, and renounced quite their King *Griffin*. At present *Griffin* escaped, but the following year, he was taken by *Griffin* the King of *North Wales*, and slain, his Head, with the Head of his Ship, being sent as a present to *Harold*. He sent them to King *Edward*, who was so kind as to bestow the Dominions of *Griffin*, upon his two Brethren, *Blecbgent* and *Rithwalan*, who in *Harold's* presence, swore Allegiance to him, to obey him, both by Land and Sea, and engaged to pay without fail, what had been paid out of the Countrey to former Kings.

17. *Griffin* left behind him a Son named *Caradoc*, who could not digest his Inheritance, thus made over to his Uncles. *Harold*, as a curb to the Countrey, and for his own (or the King's as he pretended) convenience for hunting, caused in the *British* Countrey, at a place called *Portaſcitb* (now *Porskeoth* in *Monmouthshire*, upon the *Severn* Sea near to *Wymouth*) a great House to be erected, and furnished with all conveniences for eating and drinking. *Caradoc* having notice

tice of it, out of disdain and revenge, on *St. Bartholomew's* day, the year following his Father's death came down upon a sudden, slew all the Artificers that there were at work, and took away all the good chear that was provided. Thus was *Harold* robbed of his good chear, in those Parts; and within a little after, his Brother *Tosti* was in danger of being bereaved of his Life, by a Conspiracy raised against him in his own Government, upon these occasions. There was one *Gospatrik*, an Officer in *Northumberland*, with whom he having a quarrel, his Sister, Queen *Egitha*, caused him to be slain at Court, the *Christmas* before. The quarrel being taken up by the Friends and Companions of *Gospatrik*, two of them, viz. *Ganiel* the Son of *Orne*, and *Ulf* the Son of *Dolphin*, he himself having treacherously drawn them in, had also killed in his own Chamber. Besides he had laid intolerable impositions upon the People, which so incensed them, that three or four of the principal Men, viz. *Ganiolbarn*, *Dimſtan*, the Son of *Agelnoth*, and *Gloineorn* the Son of *Heardulf*, with four hundred Men in Arms, entred *Tork* a little after *Michaelmas*, and first slew two of his household Servants, (his *Eufcarles*) *Amond* and *Ravenſhearr*, having reached them, though they were fled out of the City, and the day following, above two hundred more of his Attendants, on the North side of the River *Hamber*. They broke open his Treasury, and having rifled all they could find, then went their ways. *Tosti* hereupon made a loud complaint to the King, and at his desire, was appointed *Harold* his Brother and others to take up the Business. But as they were going down into the North for this purpose, the whole Countrey in a manner met them at *Northampton*, where, and afterward on *St. Simon* and *Jude's* day at *Oxford*, they vehemently opposed the Resolution of *Tosti*, and by no means would admit of Reconciliation; and so vehement they were and resolute, that after the Feast of all Saints, they procured him and his Ministers to be banished. He went over with his Wife to *Baldwin* the Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-law, and *Morkar*, the Son of *Algar*, was made Earl of *Northumberland* in his room.

*Tosti* one of *Godewin's* Sons banished.

For his cruel murders and other Villanies.

18. Such was the occasion of *Tosti's* banishment, as most probable, though the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* (who lived in the time of the *Normans* their 24. Rule over *England*, and heard many tales of the hated *Earl Godwin*, and his Sons) tells us another story. On a day, as the King sat at Dinner at *Windſor*, he was served with the Cup by *Earl Harold*, *Tosti* being present, and not able to endure that his younger Brother should be more favoured than himself in the King's presence, slew in his Face, and caught him by the hair. The scuffle being parted, the King foretold that their destruction was nigh, and that the wrath of God no longer would be deferred. For they were come to that height of barbarism and cruelty, that if they but liked the House or Possessions of any one, they would by night procure the owner to be murdered, with all his Offspring, to get his Estate: And those were the Justiciaries of the Kingdom. *Tosti* in great rage leaving the Court, went to *Hereford*, where at that time his Brother *Harold* had made vast preparations for Entertainment of the King. There he made a most terrible havock of his Servants, into each of the Vessels of Wine, Mead, Ale, and other Liquors, putting either a Man's Leg, or an Arm, or an Head, sending word to the King, that he should take no care for pickled Meats, as for other sorts he might carry them down with him to his Farm. For this so horrid a villany, the King commanded him to be banished, which the *Northumbrians* understanding, for the many murders he had there committed, they drove him thence with all his Family, as well *English* as *Danes*, and seized on his Treasure and Magazine in *Tork*. Into his Place they preferred *Marger* (so he calls him) the Son of *Earl Algar*, who with them, and multitudes out of *Lincolnshire*, *Derbyshire*, and *Nottinghamshire*, went as far as *Hamton*. Against him marched *Edwin* his Brother, with Men under his Command, and many *Britains*, and at last came up *Earl Harold*, whom the *Northumbrians* procured to go to the King, to get leave that *Marcher* might be their Governour, which he granted, sending back *Harold* to them to *Hamton*. They in the mean time burnt and pillaged the Countrey, killing many of the Inhabitants, and when their request was granted, many thousands they took along with them, doing that part of the Kingdom so much mischief as it could not recover many years after. Such is the account which *Huntingdon* gives us, strange as to the manner of the behaviour of the *Northumbrians*. And had *Tosti* been guilty of such a rash Act toward his Brother in the King's presence, the King would never have interceded with those of *Torkshire*, for his keeping his Place as it appears from *Simcon* that he did. Nay, *Malmesbury* tells us plainly, he had it from those that knew that another was put into *Tosti's* place by the

Sec't. 12.

The Scots infect the North of England.

And the Welsh infect the Western Parts.

Who are subdued, and Griffin their King slain.

Sim. ad An. 1053.





Sect. 12.

"twixt them, and this was the ground of his confidence, that he looked upon his Rival as having his Hands full from the Neighbouring Princes in his own Country. The Duke hereupon resolved to attempt by War what by Words he could not compass, but to proceed gravely and with due preparations, considering the greatness of the Enterprize; for he knew his Adversary to be a stout and resolute Man, and made no other account but that he was to grapple with the strength of a whole Nation.

28. Therefore with all diligence did he set himself to the work he had in hand. All his own Souldiers he kept in pay the whole year, and though to his great charge hired others from adjacent places. He used great discretion in the choice of his Men, lifting such as were tall and of strong constitution. His Captains and Officers were both practised in Warlike matters, and of mature Age to govern both themselves and others; not heady rash Young Men, who usually by their heat and indiscretion ruine an Army. And indeed he was exceedingly well served at this time, his Prelates striving who should excell one another in Acts of Religion, and his Nobles in Deeds of Magnanimity and Liberality, so that the Monk of *Malmesbury* admires how within the term of sixty years they should become so degenerate, not considering the luxurious effects of wealth and prosperity, great Possessions and Affluence of all things in a new Conquered Country. But as *William* made all as sure as he could at home, so abroad he fought for Reputation to his cause, by sending to the Pope, and making his Pretences as plausible as he could, which *Harold* omitted, thinking himself strong enough without the help of a verbal or Paper Assistance. Pope *Alexander* in token of his Approbation sends him a Consecrated Banner, well satisfied with his bare affirmation that King *Edward* himself, besides what *Harold* had engaged, by the Advice of Earl *Sward*, Earl *Godwin*, and *Stigand* the Archbishop, had chosen him for his Successour, and had as Pledges or Hostages sent over to him both the Son and the Nephew of *Godwin*. Having received the Banner as a good Omen, he assembled his Nobility and Officers at *Lillibone*, where laying open the whole matter to them, they promised to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, which resolution he cherished by great promises of Reward, and according to their several Abilities appointed what every one was to contribute towards a Fleet. This done he dismissed them till the Month of *August*, and then they all met again at *St Valerie* a Port Town, where they staid many days for a Wind, which stay made the Common Souldiers mutter, blaming him for attempting to get another Man's Country, and alledging, that his Father having such a Design had miscarried, and that it was fatal to the Family to be crossed by God Almighty in their endeavours after things too high for them.

29. The Duke was sensible whether these Discourses tended, and how much his whole Affair was thereby endangered. Taking Council then with his Officers, he caused the Relicks of *St. Valerick* (one of the Disciples of *Columbanus* who by King *Clothair* was made Abbat of a Monastery in this place, in the Territories of *Amiens* on the Mouth of the River *Some*, and imparted his Name unto it) to be brought forth and expost for the obtaining of a fair Wind, which without delay followed upon the Ceremony. Then very cheerfully did they call one upon another to get out to Sea, the Earl himself being the first that went on shipboard, by his example to draw on the rest. Following close the Admiral Gally they had a fair Passage, and after they had refreshed themselves arrived at a place called *Pevensey*, as some write, or *Butverbith* three miles distant, as others most in the right, or at *Hastings* as some also deliver, following herein the custome of the Ancients to ascribe a Battel or any memorable Accident to the next place of Note in that Country wherein the thing fell out. As *William* was going ashore his Feet slipped, and down he fell on his Hands, which a Souldier observing told him aloud, That he had already taken Possession of England. His Army he forbad to Plunder or at all to indamage the Country which was shortly to be theirs, which saying by Ancient Historians related of former Conquerors, the Monks apply to him, but with no good reason, for when after the overthrow of King *Harold* they had better reason to think the Country would be theirs, he laid no such Injunctions upon them, but permitted them to burn and kill at their pleasure. But so he landed, and for fifteen days he kept himself quiet, not to refresh his Army, but either to consider better what he was to do, or to build a Fort to have recourse to in case of Danger, for his Ships he burnt that his Men might think of no mean betwixt Death and Conquest.

Vol. Malcozi.  
lib. 3. in Wl.  
licium pium.

Who with a  
Consecrated  
Banner is re-  
ady to set Sail.

The Wind  
favouring,

He and his fol-  
lowers land.

30. His

Sect. 12.

30. His whole Fleet is said to have consisted of nine hundred Sail, but others increase the number to above a thousand, which are not then to be understood of such Ships as ours now-a-days, but flat bottom'd Boats, or Hulkes, such as were fit for transporting Men and Horles. Hereof as an Anonymous Writer, about the Reign of his Son *Henry*, wrote, *William* his Sewer the Son of *Obern* supplied him with sixty Vessels. *Hugh* his Nephew, afterwards Earl of *Chester*, with so many; *Hugh de Mumfort* with fifty Ships, and fifty Souldiers; *Ramus* the Eleemosynary of *Telford*, afterwards Bilhop of *Lincoln*, with one Ship and twenty Men. *Nicolas* the Abbat of *St. Andoen* with fifteen Ships and an hundred Men. *Robert* Earl of *Angus* with sixty Ships. *Gerold* the Sewer with as many. *William* Count of *Dennors* with eighty Ships. *Roger* of *Montgomeri* with sixty. *Roger de Busmout* with sixty. *Odo* Bilhop of *Baieux* with an hundred. *Robert de Mortimer* with an hundred and twenty. And *Water Giffard* thirty Vessels with an hundred Men. Besides these which by the Authour's computation make a thousand, from others of his Dependents he had many other Ships from every one according to his Ability. His Wife *Matildis* for honour of the Expedition caused a Ship to be made Named *Mora* wherein he himself crossed the Sea, having on the Prow a Child of Gold with the right Hand pointing to *England*, and with the left holding an Ivory Whistle at his Mouth; for which out of requital Duke *William* her Husband assigned her the County of *Kent*, when he got full Possession of that Province.

31. *William's* Arrival was accompanied with some of those lucky hits, circumstances or accidents which ever attend upon Conquests. *Harold* was now out of the way. He had expected him all the Summer, till about the middle of *September*, when judging he would give him no trouble that year, and Provisions failing, both the Fleet and Army quitted the Ports he had assigned them at the Sea side. As if *Tost* had been hired by the *Normans* on purpose to divert his Brother from the Maritime Parts, to weaken his Force, nay to break in pieces his whole Power, Helpes and Assistences, he applies himself to *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, whom he knew to bear a Months mind to the Kingdom of *England*, and agrees in Conjunction with him to make an Invasion. Having united their Fleets they failed up into the River *Humber*; and from it into *Ouse*, and landed at a place called *Rickale*, whence they marched to *Tork*, and took it after a fierce Assault. *Harold* upon notice having made due preparation hastes into the North, but before him the two Earls, and Brothers, *Edwin* and *Morkar*, with considerable Forces had marched against them, and upon *St. Matthew's* Eve on the Southern bank of *Ouse* at *Fulford*, engaged them with good Success at the beginning, for fighting very valiantly they did great Execution. But the *English* after a long fight, not able to sustain the violence and Numbers of the *Norwegians*, turned their backs after many of them were slain, and more were drowned in the adjoining River. This done, the *Norwegians* received from those of *Tork* five Hundred Hostages, and leaving there an hundred and fifty of their own, returned to their ships; and on the fifth day after, being the five and twentieth of *September*, King *Harold* with a great Army comes to the City. Thence marching to a place called *Stanford-bridge* (afterward from this occasion *Battelbridge*, upon the River *Darwent* in the East Riding of *Yorkshire*) he gave them Battel, wherein after terrible resistance made, were slain both *Harold Harvager* and *Tost*, and the Victory remained with him. *Olave* the Son of *Harold*, with the Earl of *Orcade* called *Paul* who were left with the Army to keep the ships he suffered to depart with twenty Vessels, and the remainder of their Forces, having first received their Oaths and Hostages to attempt nothing against him for the time to come. But here we are to take notice what *Malmesbury* tells us of a certain *Norway* Man, who alone by himself for some time retarded the Victory of the *English*, though methinks we can hardly believe it. This Man standing upon the entrance of the Bridge, having killed not one, or two, or three, but many of his Enemies, hindred the whole Army from passing. Being spoke to to yield himself, and bid be assured that a Man of such strength and metal would find good usage; he derided them, and with a grim countenance reviled them for pitifull Men that could not master him alone. At length none would come to him thinking it madnes to Encounter with a Man so desperate, but one at a distance shot him with a Dart, while like a Braggadocio he behaved himself negligently; and so he falling the *English* got passage, and obtained the Victory in the manner aforesaid. The Body of *Tost* being known by a Wart between his Shoulders, was carried to *Tork* and there Buried. In the Plunder of the Field if we may believe *Adam Bremenfis*,

With a great  
Fleet.

Tost and the  
King of Nor-  
way invade the  
North of Eng-  
land.

But are both  
killed and  
their Armies.

Simon De-  
nora ad dnm.  
MLXVI.

M m 2

10







Sect. 12. "expend in their mean and pitiful Houfes, of a quite contrary difpofition to the Normans in this refpect, who in fair and ftately Houfes lived very thrifly. And Drunkennefs was accompanied with the ufual Vices which debauch and render effeminate the minds of Men.

39. Hence came it to pafs, that rather carried headlong with temerity and fury, than any true skill they had in War, they engaged with Duke William, and by looting the day, inflamed both themfelves and Country. In Sum, the English then wore their Clothes fhort, cut their Hair, shaved their Faces, (all he means, but their upper Lip) loaded their Armes with golden Bracelets, marked their Skin with divers Images, would Eat till they furieted, and Drink till they vomited, which laft Vices they communicated to the Conquerours, in all things elfe taking up, and admiring their Modes. But this he would not have undertood of all, but of the English in general; forasmuch as to his knowledge there were many good Men, both amongst Clergy and Laity. But, faith he, as in times of pro-  
 mities with the bad. They had formerly, as Ingulphus affures us, run out of them-  
 selves, and become French, by idolifing and imitating the Normans, in all that  
 was light and trivial; now they muft ferve whom before they ador'd. Those  
 that were fo enamoured of all things that were French, that they would with  
 rather to be ferved by a French Dog, than an English Man, now had the privi-  
 lege to be called and ufed as Dogs, by their late Lacques, upon whom, out of  
 the influence of their former affection, it's to be prefumed, that like Spaniels,  
 they more fawned the more they beat them. And fuch Women as ravifhed with  
 the Perfons, and deportment of their French Guefts, would flock to  
 flare at and admire them even at the Gallows, or when they were Arraigned  
 or led to Execution, now might flay at home and fave their pains, might view  
 and fatisfie themfelves with that contenting fight, while they beheld them knock-  
 ing on the Head, or hanging up their dull English Husbands, Sons or Brothers,  
 at their own Doors. But no more of this difmal Subject. Onely, Reader, remember  
 that the fame Causes ordinarily produce the fame Effects. We will difmifs our  
 English Saxon Anceftors with what is more comfortable; by taking a view of their  
 Polity, their Laws, and better Customs.

The Govern-  
ment Monar-  
chical.

40. To begin at the top. From the courfe of this History, the Reader will ob-  
 ferve that the Government was Monarchical, and that not onely in refpect of  
 the particular Kingdoms during the Heptarchy, which had their peculiar Kings;  
 but even of the whole Body of the Nation, which was ufually Commanded by  
 one of the feven, of all which Beda takes notice till his time, and Eghert more  
 effectually than any of them completed the Defign, leaving his Pofterity in  
 poffeffion of that Power, which brought the Sovereignty to the Houfe of the  
 Weft Saxon Kings, that which none of the other could accomplifh as to their  
 Families. The nature of the Monarchy we muft believe at the firft followed the  
 condition of the Tenure, abfolute Conquefts and Territories, both got and held  
 by the Sword alone, ufually producing abfolute Governments, which many times  
 either by reafon of the juftim Foundations laid by the Conquerours themfelves,  
 the humour of the People not enduring fuch fubjection, or other accidents, change  
 into more moderate and lefs Arbitrary. That Hengift, Alla and the other Cap-  
 tains, when they firft erected their Dominations, Governed their Soldiours, whom  
 now being Kings they called Subjects, with as great Authority, and as full Com-  
 mand as formerly, we little doubt. The Polity and Frame of their Govern-  
 ments for a long time could not be very Politic; Laws and fetled Orders having  
 little to doe amongst Arms and Confufion, and with Arms they were wholly ta-  
 ken up, Conquering by dint of Sword every foot of ground they called theirs,  
 generally throughout the Country, which having by main ftrength, and after  
 much contention and tugging on both fides, wrested out of the hands of the Own-  
 ers, they were afterwards as bufile in defending it, as well from the Incroach-  
 ments and Rapines of one another, as the Re-entries of its former Mafters. There-  
 fore till the time of Ethelbert the firft Chriftian King, hear we nothing of Laws,  
 they having been formerly Governed by common Rules of natural Prudence,  
 according to the Exigency of Affairs, and the nature of Circumftances, or  
 fuch Customs as they brought along with them from their own Coun-  
 tries.

And Arbitrary  
as by Conque-  
rours.

These Laws  
are enacted.

41. After

41. After that their Kings became Chriftian, they ftyled themfelves fuch,  
 (in the Singular Number, I, though the Plural in King Ed-  
 gar's days was given to fingle Perfons) By Divine Dispen-  
 fation, By (a) the Mercy of God, By (b) Divine Difpofition,  
 and By (c) the Grace of our Lord Jefus Chrift, or fuch like,  
 though fome of them omitted fuch Expreflions, writing  
 onely themfelves Kings of fuch a Country. The other fix Kingdoms being brought  
 under that of the Weft Saxons, the Welch and Scots became alfo tributary, or  
 acknowledged fuch Subjection, that Eadred the Son of Edward the Elder, A. D.

By what Ti-  
tles the Kings  
ftyled them-  
felves.

(a) Ita Ethelbaldus Rex Merciorum in  
Chirographo quod exeat apud Ingulphum.  
(b) Sic Kenulphus Rex Merciorum.  
(c) Ita Willulfus Dux & Comes.

948. ftyled himfelf King (d) of Great Britain. After  
 him Edgar took the Title of Monarch (e) of all Great  
 Britain, and King (f) of Great Britain, and King (g) of  
 all Albion, as alfo of the (h) Maritime or Kings of the  
 Iflands, and of King of Albion and the (i) Neighbouring King-  
 doms, in which Titles he acknowledged the very large Munifi-  
 cence of Almighty God, in that he was advanced above  
 all his Progenitours. The reafon of thefe high Titles, may  
 be fetch'd from what we have written of his being waded  
 into a Boat by Eight Petty Kings or Princes,  
 amongst whom is found Macceuf King of the Ifles, for  
 Edgar is faid to have been Lord of all the Iflands, as far as  
 Norway. But this Dominion of the Northern Ifles con-  
 tinued not long, but as with Edgar the Grandeur and Felicity  
 of the English Monarchy, fo this large Title fell with him,  
 not extending it felf to the Orcaades, which as both Giraldus Cambrenfis and others  
 affirm anciently were fubject to the Kings of Norway, with one of whom, viz. Harold  
 Harvager, as we have lately feen, Paul the Earl of Orcaades came and fought againft  
 our King Harold, the Son of Godwin. Yet though they might not ufe the Titles,  
 did many of the fucceeding Kings hold both Wales and Scotland in Subjection.  
 The English Saxon King whom they termed Cynns, and contracted at laft Cyns,  
 (as we now do the Saxon Language not knowing K) had Sovereign Power and  
 Rights of Majesty, made Laws, raifed Money, and had power of Life and Death,  
 as we fhall fee hereafter. The Wife of the King they called Cwen, as we at prefent  
 Queen, and the was Partaker with her Husband though not in Sovereignty, yet in  
 Refpect and Honour, till by reafon of the pragmatical Carriage of Eadburga,  
 the Daughter of Offa, and Wife to Birtric, this Cuftome common to all Nations was  
 interrupted in the Royal Palace of the Weft Saxons, where the Wives of the  
 Kings were not fuffered to fit by them, nor to enjoy the Title of Queen, till  
 this Decree was repealed by King Ethelwulf, though with much trouble in fa-  
 vour of his Queen Judith the French Lady. The King's Son or the Heir to the  
 Crown was called Etheling, in Latin they termed him Clito, (fignifying the  
 fame, as Cæfar, Princeps Juventutis or Nobiliffimus Cæfar, amongst the Romans)  
 though thefe Names were in a manner given to all of the Blood-Royal, whom  
 Hoveden in a diminutive way calls Clitunculi. The Eldest by the Prerogative of  
 his Age challenged juftly the Title of King after his Father's death, but the Reader  
 in perufal of this History may take notice how often this Courfe was changed, when  
 either force prevailed, a former agreement had paffed, or the next and immediate  
 Heir was but a Child.

The Queen.

The King's  
Heir and other  
Sons.

Two forts of  
Councils.

The great Af-  
fembly or  
Council for  
governing the  
Nation.

42. Of all the Inftitutions by which the Kings governed, their Principal were  
 their Councils. Of thefe they had two forts, viz. their Ordinary or Domeltick,  
 confifting of Domelticks, or fuch as were near their Perfons; or Extraordinary;  
 which was the Great Affembly or Council held for determining the great and ur-  
 gent Affairs of the Kingdom. This was called prentemote, or the Affembly of  
 Wifemen, and confifted of the Prelates and Noblemen, or chief Magiftrates of the  
 Kingdom. Hereof, befides what the Laws of Princes fpeak, we have ample Tefti-  
 mony from feveral Charters of Kings, as well in the feveral petty Kingdoms dur-  
 ing the Heptarchy, as after it came fully to be reduced into one Monarchy. Ber-  
 tulf the King of the Mercians in a Charter, wherein he confirms the Revenues  
 and Privileges of the Monaftery of Croyland, fignifies that the Monaftery had ex-  
 hibited their complaint before the (a) Prelates and Nobles of his whole Realm of

(d) Ego Eadredus Rex terrenus fub Im-  
periali potentia Regis Secularum auctoritate;  
Principis magna Britannie temporalis ge-  
neris Imperatoris.

(e) Ego Edgarus ejufdem Dei noftri lar-  
gitifue Munificentie poffeffor totius magnæ  
Britannie Monarchiam. A. D. 966.

(f) Ego Edgarus fub ipfo fædere Rege  
prefidentis Regno Britannie.  
A. D. 970.

(g) Ego Edgarus totius Albionis bafilius  
nec non maritimorum feu infularum  
Regum habitantium, adeo ut nullius proge-  
nitorum fubjectionis largifus Dei gratia  
fæpente fœm fubftituit. A. D. 974.

(h) Ego Edgarus totius Albionis fini-  
morfique Regum bafilius.

Topograph.  
Hibernicæ Diff.  
2. c. 11. cu  
adde Orderi-  
cum Vitalem  
in Ecclef. Hift.  
lib. 10. c. 6.  
Chronicon Ro-  
berti de Mon-  
te continetur.  
Chron. Sic-  
berti ad Ann.  
1167.

per Fratrem Adilfium Commonachum eorum palam coram prelatis & precibus totius Regni mei Mercie apud Berington  
ultimo congregatis. Omnibus cenerimus compatiensibus—placuit; apud Ingulphum; p. 83. Edit. Francofurti.

N n

Mercia;

Sect. 12.

Mercia, the last time assembled at Benington, all who tenderly compassionated them for the injuries they had received, and having considered and commended the Accurateness of their Religion, it pleased them all by this King's Instrument to confirm and enlarge all their Privileges formerly granted to them by his Brother *Witlaf*.

Wherefore with (b) the common Council of his whole Kingdom, he grants such and such things; again, he grants with (c) the Common Council and free consent of all the Great Men of his Kingdom. And consenting (d) all his Prelates and Noblemen. And that it (e) unanimously pleased him and his whole Council. Afterward in the same Charter he signifies, that their Possession was in an especial manner appropriated to these Religious Men, by the (f) Common Council of the Kingdom. And at length concludes in this manner, Therefore (g) with the unanimous Consent of the whole present Council here assembled at Kingebury, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Christ 851, the sixth Day in Easter-week, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, this my Royal writing I have confirmed firmly, and immutably with the sign of the Holy Cross. This abundantly shews of whom the Great Council consisted which was held in Mercia for the publick Affairs of the Kingdom. At this time the King of Mercia was tributary to him of the West Saxons, which was *Ethelwulf*, as appears though several other ways by *Ostla* his Butler, who being present at the signing of the Charter witnesseth to it in this form. I *Ostla* the Butler of King *Ethelwulf*, and the Ambassador of him my Lord, and of his Sons in their Names; and the Name of *Ethelwulf* all the West Saxons have commended this writing of the Lord King *Bertulph*. His being present at this Assembly, and signing in the Name of King *Ethelwulf* of his Sons, and all the West Saxons, seems to hint this to us, that though these Tributary Princes as Kings held the Assemblies of their Kingdoms, and therein made Laws, and otherwise dispatched their great Affairs, yet in acknowledgement of the Sovereignty of the Kings of the West Saxons, who now in effect were Monarchs over all, things were not ratified, but by the consent of the said West Saxon Kings, expressed by their Ambassadors sent on purpose.

43. When the whole Power was transferred upon the West Saxon Kings, they were become Monarchs of the English under them, also such Assemblies were held of the whole Nation, consisting of the same sorts of Persons. As to goe no farther than *Ingalphus*, *Edred* who styled himself Monarch of Great Britain, by his Edict summoned all the Great (b) Men of his Realm, as well Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots as the rest of the Nobles of his whole Kingdom to meet at London, to handle the publick Affairs of the whole Realm. Here we see they were assembled by the King's Edict, not by sending to them all in particular, but by the way of Proclamation.

Summoned by Edict or Proclamation upon extraordinary occasion.

Their meeting was timed according to the Exigency of Affairs, as that notable Council held at London, A. D. 833. under (c) *Egbert* for suppression of the *Danish* Pirates, which continually infested the Sea-coasts, at which were present the said *Egbert*, *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Witlaf* King of Mercia, with the Prelates and the greater Noblemen of all England. Yet it is observable that their business giving them leave, they would stay for some remarkable day or time. As this Council was held on the Feast of St. *Augustine* the Confessor, Doctor and Apostle of our Nation as the Charter hath it, meaning *Augustine*, the Monk, sent over to convert the English Nation by *Gregory* the Great, whose Festival was held in great esteem upon that account. The Councils held in *Bertulph*'s time, and formerly mentioned by us, assembled at *Easter*, and indeed this seems to have been the time chiefly respected when the occasion was not urgent and pressing, because the season being convenient for Travel, this Festival in those days was wont by Princes more magnificently to be observed, and their Courts now were wont to be more full of the Nobility, who usually waited upon Kings at the Celebration of it, *Whitsontide* and *Christmass*, but especially of it, as appears from what we read of *Charles* the Great, and as we see by the Letter of King *Canute* written to his Subjects from Rome, the Princes of Italy flocked to that City to celebrate together with the Pope that Holy Feast. Of course therefore coming to Court, at that time it was most convenient to hold the Assembly, *Easter*, *Whitsontide*

Ordinarily at Easter, Whitsontide and Christmass.

(b) Cum communi concilio totius Regni mei concilio.

(c) Cum communi concilio gratissime consensu omnium magnatum Regni mei concilio.

(d) Consensu omnium prelati & procerum meorum.

(e) Consensu unanimiter meo & universis concilio. p. 359.

(f) Et Plessio varis Religiosis communis Regni consensu spectat appropinquat. p. 360.

(g) Cum ergo unanimitate consensu totius presentis concilii hic apud Regium anno Incarnationis Christi Domini 851, feria sexta, in hebdomada Pasche pro Regni negotiis congregati, istud meum Regium Chirographum sancte crucis signo firmavit & immutabiliter confirmavit. p. 361.

Ego Ostla pincerna Regis Ethelwulfi & filiorum suorum nomine illorum Westsaxonum istud Chirographum Domini Bertulphi Regis Merciorum Commendavi. p. 361.

(b) In Festo ergo Nativitatis B. Marie cum universis magnatibus Regni per Regium Edictum summamur, tunc Archiepiscopi quam Episcopi ac Abbates, quorum ceteris totius Regni proceres & optimates Londonie convenissent ad tractandum de negotiis publicis totius Regni. p. 374.

(c) In presentia Domini nostri Egberti Regis Westsaxonum & Ethelwulfi filii qui ceteros pontifices & proceres nobilissimos totius Anglie in civitate Londonie ubi omnes congregati sumus pro consilio capiendi contra Danicos prout in tota Anglie assidue insistent. Sic scribit *Witlafus* Rex Merciorum apud Ingelwinton. p. 375.

CHAP. II.

Contemporary with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp.

275

and *Christmass*, were the ordinary times for holding these great Councils. Yet Sect. 12. that Assembly summoned by King *Edred*, was held on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

44. We have heard that these Great Councils consisted of Prelates and Noblemen, expressed by these Latin words, *Proceres, Magnates et Optimates*, (not the least mention of any of the Common People being made) but for a better understanding of the thing in hand, we must know what they called them in their own Language. Here to fetch the matter as high as we can, we shall betake our selves to the Laws of King *Ina*, the first of any English Saxon King now certainly extant, who tells us that he composed them by the counsel and advice of his Father *Cwred*, of *Hedda* and *Erkenwald* his Bishops, and all his Aldermen, and the Eldest Wise Men of his Nation, and in a great Assembly of the Servants of God: of Bishops there is no doubt. As for Aldermen the Latin Translators terms it *Senators*, but this leaves us in as great obscurity. First then, the word *Senators* was so general as to signify and comprehend all that were eminent either in respect of their Dignity or their Offices, all *Reguli, Sabreguli, Princes, Dukes, Earls*, and all sorts of Magistrates. But such of them must be here meant as must correspond with what follows, viz. the *Wise Elders*; and such as may be called *Magnates, Optimates* and *Proceres*, for such they are styled in General in the forementioned Charters. Those therefore whom Writers in Latin call *Duces* and *Comites* were Dukes and Earls, they styled by the Name of Aldermen, as is callum is notorious to any one who hath the least conversed with Saxon Authors: in King *Alfred*'s Translation of *Beda*, and in the Annals nothing more ordinary. Any eminent Judge also or Justiciary was also known by the word *Alderman*. But more particularly we meet with the Alderman of England, for so was *Ailwin* styled, as appeared by his Epitaph in the Church of *Ramsley* which he himself Founded. Now by this Title what else can be meant than him whom following times called The Chief Justice of all England, we cannot devise, for that *Ailwin* was a Judge is evident enough, and that being the Younger Son of *Aethelstan* Duke of the East Angles, from his Birth he could have no such Title. There was a *Bocena* nother called the King's Alderman, either for that he was constituted immediately by the King, or because he administered the King's Justice, and he seems to have been ordained for a time as occasion served. Then was there the Alderman of the Shire, or the *Schireman*, viz. he whom they called in Latin *Comes*, as the Shire it self is called *Comitus*. Or it seems rather to signify the Judge of the County skilled in the Laws, the Deputy as it were of him whom they called *Eorl*, (like as the *Sali* *Edwards* had two or three Judges under the Count, whom they called *Sagibarones*) and joined by the Laws with the Bishop of the Diocess both as to Dignity and the joint execution of their Offices in the meeting of the Countrey which they called *Folcmote*.

The Valuation and Office of Aldermen, Bishop and Earl.

45. That the *Eorle* or *Earl* was distinct from this Alderman appears from the Laws of King *Aethelstan*, which in the valuation of Men equals the Archbishop and the Earl, as also the Alderman and the Bishop, setting the Heads of the Alderman former at fifteen thousand *Thrymses*, and those of the later but at eight thousand, as the Head of him we call *Viccomes* at four thousand. Being thus joyned in valuation with the Bishop, the Laws of both King *Edgar* and King *Canute* joyn them in the *Folcmote* or Meeting of the Shire, where they command that both the Bishop and the Bishop to instruct them in reference to that to come, as the Office of *Speelman* the Earl was to protect the Shire; so that the Office of the Earl respected the Political Government and Defence, that of the Alderman matter of Law, and that of the Bishop things concerning Religion. But both as we said, the Earl and Judge in general expression were called Aldermen, especially before the *Danes* they were called to settle in England. For the word *Eorla* is of *Danish* Original, as witnesseth *Ethelwerd* the Historian, and after the English received it, bestowed it upon the Superiour sort of Aldermen, whom the Laws (as we have said) ranked with an Archbishop, and to an Inferiour it is never found applied. After the coming in of the Normans the word was applied to him, whom the *Dutch* call a *Grave*, though Sir *Henry Spelman* thinks that in the days of our Saxons it rather signified whom the Latin Writers called *Dux*, and Consul as a general Name, than *Comes*, because he whom the Law of *Aethelstan* makes equal with the Bishop was also called *Comes*. But it seems when our Saxon Ancestors took the Name of Earl from the Danes, they took it quite away indeed, and robbed them of it. For now amongst them there is no such word, as neither *Ear* nor *Ar* (signifying in

N 2

Henour)

Sect. 12. Honour) from which it is derived. Yet do they use the Adjective *Erlig*, that is, *Erlig* <sup>by the Saxons</sup> *Honoured*, with which they are wont to subscribe their Letters.

46. But of such Persons did the Publick Assembly of the Nation consist, viz. <sup>by the Saxons</sup> *to the* on the Lay part of Viceroyes, Princes, Patritians, (which Title King *Edgar* gives to *Turketele* the Chancellour) Dukes, Earls, Counts, Prefects or Governours, and Hlafords, all who are comprized under the Name of Aldermen; and so also are Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Priests and Monks on the part of the Clergy. These were also the Wise Men and Elders which King *Ina* meant, for Seniors, Senators, Elders and Aldermen are the same, and moreover those of the Clergy are they whom he calls the Servants of God, this being an appellation in those times peculiar to Ecclesiastical Persons, a phrase taken up by Bishops, Priests and Monks, is notorious to any one but meanly conversant in the Monuments of those Ages. All they are comprized under the Name of the Servants of God, as well as the Lay Members of this Great Council under the Name of Aldermen, the *Thanes* only excepted, who must be added to the former, as appears by several Subscriptions both to Councils and Charters. Now \**Thanes* were of two sorts, either † Ecclesiastical, or Secular. The Secular were also distinguished into two ranks, whereof the Greater were in Degree next to Counts, (as *Vasafors* were to them) being called the King's † *Thanes* as now are called the King's Barons. The other sort were the lesser \**Thanes* or under *Thanes*, being the same with the lesser sort of Barons, Lords of Manors, *Vasafors*, and the like. In *Latin* they subscribed themselves *Minister*, after those who styled themselves *Comites*; and I little doubt but that the King's *Thanes*, or the *Ministri Regis* were meant here by, though some of the lower sort of *Thanes* might occasionally be called to the Council as there was occasion to employ them, as by some Subscriptions we find not only the Queen, but Abbesses, Priests and Monks to have been present. But as to any Representatives of the Common People, we must profess as doth † Sir *Henry Spelman*, that we can find no such in these Greatest Councils of our Saxon Ancestours.

*Spelman. Glossar. in voc. Thagus & Baro & Selden. Titles of Honour. Item Somneri Glossar. in voc. Thagus. Sed ut uberior dicam de Personis in istiusmodi Concilio convocatis: occurrit primum iniquum me reperisse inter Saxones nostros plebi locum, cui in Germania Tacitus potorem tribuit in voc. Parlamentum.*

The Governours of Council out of Parliament.

47. What we have said already of the several great Officers of the Kingdom being Members of the Great Council or Meeting of Wisemen may much serve to shew how the King out of the Council governed as well as in, for something has been said in reference to the nature of their Office and Employments. The chiefest Officer under the King was his Chancellour; for governing of the People, were the Earls, Counts or Aldermen of the Counties or Shires, who for this purpose held another Assembly or Council, which from the Folk or People therein gathered together was called *Folcmote*, and from the three Scynagemote, over these the Aldermen of the three prefeid, but in them assembled all the Great men in King *Edward* the Confessour's Laws called *Principes*, the Bishops, the military Men and Freeman of all *England*, therein they swore Allegiance to the King. The Business of the Shires were here transacted, and hence it was not lawfull to appeal to the King's Court but in failure of Justice, and here were chosen the Deputies of the Aldermen of the Shires called in *Latin* *Viccomites*, as also another sort of military Officers called *Heretochs*. The Deputies were in *Saxon* called *geþeap* and *Scyngeþeap* (whence our *Shire-reeves* contractedly *Sheriffs*) and in the Absence of the Aldermen they managed the Business of the County, and governed the *Folcmotes*. Before them as appears from *Ingulphus* Propriety was tried, and when evicted they were to put the right owner into Possession. From the same Writer it farther appears, that there were certain Officers formerly in *Latin* called *Vicedomini*, out of which two sorts were made, viz. This of *Viccomites*, and another whom he calls *Justitarii*. Yet that the *Vicedomini* continued afterward is evident enough, but one of these two sorts might be meant, viz. either a Sheriff or a Justiciary, for it's an ordinary thing for the *Species* to be denominated by the *Genus*.

48. The *Heretochs* who as we said were also chosen in meeting of the Shire, are thus described to us by one who in the time of the *Normans* interpolated the Laws of *Edward* the Confessour. "There were other Powers and Dignities (saith he) constituted throughout all Countries and Provinces, and through the so-  
"veral

A Description of Heretochs.

"veral Shires which the *English* called *Heretochs*, viz. Noble, Eminent, Wise, Faithfull and Courageous Barons, in *Latin* *Ductores Exercitus*, whom the *French* named Capital Countables, or Marshalls of Armies. In Battels they Marshalled Armies, and raised Forces as occasion served, and when they thought fit for the Honour of the Crown, and the benefit of the Kingdom. Now these Men were chosen by the Common Council, for the common Utility of the Realm through all the Provinces and Countries, and the several Counties in full *Folcmote*, as the Sheriffs of Provinces and Counties ought to be chosen; so as in every County there was ever one *Heretoch* chosen to conduct the Forces of his Shire according to order received from our Lord the King for the Honour and Profit of the Crown of the said Kingdom, always when need required. Whosoever for fear of Battel or Death shall fly from his Lord, or Associate in the Conduct of his *Heretoch*, either in an expedition by Sea or Land, is to loose all he hath, life and all, and the Lord may seize upon that Land which he formerly gave him. Here add that all Men were bound to be provided of Arms, out of St. *Edward's* Law. 35. They were chosen then as Sir *Henry Spelman* observes in full *Folcmote*, not in the Assembly of the beginning of *May*, of which we shall speak anon, but at the beginning of *October*. At these *Folcmotes* these *Heretochs* \* were present, and with the approbation of the Assembly ordered what was to be done in reference to the *Militia*. This Popular Election of them seems to have been taken from the *Germans*, as appears from the Laws of the *Boii*. † And as Thing so Name came from them, with whom still at this day *Herzog* anivereth to *Latin* *Dux*, and they as well as our *Saxon* \* Ancestours still give that Title to those Princes, and great Nobles which with us use the style of *Dukes*. Yet these our *Heretochs* were no such kind of Persons, but either of the same anti, &c. Dignity, and account with the Sheriffs or inferior to them. For the Laws of *Henry the First* directing who should be present at the *Shire-mote* order that there be the Bishops, *Comites*, and *Viccomites*, then the *Heretochs*, *Trithingreves*, *Ledgreves*, &c. Sir † *Henry* thinks them the same with those whom the Laws of *Æthelstan* call *Holdes*; for as he joins *Shire-reeves* and *Heretochs* together, to doth he also *Holdes* and *Hebgreves*, by which no other than the *Shire-reeves* are signified. But thus we have shewed that both the one and the other were chosen in the *Folcmote*, which as to the *Shire-reeves* held till the ninth year of *Edward* the Second, or the year of our Lord 1315. Afterwards great Contentis and Tumults arising they came to be pricked by the King, in the manner they are at this present.

How these Officers were chosen.

Their Power, Duty and Reward.

49. But farther, What has been said of the Power of the *Heretochs*, as to raising and management of the *Militia* of the Shire, must for all this be meant subordinately to the Earl or Alderman. For in the *Saxon* Annals and other Histories throughout, upon all occasions we find these great Men, those whom in *Latin* they called *Duces* and *Comites*, still to be up and fighting, and of these *Heretochs*, otherwise than in the Law Books, find we no mention, their Actions and Authority being hid under that Employment of the Counts. They were chosen by the People in the *Folcmote*, as the Knights of Shires at this day, the Alderman, Count or Earl, was appointed by the King, continued during pleasure for a time, or was now and then Hereditary as the Prince thought convenient. The Office of Count, Earl or Alderman, was to prevent and punish Force and Injury, restrain Robberies, and keep the King's Peace, not only by the vigour of the Laws, but if need served, by force of Arms; the King's Dues, as Customs and Tributes, he Collected and brought into the Treasury. Yet the Causes of Noblemen were not tryable in his Court, a thing in force so much at this day, that Actions of Debt or Injuries cannot be tried in the County Court, if the value of the thing contended for be not under forty shillings. This is farther remarkable, that no Man by the Laws of King *Alfred*, could change his dwelling without the knowledge and testimony of the Alderman, in whose Shire he lived. In case he had taken a Thief and dismissed him, or concealed the theft, he was to loose his Shire, except the King pleaded to dispense with him by the Laws of *Ina*. As the reward of his service, or stipend from the profits arising out of the Mulcts and Pleas of his County, he received the third penny, as did the *French* Counts, in the time of *Charles* the Great, which Custom was continued by the *Normans* after the Conquest. From *Doomday Book* also, it appears, that the Earl or Count received certain Rents or Payments from particular Towns, as that of *Chichester* paid fifteen pounds to the King, and ten to the Earl. Such was the power, duty and reward of this great Officer, in *Saxon* called *Alderman*, in *Latin*, *Dux* or *Comes*,

Vide Ll. Inq. Aluredi, aliorum passim.

C. 33.  
C. 34.

The Laitie call the Name of Alderman. The Clergy called the Servants of God.

Thanes.

But no Representatives of the Commonalty.

\* Saxones began a German nomen; trare, et quod heretochus vocat appropinquat, et quia deo dicitur heretochus regnar & populo designat. \* Legeges day vide

Sect. 12.



Sect. 12.

dreds of Cherham and Marden in the County of Kent consist but of one a-piece. And *Stanford* in *Lincolnshire*, as appears from *Doomsday Book*, paid for twelve Hundreds and an half.

54. My Opinion is, that at first an Hundred consisted of 100 Hides, and that afterwards the quantity came to be altered, as all humane Institutions are subject to change, and *Inglufus* tells us that great alteration was made in the Divisions of the Land in the time of the *Danes*. Just so at *Rome* when the several Centuries of the People were first ordained, a respect was had to the Number, but afterwards when *Servius* modelled the State anew he increased the numbers of People very much in some of them, but let the Name still remain as in that History we have observed to the Reader and given him warning not to take a Century for an hundred Men, but such a Division of the People. The Hundred to be sure was a part of the Shire, where an hundred men presided as Prefervers of the King's Peace, being called *Hundreders*, and in Latin *Centuriones* and *Centenarii*. They had Cognifiance of the middle sort of Causes and Suits; the most inferior being heard in the *Tithing* or *Decuria*, by the *Tithingmen* or *Decuriones*, (each Hundred containing ten *Tithings*) and the highest in the County Court or *Sciremote*. Over these *Hundreders* and the whole Hundred, one presided, called the Lord of the Hundred; not in his own right, but of the Count or Sheriff of that Shire, to which the Hundred did belong. Most anciently he was chosen by the People, though a Statute of *Edward the Second* long after appropriated the Election to the *Chancellour*, *Treasurer*, and *Barons of the Exchequer*. He received money from those that were under his Jurisdiction, and had many Privileges. The Court of the Hundred, by the Laws of *King Ina* and *Edward the Confessor*, was to be held every Month, except the King's Affairs required haste, and then several Hundreds sometimes were called together for quicker dispatch. It was not lawfull for any to be absent, as appears from the Laws of *King Edgar*. The *Thanes* here assembled, whom Posterity called *Barons* and Ecclesiastical Judges too, for as the Bishop was to be present at the County Court, so others of the Clergy at this, and as there, so here both Ecclesiastical and Secular Matters were heard and determined, till *William the Conquerour* distinguished the Jurifdictions, and commanded the Courts to be held a-part, as is evident from a Writ of his directed to all that lived within the Diocese of *Lincoln*, which prohibits all Bishops and Archdeacons any more to determine their businesse in the Hundred; or to bring a Cause concerning the regiment of Souls before Secular Persons. But if any application was made about any Cause or Crime relating to Ecclesiastical Laws, they should appoint a place of meeting where they thought convenient, and there right should be done to God and the Bishop, not after the custome of the Hundred, but according to the Canons and Episcopal Laws.

55. The Court day being published a Week before if any one were absent the third time, he was punished as Contumacious against the King himself; and in case he paid not his Fine, all his Goods were to be seized. When the Court was fate, the Laws of *Ethelred* commanded that twelve Elderly men of free Condition should take an Oath together with the President, that they would neither condemn the Innocent nor Absolve the Guilty. The Hundred by another name was

It is also called a Wapentack.

and still is called a Wapentack from the Saxon *Wapen* and *Tac*, which signifies treading or touching or betaking. *Hoveden* thinks it so named from the touching or concussion of Weapons or Arms. The ancient *Germans* indeed, from whom so many will have the *English Saxons* descended, neither met in Council nor in Judicature without their Weapons, and when any Proposal they liked they testified their approbation by the shaking together of their Arms, as *Tacitus* informs us. And from them some believe the Institution of Hundreds or Wapentacks it self to have been derived both to us and to the *Lombards*, from the Laws of whom as also those of *Charles the Great* it is evident that the Courts of the Centenaries both among the *Lombards* and ancient *Franks* were ordered by the same almost Customs and Laws as ours are and were. But we are told by one very knowing in the Saxon Tongue, that the word *Tac* with our Ancestours never signified Treading in Latin or touching, so that to derive Wapentack from the touching or Concussion of Arms cannot, according to him, be warranted by the Etymology. *Brompton* the Abbat gives us another derivation, writing that it was called Wapentack from this custome, that when any Lord of the Hundred was new made, those under his Jurisdiction were wont as a Ceremony, and in token of subjection, to deliver their Weapons or Arms up to him. Whether this be more agreeable or not to the Etymology, the *Germans* are wont from such like Ceremony to term their

their lesser sort of Vassals, whom otherwise they call *Arimanni*, *Wapendehmannen*, Sect. 12. or *Gewapende*.

56. But if credit be to be given to the Publisher of the Laws of *King Edward the Confessor*, the former Etymology is the truest, the reason this. "When any one, say they, undertook the Government of the Wapentack, at the appointed time and wonted place, all the Elderly men gave him a Meeting, and as he lighted from his Horse all did him reverence. He erecting his Lance received an Agreement or Association according to the custome from all, and all those that were assembled with their Lances touched his Lance, and so by the Contract of Weapons strengthened them, an agreement being thus publicly made. For in English Arms are called *pænu*, and *wacape* signifies to Confirm; as it were a Confirmation of Arms; or to speak more expressly, according to the *English* Tongue Wapentack is the Touching of Arms; for *pænu* signifies Arms, and *tac* is Touching. Therefore it may sufficiently be known, that for this Reason all the Assembly was called Wapentack, because by this Touching of Arms they confederated amongst themselves. There were also other Divisions above Wapentacks, which they called *þinggar*, which was the third part of the Province. Those that ruled over them were called *þingwitegar*, before whom were brought such Causes as could not be decided in Wapentacks. And so what the *English* in general called Hundreds, the Counties of *Tork*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, and *Northampton*, as far as *Watlingstreet* termed Wapentacks, and what they termed three or four Hundreds, these called *þinggar*. But in some Provinces they were called *leð*, which these called *Þrithinge*: And what could not be tried by the *Þrithinge*, was removed into the Shire. Here the Reader may observe what Counties they were that used the word Wapentack and the word *Þrithinge*, which he must by no means confound with *Tithing*; for the one is so named from Three and the other from Ten. The Division of Shires belonged to the King, the Divisions of Hundreds and Wapentacks to the Earl or Sheriff.

57. Such was the Division, Government, and Governours of the Countries or Provinces. The Cities and greater Towns had also their Governours, who were also called *Ealdormen*, which name in them continues to this very day, and their power, as the publisher of *Edward the Confessor's* Laws affirms, was much like to that of the Governours of Hundreds and Wapentacks. Having told us that *Greve* was a Name of Authority extending to Shires, Wapentacks, or Hundreds, and to Towns also, that it signified properly what *Dominus* doth in Latin, that the *Teutonicks*, as *Frisons*, and those of *Flanders* called their Governours *Mergreves*, he adds, "That in his time they who had authority over others, were called *Greves*, amongst the *Britains* in the time of the *Romans* they were termed *Senatours*, and *Aldermen* by the *Saxons*, not in respect of their Age, some of them being young, but for their Wisdom and Experience, and their knowledge of the Laws. And that I may confess the truth, faith he, the Aldermen also in the Cities of this Kingdom in their Bailiwicks, in their close Burghs, their Walled Towns and their Castles have the same Dignity and manner of Power as the Governours of Wapentacks and Hundreds have in their Bailiwicks under the King's *Viccomes*, or Sheriff, throughout the Kingdom. For it is their duty to preserve the Laws, Liberties, Rights, and Peace of the King, as also the just customs of the Kingdom, such as are ancient and approved by our good Ancestours, inviolably, without fraud or delay, all manner of ways according to their power. When any sudden, unexpected, doubtful, or ill thing happens against the Kingdom or Crown of our Lord the King in their Bailiwicks, they ought to ring the Bells, in *English* called *mobell*, to call all the whole People together, which Meeting in *English* they call *polcmote*, that is, the calling or Congregation of all the People, because all that live under the Protection and in the Peace of the King, within the said Kingdom, ought to meet, and there by their Common Council provide for the Indemnity of the Crown or this Kingdom, and for repressing the Insolence of Malefactours. For it is ordained, that there the whole People meet once in a year, viz. on the First of May, and by Oath confederate and unite themselves as sworn Brethren together with the King to defend the Kingdom from Strangers and its Enemies, with all Fidelity to defend his Territories and Honours, and to be faithful to the said Lord the King, both within and without the Kingdom of Britain. This ought all Princes and Earls to doe, and swear together before the Bishops of the Kingdom in *polcmote*; and in like manner all the Nobles of the Kingdom, as also the Souldiers and all Freeman whatsoever of the whole Kingdom of Britain,

Another Division called Thirthinges.

Named also Leð or Leath.

The Governours of Cities and great Towns.

Aldermen.

Their Power and Duty.

The Northern Nations of the same Original.

LL. Ethel. f. 20. Be don do gemote þingwe.

Papen arma getæcan trædere, reidera.

Somner. in Glossar. Voc. Wapentack.

De Grece.

Pulvisat campanis quod Anglice vocant Mobell. In batavica paribus Anglie Locum ubi convenire solent oppidani nunc vocant pulvisat.

The Moore-Hall.





## Sect. 12.

Generally work was chiefly required.

of works imposed upon the *Folcland*, though not all of it, for most of that which was called *Gafolland*, the same with *Gavelkind Land* (for that *Gavel* comes from *Gafol* signifying *Census*, *Rent*, or *Tribute*, and is not derived from *Gineall*, Mr. *Sommer* hath convinced me) was only subject to *Rent* or *Payment*, the works were of a divers Nature. \* *Fleta* tells us, that in (or before) the Conquest there were *Freemen*, that freely held their *Tenements* by *free Services*, or by *free Customs*, but being cast out of them by those that were more powerful, afterward they returned and received back the same *Tenements* in *Villanage*. There were others that were *Bafe Tenants* amongst the *Saxons*, who might be called *Villains* in this sense, that in Villages they lived, and there performed bafe services to their Lords. But a question may be moved, whether during the *Saxon* times there are such *Villains* as are the same with *Bondmen* or *Slaves*.

Et cum perpotiores ejus effent, postmodum reversi receperunt eadem tenementa sua tenenda in villanagio. lib. i. c. 9.

Two forts of Slaves.

62. Some make a distinction of *Slaves* into *Personal* and *Predial*, and contend that as well the one sort as the other, were in use not only with our *Norman*, but *Saxon* Ancestours, the one being received from the *Romans*, and the other from the *Germans*. The latter sort at the pleasure of their Lords possessed Lands and Estates, and in the Villages did Ruttick works and bafe Services, whence they were called *Villains*, and these seem little or nothing different from the *Villains* of which we lately spake: their possessing of Lands makes them distinct from absolute *Slaves* (of whom amongst the *Romans*, many wrought in the Fields and Villages, but yet held not ground) and shews them like to those of the *Germans*, who were in far better condition than those of the *Romans*, as appears from *Tacitus*. To be sure *Doomsday Book* makes several the *Villani*, and the *Servi*, as to instance only in that part of it which concerned the *Abbey of Eroyland*, and which *Ingulphus* hath transcribed into his History. Speaking of *Goundaneshound Hundred* in *Adington*, he saith *St. Gutblack* hath had, and hath two hides of Land, the Ground is of four Carucates. One is in *Dominio* and two slaves (*Servi*) and six Villains and three *Bordarii*, &c. Again speaking of *Wendlingborough* in *Ausfordshew Hundred*, and what *St. Gutblack*, or the Monastery had both formerly, and at that time there, he adds in *Dominio* is one Carucate with one Slave, and one and twenty Villains with the Church and the Priest. Afterward he mentions in *Badeby*, being in *Dominio* Eight Carucates, Eight He-Slaves (*Servi*) five She-Slaves (*Ancille*) and twelve Villani. All these are in the same Page. In the next we meet with four Cotages and three Slaves, and again there is one Slave. Now he saith *St. Gutblackus habuit et habet*, *St. Gutblack*, both had and hath, which had refers to the times of *Edward* the Confessor, or before the Conquest. It's true indeed, that there are many words which are purely *Norman* in that Description of *England*, and *Ingulphus* having lived in *Normandy*, made use of such in his Translation of *English* Charters, but if *Servi* and *Villani* had been the same, he would not have used several words to express them. But he plainly distinguisheth them by the Number of each; and if any should yet doubt that this Distinction was brought in after the *Norman* times, this may satisfy him that *Slaves* were before the Conquest, because they are frequently mentioned in the *Saxon* Laws, particularly those of King *Ina*, by the Name of *Theowum*. One of this King's Laws mentions those who were pice for Theft deprived of their Liberty and called *Wite Theowum*, ordaining that if such Slaves steal again they should be hanged, and no compensation therefore made to their Lords. In case any body killed him, nothing upon that account was to be forfeited to his Kindred, except they had redeemed him within six Months. As for the *Villanus* or Countryman he was called by the Name of *Ceorl* or *Ceorlfeomon*, and in the League between King *Alured* and *Guthrum*, is described to be one that occupieth *Gafolland*.

The Saxon Name of a Slave.

That of a Villain a Countryman.

*Folcland* answerable to *Fee*.

*Allodium* what.

63. For, so in a larger sense were all called, that held that sort of Land called *Folcland*, whether it was *Gafolland* especially so called, viz. that for which *Rent* was paid, or the other for which Services belonged. This *Folcland* answered to *Feudum* or *Fee*, at least such of it as was held by service, and that to which we must now speak, viz. *Bocland* answered to that which was opposite to *Feudum*, and termed *Allodium*. As *Feudum* or *Feodum* was so named as *Fee-bode* or *Fee-bode*, as one would say *Fee-ship*, or that to which a *Mercenary Fee* or *Payment* of service did belong; so was *Allodium* called from *All-bode*, as one would say *Totality*, *All-ship* (hade bode head hept, and the like as before we have observed, signifying what in Latin do *status* *qualitas* or *conditio*) which now are expressed by the word *ship*, as *Worship*, *Ladyship*, *Lordship*, &c. Yet *Man-hood*, *Woman-hood*, *Maiden-*

\* *Freemen* etiam in Consequa libet hunc, qui libet tenementum sua per libet servitia vel per libet confederata

*Spelm. Gloss.* *etiam. Servit.*

P. 909. *Sanctus Guthlacus habuit et habet duas hides terre et quatuor carucatas. in Domino est una et sex villani.*

## Sect. 12.

*Maiden-head* and others continue) because it was possessed totally and wholly, being hereditary, perpetual and patrimonial, free without all condition, and in the Power of the Possessor to dispose of it wholly how he pleased, without dependence or asking leave of any. This was of a quiet contrary nature to a *Feodum* or *Fee*, which when first instituted was but personal, not (as afterward) perpetual, patrimonial or hereditary, or holden as our ancient *English* Lawyers phrase it, ad remanentiam, but as a Clergyman holds his Benefice only for life, the Tenant being but a mere Stipendiary, a Termer, at best, as one expresses it, but a Freeholder for life, an usufructuarius, or not so much, for some held only ad voluntatem Domini or precarii, not unlike our Tenants at Will. In process of time indeed as we have already shewn degenerating, and receding from its first Institution it became perpetual and hereditary, yet holden still as formerly with a condition of service on the Tenants part, and by way of Salary, Pension or Stipend from the Lord, wherewith to gratify and recompense his Man for his service, to which he was obliged under peril of forfeiture. The Fee was holden but in service, and though the Dominium utile was in the Tenant, yet the directum or the propriety remained in the Lord, together with a Power of restraining his Tenant from alienation, and consequently such Land was but partially, conditionally granted out, not totally and absolutely held by the Possessor, as was *Allodium*, the Possessor of which had *Dominium*, both directum and utile, held it pleno jure, integri, ex toto and ex solido, as they say, quit of all services, independently without acknowledgment of any superiour Lord, not unlike the Prince of *Haynault*, who held as Sir *Henry Spelman* observes de Deo & Sole, or as other absolute Princes *Deigratta*, or to speak in a word answerable to the Etymology, in Totality. Hence the terms of *Prædia immunia*, terra propria, fundus proprii juris, patrimonium and the like, and in Charters of Foundations given to such Possessors.

64. Answerable to this was that by our *Saxon* Ancestours called *Bocland*, which Interpreters into Latin translate by the very word *Allodium* \* as also terra + *hæreditaria*, terra || libera, and terra x testamentalis. It took its Name from the Lands booking or entering in a Codicil or little Book, named a Charter after the Conquest, which in case the Land was made over to a Lay Person, was in way of *Beneficium* delivered to the Party, and if to a Monastery was ordinarily laid and left upon the Altar. Thence was such an Instrument known in those times by the Name of *Landbooc*, and in Latin *Tellurigram*, and sometimes *Codicillus*. The Creation of *Bocland* (in Latin termed terram hereditarium jure conscribere and liberam proclamare) was a Prerogative Royal, and not in the Power of a Subject, yet done it seems not without the consent of the great Council of the Realm. Hence Mr. *Sommer* tells us, that passages often occur in Grants made by Subjects of Lands in perpetuity to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and other places of such and such a King, that he made them hereditary, and proclaimed them absolutely free. And as it is proper for him that makes to establish, hence King *Ethelred*'s hit gebo-Privilege, or Confirmation of their whole Possessions, to that Cathedral is by one ked on ecc of the Subscribers called *Cynnynges bocung*. Nay this Land was very seldom alienated yf by the Possessor without (what the Law of *Mortmain* afterward required) a concurrent, at least a subsequent Confirmation from the King, whereof Examples he tells are obvious in the List of that Churches Lands and Benefactors published in the Antiquities of *Canterbury*, as also of the Concurrence of the Nobles of such *Bocland* grants. Particularly in the year of our Lord DCCCXXXVIII. King *Egbert* and *Ethelwulf* his Son granted to *Christchurch* in *Canterbury*, *Mallings* in *Suffex*, *vernum prius* *exidem Ecclesie dedit Baldred*, which Manor King *Baldred* had formerly given to that Church, but because it was not done by consent of the Nobles of the Kingdom, that gift was not valid. Rex sed quia non fuit de consensu Magnatum Regni, donum id non potuit valere. Et id eo, &c. C. 11. par. 1. *Year-Roll.* *Vide Sommer* *rum ubi scribit* *hinc illud fuisse legis butan dem* *People be on garof-lane pte.*

By whom tenable.

65. *Bocland* was properly tenable by *Thanes*, as *Folcland* by *Ceorles*, and thereupon in King *Cnut*'s Laws *Thegns* and *Bocland* in the Original *Saxon*, meet as *Relatives*, as in the Latin Translacion do *Thegnes* and *Allodium*. Not but that it was sometimes held by *Ceorles*, who were not absolutely incapable of holding it, but when it so happened it was placed as improperly, and as much out of decorum, as since and at this day, *Knights Fees* proper to *Knights*, and the Nobler sort of the People are in the Hands of *Secagers*, *Sochmen* or *Ceorles*, whose proper tenure was that of *Gafolland*. So proper was this *Bocland* to the *Thanes*, that those who in the Latin Charters of *St. Auglin*'s are called *Allodiarii* in the very same Charters

*Vide Sommer* *rum in Trad.* *de Gavelkind.*

\* *Textus Rof.* *LL. Aluredi* *c. 47. apud* *Bromton. Cambric. 124.* *LL. Eadredici* *c. 2. in Bromton.* *LL. Canuti.* *c. 32.*

*Quod viz. ma.* *vernum prius* *exidem Ecclesie dedit Baldred* *quod non fuit de consensu Magnatum Regni, donum id non potuit valere. Et id eo, &c.*

Sect. 12.

Thanes who.

The difference betwixt Folcland and Bocland.

Bocland alienable.

Why called Tainland.

ters exhibited in *English* (like as in those of *Christ-church*) they are styled *Thengnes*. Though their name came at first from Ministring, yet being the King's Ministers, the word afterwards came always to be taken in an honourable sense, as *Thengn* denoting in general a Gentleman, one nobly or generously descended, a Man of worship, of honour, whether he was the King's *Thane*, properly so called, or a *Thengn* of inferior degree; for still was he accounted Noble. But to come to *Bocland*, it was termed *terra hereditaria*, to distinguish it from *Folcland*, otherwise called *Gafolland*, wherein the Tenant being but as a Lessee, Usufructuary or Tenant at term, it reverted to the Lord, and descended not upon the Heir as *Bocland* did, at least might do, being because the possession in propriety, hereditary, if not alienated by him in his life time, as it might be in regard it was *terra libera*, as well as *hereditaria*, which *Folcland* never was. It was called *terra testamentaria*, in regard of the publick Testimony of the Shire, required and used in passing of it otherwise than by Will. Probable it is that the conveyance thereof was recorded and inrolled, and entred in the Shire book, in the publick Shiremore after Proclamation there made, for any to come in that could lay challenge to it. It was also called *Testamentaria* because deviseable, but yet here a question is moved whether it was indeed in the Power of the owner to dispose of it at pleasure.

66. *St. Henry Spelman* was of opinion that it could neither be given away nor sold, but was to be left to the Heir except the Writings or Conveyances otherwise permitted it; and that thence it had the Name of *Terra hereditaria*. He grounds himself upon a Law of King *Alfred* concerning *Bocland* which runs thus: *He that hath Bocland, and left him by his Ancestours, we ordain that he give it not from his Kindred, if there be any writing or witness that it was forbidden him to convey it to strangers by those that gave it to him, and that it was done in presence (or witness) of the King or Bishop, his Kindred being present.* Now against *St. Henry Spelman* his Conclusion, Mr. *Sumner* justly excepts that this Law clearly makes for the contrary, forasmuch as it allows unto the Possessor a Power of Alienation, forbidding where his Hands were tied from it by an express Provision, and prohibiting to the contrary made by those from whom the Land came to him, a Caution to the contrary with that exception which we say, *firmat regulam in remota non exceptis*. That *Bocland* was alienable he proves by a passage, he cites out of a Charter of Archbishop *Wilfred*, who died about the year DCCCXXX. which sufficiently shews, that the Possessors might grant it away in their life time as pleased them, either by Act or Grant, or by Will. So it was before the Conquest. But afterward that Custom of devising it by Will ceased, as did withall the descent of Land generally, by equal division amongst all the Sons. For as the English Laws and Customs in general, from that time suffered a daily Eclipse and Declination by degrees, so this in particular (saving where they were more tenacious of it than elsewhere; or in such places as *London*, which by special privilege were suffered to retain it) languished, and was at length supplanted by that other kind of Descent, which now regularly takes place throughout most of the Kingdom. Inasmuch, as where Partible Descent cannot, to uphold it self, justly plead Antiquity and ancient Custom, it quite fails and falls to the ground. But yet we must know, that notwithstanding the Introduction of new Tenures by the Conqueror, yet did not the English presently forgoe their *Bocland* (that kind of Tenure Mr. *Sumner* tells you he means) but retained it both name and thing, as he proves in several Instances. And evident enough this is from *Doomsday Book*, where though happily not the name of it (as neither of *Folcland*, *Saxon* terms both) yet the thing is very obvious, and was at length supplanted by name and notion sometime of *Tainland*, because as we said properly tenable by the English Saxon Government, continuing after the Conquest, and remaining unto this day, though not in the very name, yet in the thing and substance. For as the Saxons afterward had their *Ceorles*, *Gebures*, *Folcmen*, and the like, as the Normans, afterward had their *Villani*, *Bordmanni*, *Cottarii*, and others; so what the former held was called *Folcland*, *Gafolland*, &c. and was opposed to *Bocland*; what the latter Villainage, and in some sense *Socage*, opposed to *Chivalry*, *Knighthood*, &c. and in all likelihood intended by *Rusticana servitus*, occurring in a Charter of one *Walchelimus Maminiz*, of which Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Selden* may be consulted.

67. Those

Their Jurisdiction and Privileges.

As Soc.

Soc.

Toll.

Team.

Team what.

Infangthef.

67. Those that held *Bocland*, had several Jurisdictions and Privileges, over and amongst those that held Lands of them. Their Franchises or Extents of their Jurisdictions and Privileges, or the Territories, Precincts, or Circuits, where they were exercised, they called *Soc*, *Socne*, *Soken* and the like. Besides *Doomsday Book*, *Inglus* mentions the *Soca* of *Dunedike*, *Soca* of *Beltisford*, *Soca* of *Tad*, and *Soca* of *Acumeshure*. And in *Nottinghamshire*, as appeareth by a Statute of *Henry the Eighth*, *Lordship* and *Soke*, were in his time indifferently used, as indeed still in the Northern Parts, *Soke* signifies a Franchise, of such and such a Place, as the *Soke* of *Ofwelbeck*, mentioned in the now cited Statute. The Tenants that held Lands in this Franchise, might be called *Socmanni*, and their Service *Socagium*, in Latin, *agium*, as a great English Lawyer saith, being a legal termination, signifying Service or Duty, as in *Homagium*, *Escuageum*, or the like), but this Term of *Socage*, after the Conquest became more abstruse, and as such we shall leave it, as neither belonging to us in these Saxon matters. But he that was possessed of these Privileges and Franchises, usually was said to have *Soc*, *Soc*, *Tol*, and *Team*, *Infangthef* and *Outfangthef*. *Soc*, as *St. Edward's Laws* describe it, was this. *In case any one was accused of any thing, and he denied it, the forfeiture for proof or denial should be his.* It supposed therefore the Cognizance and Jurisdiction which the Lord had in his Court in Controversies and Suits arising amongst his Vassals, so as to hold Pleas, and impose, levy and collect Fines and Amerciaments thence arising. The Power of holding the Pleas, and having all his Vassals follow his Court; it seems they expressed by *Soc* for the Laws, thus obscurely describe it. *Soca is, in case any one seek for any thing in his Land, the Justice is his whether it be found or not.* In this sense therefore it must signify what the Lawyers call *Seiza*, in Latin *Sequela*, *Seizatio* or *Consecutio*, and what in French is called *Suite de la Court*, although in general, as we said, the word signifies a Franchise or Immunity. Of *Toll* or *Tol*, the Laws speak more plainly, telling us that *Thol* (which we call *Tholonium*) is that a Man hath liberty of selling and buying in his own Land. It was the privilege of holding a Market, there being no other word to express the said Privilege, till that of *Merchet* was brought in by the Normans, which seems yet originally from the word *Mercet*, to signify great Fairs and Marts, rather than these weekly meetings of the adjacent Country People, which are meant by the word *Tol*, which in a secondary sense came to signify tribute paid to the Lord of the Market, for the liberty of selling within his Jurisdiction, and in after times, it was as *Fleta* testifies, brought to signify freedom from such customs of payment. Concerning *Team*, the Laws are again very obscure.

68. But its agreed that it signifies two things. The first is *Advocacy* or *Avouery*, or *Garranty*, of which the Lord had Jurisdiction, viz. concerning those that as the Lawyers phrase it, are *vocati ad warrantiam*. Again, it signifies an Offspring or Generation, and here particularly it's applied to the Issue or Offspring of a Lord's Vassals, and is defined to be a Royalty, which whosoever enjoys, hath his propriety in his Slaves or Villains within his own Franchise or Fee, and power of disposing of them as of his other things, moveable or immovable, at his pleasure. *Infangthef*, was another Royal Privilege, and by *St. Edward's Laws*, is said to be a Man's Justice over a Thief, viz. of his own Man, if he was taken byman upon his own ground, as *Outfangthef* (though these Laws speak nothing of it) was Jurisdiction over a Thief that did not belong to the Lord, but being a stranger, was taken within his Jurisdiction. To what *St. Edward's Laws* say of *Infangthef*, they add, they which have not these customs, may doe right before the King's Justice in Hundreds, Wapentacks, or in Shires. But as it appears by *Bracton*, in the Norman times, this Jurisdiction over Thieves only belonged to the King, growing out of use amongst Barons, who formerly had had this Royalty, rather than taken away by any Law, which yet happened to the Hundreds and Shires, which seem to have been deprived of this Privilege by the Great Charter. Concerning such Persons as enjoyed these Royalities of *Soc*, *Soc*, *Tol*, *Team* and *Infangthef*, we must add what the often mentioned Laws farther hint to us. *Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and all that have Soc, Soc, Tol, Team and Infangthef, may have their own Souldiers, (Free Tenants St. Henry Spelman reads it) and their own Servants, viz. their Sewers, Butlers, Chamberlains, Bakers, and Cooks under their Friborg; as also these their Squires, (Armigeri) or others that serve them under their Friborg, in case they proved faulty, and Etue and Crye was made after them, by the Neighbourrs, they should see right done in their own Court. Those I say that have Soc, Soc, Tol, Team, and Infangthef. By Friborg is meant,* what

Sect. 12. what the Normans called *Frankpledge*, in *Latin*, *Fidejussio*; the meaning is, that for all these, their Lords were engaged, and as it were gave security that they should well demean themselves.

Friberg what. 69. Here it is seasonable for the better discovery of our Saxon Government, to take notice that generally in every Town there was a *Friberg* or College. Company or Society of ten of the Principal Men, who were each of them *Fidejussor* A Saxonic speech i. e. for the King, and answerable one for another, invented, as it's said, by that glorious King Alfred. From the Number (as in *Latin*, *Decuria*; *Decania*, *Decima*, *Bopheg fde* *Deceana*, *Fidejussio*, *Decemviratus*, and the like) it was called *teodung* and *tean-justor*, wa. was also called *teodungman*, *tenhepoc*: *Bophegaltap*, and *peobopheghepoc*, as in *Latin*, *Decurio*, *Capitalis Decemvir*, *Vas Senior*, *Capitalis Plegius*, *Capitalis Fribergus*, & *Justitiarius Fribergi*. Their Office, Employment, and the effects thereof, are let forth at large by the Laws of Edward the Confessor, in this manner. Furthermore, there is another the greatest and most principal security, through Presens est which all are firmly established in their several Conditions, viz. that every one establish quodam Jan- ma & Maxi- ma securitas, himself under the security of this *Frankpledge* or Surety-ship, which the English call *peobopger*, yet the *Torkshire Men*, and they alone, call it, *ten manna tala*, Ec. c. 20. de Fribergis. which is as much in *Latin*, as the number of ten men. This Security came to pass in this manner, viz. that all Inhabitants of every Town whatsoever, in the Kingdom, should be under this decemal Suretyship. Inasmuch, as if one of the ten proved faulty, the nine were to have one forthcoming for Justice: if he fled, the Law allowed one and thirty days; if he was found out in the mean time, he was led before the King's Justice, and was compelled at his own charge to make reparation for what he had done, and if his Crime was such, Justice was done upon his Body. But in case he could not be found within the compass of one and thirty days, there being in every *Friberg* a Principal whom they called *ypobogerhepoc*, this Principal was to take two of the best of his *Friberg*, and out of the three nearest *Fribergs*, from each a Principal, with two others of the best of every *Friberg*, if he could procure them, and so be being the twelfth, ought to purge himself and his *Friberg*, if he could, from the offence and flight of the aforesaid Malefactor; if he could not do it, he and his *Friberg* were to make satisfaction out of the Goods of the Malefactor, if it could be had, or if not, out of their own Estates, so much as they were legally condemned in. And what they could not do with the assistance of the three neighbouring *Fribergs*, they themselves were to swear that they would not be in fault for the time to come, and if they could recover the Malefactor, they would bring him before the Justice, or declare to the Justice where he was.

The Power and Duty of the chief Friberg.

70. The occasion of making over these *Fribergs* certain Justitiaries they afterwards declare, so far as it seems, the other constitution did not sufficiently accomplish its design. But whereas it so happened, that certain foolish and naughty Persons, too frequently and freely committed Insolencies against their Neighbours, wise Men began to consult about it, and over every ten *Fribergs* constituted Justitiaries, which (in *Latin*) we may call *Decani*, but in English, were named *tenhepoc*, or the head of ten. These handled Causes amongst the Villages and Neighbourhoods, and according to the offences, punished and made agreements, viz. concerning Pastures, Meadows, Corn-fields, and concerning differences amongst Neighbours, and other innumerable contentions which infect humane frailty, and incessantly make War against it. But whereas any greater Causes happened, they were referred to their Superior Justitiaries, whom the above-named wise Men appointed over them, viz. over the ten *Decani*, whom therefore we may call *Centurions* or *Centenaries*; for that they were Judges over an hundred *Fribergs*. Thus we have taken a view of the Polity of our English Saxons, as to the manner and form of the Government. The next that we do, must be to consider of their Laws, in the discovery of which, much will be farther made out as to the Customs respecting the Government; the faults to which the Nation was incident, the sorts of their punishments, with many other incident matters.

These Northern Nations of the same kind original.

71. The English Saxons and Jutes coming out of the *Chersonesus of Germany*, must doubtless have brought some such Customs with them as were then in use with those Northern Nations, but what they were, as our Learned Glossarist before us, we cannot but very much doubt, there being very little light concerning these ancient matters. We read indeed of the Laws of the *Anglii* in *Germany*, but with the *Anglii* are joyned the *Weringii* and *Thuringii*, and these Laws were confirmed by Charles the Great. We also read of the Law of the Saxons of *Germany*, which some ascribe to *Herald* the *Dane*, who yet flourished, but about the year of our Lord,

A Saxonic speech i. e. for the King, and answerable one for another, invented, as it's said, by that glorious King Alfred.

Presens est quodam Jan- ma & Maxi- ma securitas, Ec. c. 20. de Fribergis.

Chm autem convingeret quid quidem Justitiis & in- prebi grant & nimis confitei erga vicinos suos, Ec. c. 32.

Lex Angli- rum, Wering- rum & Thuring- rum.

Lord, DCCCCLXXXIV. *Lindenbrogius*, indeed will have those of *Herald* much later than those which he himself hath published, together with those of the *Frisons*; so far as much as the Copies both in the ancientness of the Parchments, and Hand he imagines to have exceeded the times of *Charles*. But by our *Spelman* he is advised to take heed what he says, for some things in them relate to the Church, some things to the safety of the King of the *Franks*, and it's well enough known, that till the Reign of *Charles*, the *Saxons* were not converted to the Christian Faith; nor had submitted to the Yoke of the *Franks*. Yet that the *Saxons* had ancient Laws or Customs, not found amongst those that are published, we may easily admit: but these we may also object, were after they came into *Thuringia*, after the dispersing of this People into those several Quarters from the *Chersonesus*. But our *Saxons* came as we formerly inculcated from the ancient *Saxons*, our *Angli* from that place we formerly described, and could not descend from those Colonies, which after their coming into *Britain*, were sent into many places Southward in the Continent. But as they were of the same Original with those other Colonies, no wonder if some affinity may be found amongst their Laws and Customs.

Their Language and Cu- stoms the same.

72. For, when as all these *Gothick* or *Scandian* Nations, viz. the *Goths*, peculiarly to called, the *Saxons*, *Lombards*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, *Danes*, *Normans* and others, had carried their victorious Arms throughout the Western Parts of the *Roman* Empire, and had begun as it were a *Gothick* *Teutonic*, or a *Scandian* World, no wonder that agreeing in Original, Language and Customs, imposing their Laws upon the conquered Nations, and retaining many of their own ancient Terms and Rites, (however in some places their Language, for the main, might afterward be swallowed up by the multitude of Speakers of that of the place) it should come to pass, that betwixt us and the  *Germans*, *French*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Sicilians*, and betwixt all those themselves, being all of us descended from these fore-named People, so great agreement there should be, as well in the Canon of ancient Laws, as the Names of Magistrates, Officers and Ministers, not to speak of an infinite number of vulgar words. To those Northern Customs we must ascribe then the very first Original of our *Saxon* Laws, not to any that are now extant in Print. Customs I call them, for they were scarcely written in those Ages, when *Hengist* and *Horas* came into *Britain*. The *Runick* Letters I confess might be more ancient, but they were rather employed upon Mythological matters, and things relating to their superstition. The first beginning of all humane Laws, was imperfect and rude, and our Neighbours lately mentioned, as to their municipal Laws, have no more reason to brag than we. \* Let them boast that will, saith our Learned *Spelman*, of the Antiquity of their Municipal Laws, yet the Original of them, how inconsiderable soever, and barbarous, is not to be sought from elsewhere, as shall appear from what follows. For what Conquering People will antiquitatem (nam Et hoc imperia prudentes carpiunt earum rationem origi. quoniam) wink under the Laws of the Conquered, especially when the one is cast out, and the other possesseth it: Seat?

*lacuna sit & barbari, aliunde nusquam videtur expectanda, ut & sequentibus elucet, quis enim victor populus sub victi legibus, Ec. puerum cum effeto isto sedem ille inculcavit? Spelm. in voc. Lex.*

Which pre- vail'd with the Conquerours.

73. These last words are well and cautiously added by Sir *Henry*, for as we have elsewhere observed both of Laws and Languages, when these Northern People (or indeed any other People any other place) conquered those parts of the *Roman* Empire, if they imbodyed with the conquered People, and were exceeded by them in Numbers, the Language and Fashions of the Conquered would prevail, as we see in the case of the *Franks* conquering *Gall*, and the *Normans* conquering *England*; but in case the Victors overpowered the subdued People in Numbers, or drove them out of their Possessions, then both Language and Laws of the victorious People must needs prevail as in our present case, when the *English* *Saxons* drove up the *Britains* into the Western Mountainous places, destroyed them, or forced them to quit the Island. But here now it comes fitly to our remembrance, that some there are who would have several Laws and Customs to have been by the *English* *Saxons* received from the *Britains*, many of whom, as they contend, continued among them, incorporated with them, and were never driven out. They instance in several Charters made to the Monastery of *Glaffenbury*, wherein is mention made of the *British* Inhabitants as well as *English*, and they urge, that had not *British* Husbandmen and inferior sort of People been suffered to continue and Till the Ground, Bread would presently have failed the Invader himself,

Sect. 12. and he should have wanted strength to Conquer, because he had not wherewith to live. That every where, and absolutely the *Britains* were driven out no man will affirm; but yet for all this objected, that very few of them continued in the conquered places, we must be persuaded by several Arguments. One is the general change of the Names of Places, very few Country Towns retaining *Welsh* or *British* Names, and those great Towns that did, having some addition made unto them. Then the Language evidently makes out the thing in question; for in despite of all Laws, Prescriptions, and Orders, (as we see after the Conquest by Duke *William*) the Vulgar will be Master of Speech, and the greatest multitude of Speakers overpower the rest, each one being addicted to his own Native Language, and however some particular Persons may have an affection after the Foreign, using his own Dialect as most easy to him. Neither are there so many *Welsh* words crept into the *English* as can argue any greater Conjunction and Union than with other neighbouring Nations, with which the *English* hath had Traffick and Commerce.

74. But as for that Objection of *Tillage*, it's easily answered from what we have already written in its place of the perpetual swarming of these *English Saxon* Nations into *Britain*, which overpowered the poor Inhabitants by their Numbers, and by their Crowds forced them to quit both Seats and Arms and either pass the Seas or seek for shelter in the Mountainous and hardly accessible places. Therefore do we read that those places, whence some of them came, were left desolate, and void of People, Old and Young, Noble and Ignoble, Man, Woman and Child; as well he that handled the Mattock, as he that managed the Sword, having to be partaker of that Booty and Fertile Land, of which they had heard so much Commendation, and of its worth had assurance from this, that none that once came over were willing to return to their former Seats. Some Fashions and Customs, while they held Correspondence in times of Truce, or afterward when the War was finished, they might receive from the *Britains*, as the *Britains* also from them, there being a kind of Commutation and Reaction in those Cases, but that any great matters is no way probable. Many Nations agree in several Customs, not so much out of Communication and from their learning one from another, as that those things are either agreeable to humane Prudence in general, of which all People participate, and consequently it dictates to them all the same things, (the Laws of Nations flowing from this Principle) or that as in Words, in Fashions, and all other things relating to Mankind there is no Infinity, but Necessities, Uses and Conveniences, being the same, several Peoples several men must sometimes light by accident upon the self same things. If any considerable Laws can be shewn to have been derived from the *Britains*, they were rather thence borrowed by such *Saxon* Princes as finding a great defect at home, were glad to seek elsewhere and provide from abroad Supplies for Domestic Wants, for answering those new Exigencies which continuance of time and settlement in a peaceable condition daily produced. So King *Alfred* is said to have translated and made *English* the Laws of *Miltiades* the ancient *British* King, of which anon.

75. The first Original therefore of the *English Saxon* Laws were such unwritten Customs as they brought along with them from beyond the Seas, which were increased by the Dictates of natural Prudence according to convenience, and the Exigency of Affairs, and by Observation and Communication in process of time came to be more full, certain and solemn, in reference to Customs, or to be by Legislators framed into positive and written Precepts. The first of these, viz. Customs were according to the People from which they proceeded various, and not fully the same throughout the Land, though by resemblance they shewed themselves near akin, and answerable, positive Laws they had joyned to them, either first made or received by their respective Legislators. The *Jutes* in *Kent* had their peculiar Laws, but being reduced under the Government of the West *Saxons*. Kings, they also submitted to the Laws of the West *Saxons*. The *Angli* or *English* properly so called, used the Law called *Mercian*, and the Laws of St. *Edward* tell us, that *Everwickshire*, or *Torkshire*, (or as in the Margent is noted *Warwickshire*) *Nicolshire* as the *Normans* called it (which shews these Laws to have been worded after the Conquest) or *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Leicestershire* and *Northamptonshire*, as far as *Watlingstreet* and eight Miles beyond were under this Law. Afterwards when the *Danes* came to settle and domineer in *England*, they imposed their Customs or Laws upon the Provinces of East *England* and *Northumberland*. So came it to pass, that in the Land were in force three several Laws, viz. that of the

the West *Saxons* called *Westfaxnalaga*, that of the *English* or *Mercians* called *Mýre-nalaga*, and the other of the *Danes* called *Denelaga*. This of the *Danes* is by the forementioned Laws called *Lex Norworum* & *Danorum*, viz. The Laws of the *Norwegians* and *Danes*, and to have been the received Law of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Gratabridgehire*, or *Cambridgehire*, as also of *Deira*, with the Western and Northern Isles, as those of *Man*, *Cathene*, the *Orkades* and others, and such as inhabited *Gurth*, that is the Fenny places. As for the *Norwegians*, though generally those Northern People that invaded the Land go under the Name of *Danes*; yet as we have formerly hinted, the People of *Norway*, otherwise called *Normans*, are to be understood as Partners in the Expeditions; for as under the Names of *Norwegians* and *Normans*, the *Danes* are also to be understood, so under that of *Danes* are also comprized the *Norwegians* and *Normans*. The *Danes* as they settled in *England* by degrees induced their Customs, which seem to have been enforced after that *Gutbrun* from King *Alfred* received the Provinces of East *England* and *Northumberland*; and afterward became the most owned Laws of the Land when King *Canute* had brought the Sceptre into the hands of that People, where it continued from the days of *Ethelred* to *Edward the Confessor*, during which time the Law of the *English* is said to have been mute. *Edward* when he came to the Crown would not endure that one and the same Kingdom should be govern'd with three sorts of Laws, surveyed them all, selected and digested out of them that which from the thing was called *Lex Communis* or the *Common Law*, and from him the Law of St. *Edward the Confessor*.

Out of which the Common Law was compiled by *Edward the Confessor*.

*Ethelbert* the first Law-maker.

76. So much of the Laws in general, as they respected the whole government of the Land. To come to particular Legislators, the first that we know of, who made any written Laws, was *Ethelbert King of Kent*, he who first received Christianity of all the Nation. Concerning him *Bede* writes, that among other good things he did for the Nation, He ordained for it Decrees of Judgments, according to the Examples of the Romans, with the Council of Wise Men. Which being written in the Language of the *English*, are hitherto kept and observed by it. In which he first placed how he ought to make amends that should steal any thing from the Church or Bishop, or the other Orders, refusing to protect those whom with their Doctrine he had received. That he ordained was Decrees of Judgments (*Decreta* & *Judiciorum*) which may be explained by what follows, concerning Sacrilegious Persons, that they should be punished or make amends (the Parliaments in *France* in their Arrests of Condemnation of Criminals to death, use still the Term of making honourable amends, answerable to the Latin *Emendare* here used by *Bede*) and this was according to the \* Examples of the Romans. \* *Ætrep* These Decrees of Judgments then were Judicial Laws inflicting Punishments upon Offenders, and were taken from the *Roman* Books. It was about the year of our Lord DLXI that *Ethelbert* (according to Sir *Henry Savill's* *Fassit*) began his Reign in the thirty fifth year of *Justinian*, and he reigned about six and fifty years, in which time (*Bede* tells not in what year) he ordained and published these Decrees of Judgments. But publish them in what year he would, *Justinian's* Law, or his New Model, was not then known to the *European* Nations, nor many years after. What therefore he took from the *Roman* Laws must have been out of *Theodosius's* Code (which determines of matters as well Ecclesiastical as Civil) out of the Fragments of *Gains*, *Paulus* or *Ulpian*, or a small part of the Pandects which then was known to the *Europeans*; So *Alarick*, the King of the *Visigoths* in *Gall* had near an hundred years before caused the Code of *Theodosius* to be abbreviated by *Anianus* his Chanceller, and published for the benefit of his People.

77. What these Decrees of Judgments were, which *Ethelbert* published, we do not certainly know. Yet are there certain Laws in a Manuscript Book of *Rocheſter*, called *Textus Roffensis*, an ancient Monument indeed, but such as in this matter we cannot fully trust. For neither do these Laws of his seem to be taken from the *Roman* Books; nor doth their Language seem to be near so ancient as King *Ethelbert*, nor doth *Bromton* the Abbat of *Jornal* mention them, though careful to deliver such Laws of those *Saxon* Kings as he then found, and thought authentic. And therefore shall we exhibit only such as are found in him and Mr. *Lambard's* Edition. The next Legistatour to *Ethelbert*, at least whom he can receive as such, was *Ine* or *Iua* the King of the West *Saxons*, who began his Reign well nigh an hundred

Lib. 2. c. 5. Qui inter cetera bona que genti sua consensu confectus, etiam decrevit ut Judiciorum iuxta exempla Romanorum, cum consilio sapientium constituit. Que conscripta Anglorum sermone habentur & observantur ab eo. In quibus primitus positus, qualiter la emendare debet qui aliquid eorum vel Ecclesie vel Episcopi vel reliquorum ordinum furas auferret, volens scil. rationem eis quo & quantum doctrinam susceperat, prestare.

\* Rex Alfredus veris typice pntia soma geyrengre.



## Sect. 12.

hard's Interpretation of the word *Weald* here for a *Welshman*, but affirms it signifies only a *Servant*, as Mr. *Lambard* himself also sometimes interprets it. For it appears, that the *Saxon Kings* were wont to fend their *Domesticks* upon *Messages*, both from this Law and what we have formerly out of *Inglulphus* observed concerning *Oslaf* the *Butler* of *King Ethelwulf*, who was present at the Council held by *Bertulph* King of the *Mercians*, and in the name of his said *Malter*, his *Sons* and all the *West Saxons* signed the *Charter* granted to the *Monastery of Croyland*, both in quality of his *Butler* and of his \* *Ambofador*.

80. The three and thirtieth Law provides, That in case any was present at the killing of a man, he shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else he be punished for his presence according to the value of his life that was slain. As if the valuation of his Head was of two hundred shillings, let him pay fifty; and let the same course be taken in those that are born of any nobler Families. The thirty fourth says what formerly had been said, That if any one slay a Thief he must make Oath re. that he killed him as a Malefactor, and farther adds, that he must make faith of this. C. 34. Be by Oath of men not chosen on purpose for the business, to the Kindred of the slain. In case he deny the fact and it become manifest he must pay the value of the mans Head. The next Law provides, That if any one be sued for keeping another mans Goods, and by Oath preconceived bath denied the having of them, and fears not again to swear to the same purpose he shall be sworn according to the penalty and the value of the thing. But in case he refuse this Oath, that he pay double for his Perjury. That which follows again, Requires the value of the Thiefs Head of him that shall let him escape. If \* he be an Alderman he is to forfeit his Shire, except the King think fit to pardon him. The next imposes Forfeiture of Hand or Foot upon a Countreyman, who having been often accused of Theft bath been sold or convicted any other way. The thirty eighth Law provides, That if a Countreyman have Children and die, the Children abide with their Mother, and to keep them that she have six shillings, with a Cow in Summer and an Ox in Winter; and that the Kindred keep the Seat till the Children come to age. That which follows directs Concerning such as flee from their Lords, and lurk in any other \* Shire, that they be thence sent back, and moreover sixty shillings paid to their Lord. The fortieth requires that the Field of a Countreyman adjacent to his Hofs be fenced as well in Summer as in Winter. If any gap lie open and so let in his Neighbours Cattel, the Countreyman must expell no satisfaction, but must himself take care for keeping out the Cattel and alone go away with the loss. The one and fortieth gives liberty to deny Suretyship, in case he knows that he doeth well.

81. The forty second Law ordains concerning Common Ground, in this manner. If Grass-ground or any other belong to several Countreyman, and some will C. 42. Be fence their part, and others refuse to do the same by theirs: if Cattle break into the Ground on that part that lay unfenced, let such as owe this part make satisfaction to the other, and the owners of the Cattle to them, according to Right and Justice: but if there be any Beast that breaks Hedges and is troublesome, and the owner thereof either cannot or will not keep it at home, he that finds the Beast in his Ground may kill it, and the owner of it shall have the Carcass, and no other compensation made. The forty third enjoins, that If any one set fire to the Trunk C. 43. Be of a Tree lying in a Wood and be thereof convicted, he be punished for it, and be punished by such a fine, for this reason, because Fire is a clandestine Thief. If any fell Trees in a Wood and be convicted thereof, that for the three first Trees he pay thirty shillings, and undergo no greater punishments how many severer there be of them, because an Axe by the noise discovers the Fall, neither can it easily be concealed. The next imposes a penalty of sixty shillings upon him that shall fell a Tree, the Branches whereof can cover thirty Swine: that which follows makes C. 44. Ga an Annual Livery, a sort of Garment given to the Family of the value of six pence. The forty sixth imposes penalties upon Breaches of the Peace: as If the Peace be broken in the Town of the King, an hundred and twenty shillings; in the Town of a Bishop, an Alderman or Senatour eighty shillings; in that of the Kings Thane or Minister sixty shillings; in that of the chief Man of the Hundred, having Land, five and thirty shillings; and the purgation of the crime is to be answerable. The forty C. 47. Be seventh takes order, that If any one be accused of Theft, or of receiving a stolen thing

C. 36. Be ðon ðemon þeop  
poplære.

\* gylpe ealsopman rýþolgehþ  
rope, butan hun Cýning anan  
pille?

C. 37. Be Cýnþrecc monne be  
zogenmyre.

C. 38. Be þon þe muht gehþan  
beapn hæbban.

C. 39. Be una lypsum þæpe  
pnamþyrlaþop.

\* Oþre on oþre rope hne be-  
zele. Vides his antiquitatem  
Shire.

C. 40. Be ceopþe reopþe.

C. 41. Be þopþe onþe.

\* Ety Oþia  
Fincerna Re-  
ty Ethelwulf  
þe Legum  
Im Dunt  
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mei. C. 34.  
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Sect. 12. "der sufficient, he was in that kind to pay the whole hire, if not sufficient, then  
"corn in Fodder, and half otherwise. The next commands "The first fruits of  
"Horn, due to the Church to be paid out of that Houfe, where a Man lives at  
"Christinus. Of this we must speak in Church matters. The sixty third gives  
"order, "That if an accused Person be required to give pledge, and is not able to  
"doe it before the Trial, in case another Man offers to doe it for him, on condi-  
"tion that he give himself up into his Power, till such time as he can give him satis-  
"faction for what he now deposites; and now a second time Caution is deman-  
"ded of the accused Party, and he who assisted him before now refuseth to help  
"him the second time; if he be cast, let him loose what he laid down for him  
"when the suit began. The next concerning him called *Gefithcundman* ordains,  
"That if he change his Habitation, it may be lawfull to him to take along with  
"him his Officer or Bailly, his Smith, and his Child *Fosfor* or his Nurse. Here  
the word *Smith*, *Lambard* translates, *Fabrum Ferrarium*, viz. *Backsmith*; but *Smith*  
in *Saxon*, answers fully to *Faber* in *Latin*, not onely *Faber Ferrarius*, but *Faber*  
*Lignarius*, or any of the other sort, the reason why it is become the most general  
surname now in *England*.

84. By this sixty fifth Law King *Ina* enacts, That whosoever possesseth twenty  
Hides of Land and removes his Habitation, shall leave twelve Hides sown with  
Corn. Her that occupies ten shall leave six, and he that possesseth three shall leave  
one and an half. This we may suppose done in respect of the want of Corn, this  
Ile and all in ancient times abounding with wood, which long after the time  
of *Ina*, procured Laws for cutting it down, though now we be in the other ex-  
treme. By that which follows he provides for him, That hath hired and ploughed  
a *Tarland*, that if the Landlord exact other services from him besides the Rent, he  
shall not need to pay them nor abstain from tilling the ground, except he assige him  
also an Houfe to dwell in. Against *Gefithcundman* the next ordains, That in case  
he be banished, he shall not have the liberty to return to his Houfe. The sixty Eighth  
Commands, That a Sheep be not shorn till Midsummer, otherwise the Fleeces is to  
be redeemed with two pence. The sixty ninth is concerning Valuations of Mens  
Heads, that, If a Man in his Life-time was valued at two Hundred shillings, thir-  
ty of them should be deducted to make his Lord recompence for his death. If one  
was valued at six hundred, in such case Eighty should be deducted; if at twelve  
Hundred, then were to be deducted one hundred and twenty. The seventieth con-  
cerning maintenance exacts, that, From ten Hides of Land be allowed ten Fatts  
or Barrels of Honey; three Hundred loaves; twelve Runlets of Welsh Ale; thirty  
of the smaller Ale; two grown Oxen, or ten Wethers; ten Geese, twenty Hens;  
ten Cheefes, one Port of Butter, five Salmones, twenty Pound weight of Fodder, and  
an Hundred Eeles. That which follows wills, that, If one be required to pay  
the Value of his Head, and being now to swear, confesses what before he denied,  
he pay nothing by way of Mult, till he have first satisfied for the value of his Head.  
The seventy second requires, that, If a Thief who had formerly paid the value of his  
Head be taken, and make his escape the same day, the whole mult be not again re-  
quired, he being taken about Night: but in case the Theft was committed the Night  
before, such as formerly apprehended him, must pay as the King or his Officer shall  
ordain.

runs paga pœper. 7 huns teontig æla, vide quam parum distant ista rerum nomina ab odiernis.  
C. 71. Be pœptryclan. C. 72. Be pœptrylo 7œper pœpœngs.

85. The seventy third ordains, "That if a *Welsh* Slave kill an *English* Man, his  
"Master shall give him up into the hands of the Lord, and the Kindred of him  
"that was slain, or else redeem him with sixty shillings. If he will not part with  
"his Money, that then he set at liberty his Slave, and the Kindred of the slain re-  
"cover the value of their Kinsman, if the other have any Kindred to bear him  
"out. If not, let him expect mischief from his Adversaries. A Freeman need  
"not pay with a Slave (except to buy off Capital Enmities or deadly Feuds)  
"neither a Slave with a Freeman. The next ordains concerning stolen Goods,  
"If they be found with another Man, and the Seller will neither own the Goods  
"nor that he sold them, and yet confesses that he sold the Party some other things,  
"in such case it must lye upon the Buyer to prove, that he sold him these very  
"Goods and none other. The seventy fifth and the last is concerning him that  
"kills ones Godfather or Godson, That, he pay as much to the Kindred of the  
"slain,

"slain, as ought to be paid to the Lord for the loss of his Servant. And the Pay-  
"ment must be more or less according to the value of him that was slain, and  
"that which was to be made to the Lord for his loss. But in case it was the  
"King's Godson that was slain, satisfaction must be made to him aswell as the  
"Kindred. In case a Kinsman slew him, abatement must be made of what is to  
"be paid to his Godfather, as if it had even to his Lord. If the slain was the  
"Son of a Bishop, abatement must be made of the half.

86. These are the Laws of King *Ina*, which we have transcribed, because they  
are the first of the *English* Nation, now extant: of such as follow we shall make  
mention with relation unto them. The next Legistatour after *Ina*, was *Offa* King  
of the *Mercians*, whom we may very well take for Author of the *Mercian*  
Law, and not *Martia* the Widow of *Guenthelin* King of *Britain*, though some  
fancie her to have enacted it while she held the Regency of the Kingdom in the  
Minority of her Son, about three Hundred and fifty Years before the Birth of  
our Saviour. That *Offa* the King of the *Mercians*, made Laws is evident from  
the Preface of King *Alfred* to such as he enacted, though now there be no Body  
of them extant. For the next Legistatour after *Offa* was *Alfred* himself, to whom  
*St. Henry Spelman* gives the Epithetes of *Pius*, *Inclitus*, *Felix*, and amongst per-  
petual and most bitter troubles, of *Victor* and *Triumphator*, *Alfred* never sufficiently  
to be commended King also of the *Wessex* Saxons, but to whom all both *English*  
and *Saxons* voluntarily submitted themselves, to whom also *Guthrum* the Danish King  
swore obedience, and held the Provinces of the East *English* and *Northumbrians*  
as his Vassal. He himself tells us in the Conclusion of his Religious preface "That  
"whatsoever he found worthy of Observation, either in the time of *Ina* his Kin-  
"man, or of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, or of *Ethelbert* the first Christened King, he  
"gathered them all together, and omitted the rest, in which work he used the  
"advice, and had the consent of the wisest Men about him. Having revised the  
Laws of these Princes, he transcribed such of them as he liked into his own, and  
by consent of those Wisemen he used Collection, commanded them to be observed  
by all *English* Men, under which Name the *Saxons* and *Jutes* were then included. In  
87. The first of his Laws commands, an Oath and a pledge to be strictly re-  
garded. "If any by necessity was compelled to swear or deposit a pledge, where-  
"by he is bound either to lay snares for his own Lord or unjustly to assist any  
"Person, he is advised to recede, rather than to stand to his obligation. But in case  
"he engaged to perform any thing which might justly be done, and doth not doe  
"it, his Arms and all his Fortunes are to be put into the Hands of his Friends,  
"and he is to be put into the King's Prison for forty days, till he undergoe that  
"punishment, which the Bishop according to his Deserts shall lay upon him. If he  
"have not wherewith to sustain himself in the mean while, his Kindred are to  
"provide him Victuals, if they be not in condition, the King's Officer must doe it.  
"If by force he be constrained to give up his Arms, he must forfeit both his  
"Arms and all his Estate, and if in making resistance he dye, nothing is to be paid  
"as the valuation of his Head. In case he fly before his time be out and be taken, he  
"is to be returned back again to prison for other forty days. If he escape he is to  
"have no benefit of the Laws, and to be excommunicated in all Churches. If  
"any ingaged for him he must pay his forfeit, and undergoe such penance as the  
"Priest shall set him. The second bears the Title of the immunity of the Church,  
and we shall speak of it in the Ecclesiastical concerns. The third is con-  
cerning the breach of Suretyship. "If the Suretyship was in behalf of the King,  
"satisfaction must be made according to the Damage received, and the breach  
"farther punished by a mult of five pounds of *Mercian* Penies. The Violati-  
"on of Suretyship, or the Peace, made to an Archbishop, is punished by a fine of  
"three pounds, to Bishops or Senators (*Baldernus*) by one of two. The fourth  
Law, "upon one that either by himself alone or by his Servants, and Assaili-  
"nates, lays treacherously in wait against the life or safety of the King, inflicts the  
"loss of life and fortunes. If he will purge himself he may doe it with respect to  
"the Valuation of the King's Head. The same is to be observed in all Degrees of  
"Men, whether \*Noblemen or Countrey-men. Whosoever conspires against his  
"Lord, let him be punished with loss of life and fortunes, or else pay the Value  
"tion of his Lord's Head.

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eos erdo vel gradus quatuor Cœpl non nunquam pro marito usurpetur, hinc Cœplian pro nuptum dari.

Sect. 12.

88. The seventh Law "To the sixth of *Ina*, which gives the King Power of life and death over him that fights in the Court, gives the same Power over him, that shall but draw his Weapon in the same place. Farther provides that if the Offender flye and be taken, he pay the value of his Head, and according to his offence farther be punished by the payment of a Mulct, or the Value of his Head. The ninth ordains, "That if one kill a Woman with Child he pay the full Value of her Head, besides half the value of the Head of one of her Husband's Children. If the value of the Head come not to thirty shillings it is to be made up, and a farther Mulct of an Hundred and twenty shillings to be imposed. And whereas formerly such were more grievously punished as stole Gold, Stallions or Bees, and other more heavy Mulcts were imposed upon other Offenders, by this Law the same respect shall be had to all; onely he that steals a Man shall pay an hundred and twenty shillings. The tenth requires, that "He that lies with the Wife of a Man whose cenfor value of his Head, is twelve Hundred shillings, pay the Summ of one Hundred and twenty shillings to him for the offence. If the Man's value be six hundred, that the offender pay to him an hundred shillings. He that lies with the Wife of a Ceorl or Countreyman shall pay forty shillings; for payment of which, if need be, all a Man's Cattel are to be sold, but no Mankind. The next wills, "That if any one wantonly handles the Breasts of a Countreyman's Wife, he pay down to the Woman five shillings; if he cast her down upon the ground, but lies not with her, ten shillings; if he enjoys her, sixty shillings. If another had committed Adultery with her before, one half of this Mulct is to be paid. If he be sued for it, either according to the rate of sixty Hides, he must purge himself or pay down half of the Fine. If violence be offered to a Woman of greater Birth, the Mulct is to be increased according to the valuation of her Head.

89. The twelfth Law, concerning *Burning of Wood*, alters the forty third of *Ina*, concerning this Subject, "Imposing upon him that shall set fire to the Trees of another man, or fell them without his leave, for every greater Tree a Mulct of five shillings, for every smaller five pence, besides a fine of thirty shillings. That which follows willeth, "That if in felling a Tree a Man accidentally be slain, the Kindred of the slain shall have the Tree, if within thirty days they fetch it off the ground; otherwise it is to remain with the owner of the Wood. By the fourteenth, "The Father of a dumb or deaf Man, is to repair the Damages caused by him. By the fifteenth, "Fighting in the presence of an Archbishop, is punished by a fine of an hundred and fifty shillings; in the presence of a Bishop, or Senator with one of an hundred. By the next, "such as steal a Mare or a Cow, and drive away Foal or Calf from them are to pay the Value of the Mare or Cow, and farther a Mulct of forty shillings. The seventeenth requires, "That if a Man borrow any Cattel which chance to dye in his Hands, if thereto required he make oath, that he is not guilty of any fraud as to the death of the Beast. The Nineteenth ordains, "That if one Man lend to another any Weapon to kill a third Person, both of them if they please may pay the Value of his Head. If they refuse to doe it together, that he that lent the Weapon, himself lay down the third part, and then he may make saith, that he meant no harm when he lent out the Weapon. The latter part of the Law, unumquam Commands restitution to be made of such Swords or other Weapons as have been put into the Hands of Artificers, onely for mending or making into other sorts of Instruments. The two and twentieth Orders, "That if a Man sue a nother before the King's Officer in *Folcmote*, and afterwards let fall his Action, he make it appear if he can where the Right lies, or otherwise be fined the value of the thing. The next in order is concerning the "Biting of a Dog imposing a mulct of six shillings upon his Master if he still keep him, for the first offence, if he bite again of twelve shillings, and if the third time of thirty; and now though the Dog be killed, yet is the fine to be paid. If he live and afterwards doe more mischief and his Master still keep him, he must either pay the value of the Head, or make other Compensation according to the mischief done. That which follows is concerning Cattel, "if an Ox rent or wound a man he is to be seized, except the owner of him redeem him. The twenty fifth "Punisheth him that ravisheth the Maid-servant of a Countreyman, with the payment of six shillings to the man, and a mulct of sixty shillings besides; a Man-Slave that lies with a She-Slave with the loss of his Member; and him that ravishes a Virgin of tender Age, as him that lies with one of riper years.

90. The

90. The twenty sixth Law inflicts Punishments upon those, "Who kill men by Troops or Companies. If the slain innocent Party, or he that had received a mortal wound, was valued at two Hundred shillings, he that slew him must pay the value of his Head and a Mulct; and every one that was in the Troop or Company, must also pay thirty shillings. In case he was worth six Hundred shillings, every one in the Company must pay sixty shillings, and he that killed him pay the value of his Head, and the Mulct besides. If he was valued at twelve Hundred shillings, they must pay an hundred and twenty a-piece, and the slayer both the value and the mulct. In case every Man deny, that he gave the mortal wound, all are to be impeached together, and amongst them must pay both the Value and the Mulct. Now concerning these Troops or Companies which our Saxon Ancestours called *Flothm*, how many Men made up one of them, the Reader may remember he was told by the fourteenth Law of King *Ina*: The twenty seventh orders, "That if a Man in a Quarrel killed another, and had no Kindred by the Father's side, such Kindred as he hath by the Mother's side, shall pay the third part of the value of the Head, another third of the value of his Gild or Society, and for the third he is to suffer banishment. In case he have no Kindred neither on his Mothers side, those of his Gild must pay one half, and he be banished for the other. If he that was slain had no Kindred, one half of the value of his Head is to be paid to the King, and the other half to those of his Gild or Society. Those of his Gild in Saxon called *Gegylan*, were so named from *Gyl* and *dan* signifying to pay, as much as one would say *Fellow Paymasters*. And they were so called for two Causes, first because they contributed Money according to the Custome, together with their Fellows that had killed a Man, viz. The valuation of the Head of the slain, as they also received money for a slain Brother of their Gild. Another was because they contributed toward publick Feasts, which at certain times they observed. Hence afterward in the Laws of King *Henry the First*, they are called *Crocca Cowellet*, as in those whose *Pot boils together*. In Germany the Bares call their publick Feasts by the Name of *Gilde*, to which all contribute. A Society or Company in Saxon is called *Geboorcipe* and *Gylde*, in the low Countries *Gildschap*, and hence comes our more modern Name of *Gilde*, used to express some Societies of Religious men, as also of Tradefmen and Artificers, which now we call *Companies*, and moreover of *Gildhall*, the place of their Meetings and judicial Assemblies.

91. The twenty eighth Law of *Alfred* was made against the *Spreaders of false News*, and commands that "such being convicted, be not slightly punished, but their Tongues cut out except they redeem them by payment of the whole value of their Heads. The thirtieth orders that "Merchants when they land, bring such as come ashore with them before the King's Officer in *Folcmote*, and declare their number, and then keep them with them that they may be ready to answer any thing that shall be demanded of them in *Folcmote*. And if out of necessity they bring many with them from Sea, into the Haven thereof, they are also to certify the King's Officer in that Assembly. Considering the dangerous times wherein King *Alfred* lived, when was such flocking of strangers into England, this Law seems very prudently made. The one and thirtieth inflicts "upon him that shall put into bonds a Countreyman who no such thing deserves, a mulct of ten shillings, upon him that beats such an one, twenty shillings; if he hang him up aloft, thirty shillings. If he clip his hair like a lea fool, ten shillings; if he shave his head like a Priest and bind him not, thirty shillings; in case he cut his beard, twenty shillings; and if he bind him and cut his hair like a Priest, sixty shillings. That which follows "requires of him who carries on his back a spear so negligently that another by chance falls upon it, the value of his head without a mulct; but in case he bore the head of the spear in his hand and another falls upon it, the Law imposes a mulct upon him. If he be accused to have done it on purpose, it's lawful for him to clear himself according to the nature of the mulct; if the point of the spear was three fingers higher than that part behind his back; if the point and all the rest of the spear was of the same height it blames him not. The next directs that if "a servant pass from one place to another, he must doe it with the knowledge of the Alderman or Governour of that County where he formerly served. Otherwise, he that receives him into his Family must forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings to the King, whereof one half to be paid in the County whence the servant came, and the other in that where he is now received. And in case before his removal he committed any fault, he that last received him must make amends, and fine to the King an hundred and twenty shillings besides.

Q. 92

92. The

Sect. 12.

C. 26. Be manlike mus hloje.

C. 27.

C. 27. Be mægla-ram munum.

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Sect. 12. Man without the Town buy any thing, but (a) have the Portreeve for witness, or other Men worthy of Credit, otherwise he shall (b) undergo the penalty of Contumacy against the King, and the vouching or warrantizing shall also proceed from one to another till it be ended; we farther ordain that whoever calleth to warrantize a Party of whom he bought the thing, in question, either produce his Testimony that he did rightly call him, or by interposition of his Oath satisfy the Demandant. In the same manner we determine concerning that that was ones own; for if he contend that it was not received from elsewhere, but that was ones own, and so used it, let him either produce his Witnesses, or with some other persons (if he can) not chosen on purpose, let him swear that the thing is one of the Demandant's. If he cannot do it, let six Men be summoned out of the Neighbourhood, and one Man swear for every Cow, or any thing of such a value, or more if the thing be of a greater price. We farther Decree, that if any Pawn another Man's Goods, he take his Oath that he did it not deceitfully, but without all fraud and evil design: then let him with whom the Goods shall be found be at his choice, whether he will plead that they are his own, or go to Vouching. This calling to Vouching or Warrantizing, our English Saxons expressed by the word *Team*, which properly signifies *Propagare*, *Soboles*, or *Offspring*, but secondarily, and by way of translation, to make known, call forth or produce another. In reference to the matter in hand: it was the Custom of the Ancients, that if one had sold to another any stolen Goods, and this Man had alienated them to a third, and the third to a fourth, &c. yet might the true owner seize them wherever he found them. Then was he with whom they were found obliged to produce him that sold them to him, to own and make good the Sale, which in Latin they term *Advocare*. Then was he that was thus called out or produced (*Advocatus Cause*) bound to produce his Chapman also of whom he bought the Goods, and this Chapman another, till at length they came to the Thief himself. From this continuation and progress from one to another, it had the Name of *Team*, as in the Old Norman Law French, *Voucher al Garantie*; so hence in Barbarous Latin come *Garandia*, *Garantia*, *Garantum*, *Garantizare* and *Garantizare*, otherwise written *Warrantia*, *Warrantum*, and *Warrantizare*, the Root of all which, seems to be the Saxon word *Warran*, which signifies to defend. For the French signification amongst the Lawyers use G, and all these words have their proper signification amongst the Lawyers of England, France and Germany, which no one Roman or Latin word can express. As for the Portreeve mentioned in this Law, it signifies the Chief Governour of a City or Town, he of London and many other Cities in ancient times being known by this Title.

97. The second of King Edward's Laws ordains, that Whoever denies another Man his Right, either in Bocland or Folcland, demanding it before the King's Justice, whereas he hath no Right in either of these sorts of Land, shall pay to the King for the first offence thirty shillings, as much for the second; and if he offend the third time, that he pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his Contumacy against the King. The third determines of One that hath sworn himself, or born false witnesses, that no credit be given to him for the time to come, and that he be put to false witness. The fourth declares, that King Edward lying at Exeter, and consulting Ordeal. The fourth declares, that King Edward lying at Exeter, and consulting with his Wifemen, studiously enquired by what means he might best provide for Peace and Tranquillity, for he perceived that these things were not so much regarded as they ought to be, and as he had ordained. He intreated therefore and required all that would be corrected and amended, and would with him enjoy common society, and would prosecute with love and hatred the same things as he did both by Sea and Land; that they would look to this one thing, viz. that they did injury to no Man. He that doeth contrary let him (as was formerly ordained) pay thirty shillings to the King; if he offend the second time, as much; and if the third, an hundred and twenty shillings. The fifth commands, that That Reeve or Judge that doeth not Justice according to the Testimony of such as are summoned, pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his contumacy against the King. The sixth wills, That if a servant be accused of Theft, he that recommends him to his Master, or other of his Friends (if any he have) be sentenced

(a) Ac hæbbe ðær portreepan geseþenryr. (b) ðonne þu he geseþ oþer phynnyr geþylg. ðe gangre team ðeah þow, &c.

team.

tyman propagare team soboles & hinc team tam pro sequela quam vocant hincvorum vel mancipiorum propagine, de qua prius; quam pro advocatore auctoritate laudatione vel productione. Hinc eisam partem Termin dicimus, à termino Woman.

Advocatio alio sensu est: qui paratus est presentandi, nosterque vulgo advocatus.

Vide Lambard. Glossar. in voc. Advocate, Spelman. in voc. Garandia & Somneri in v. Advocate.

C. 2. Be ðone ðe oþrum pillece 7 pyppe.

C. 3. Be manre fopnum. C. 4. Be pyppe.

C. 5. Be geþeþan þe mis pillece ne amanige.

C. 6. Be 7 pyppe betogennum.

ties for him, that he discharge himself of what is deposited against him. If he have none to interpose on his behalf, that are concerned may seize his Goods. If he have neither Goods nor Friends, let him be taken into Custody. The seventh absolutely requires, that Those always be had in readiness that will not go to their own Homes, and that for no reward they be protected.

98. The eighth Law enjoins that "No man knowingly and voluntarily, have peace with or harbour one that is condemned for a Crime: he that acts contrary and thereby breaks his Oath and the faith given by him, and all the People, let him undergo the Mulct prescribed in the Judiciary Book. That if he refuse to pay, let him be deprived of the King's and all other Mens friendship, and farther forfeit all his Estate. And if any afterwards relieve him, let him also incur the penalty expressed in the said Judiciary Book. Farther, faith he, whoever shall relieve a fugitive either in this our coast, or in the Eastern or Northern parts of the Kingdom, let him be punished as in the Articles of Peace is ordained. That which follows provides that, if one deprived of liberty for stealing, steal again and all his kindred forsake him, so that none will engage for him, he be set to servile works as opportunity shall be, and his kindred loose the Valuation he stood for of his Head. The tenth Law "forbids any Man to receive another Man's Servant without his leave, and heath fully satisfied his Matter: he that doeth otherwise must be punished as Contumacious against the King. The eleventh and last commands that "about every fourth Week every Reeve, or Judge, hold the Gemote or Assembly, Administer Justice to every Man, and determine all causes at the appointed days. If he do otherwise he is to be punished as was before said. These are the Laws made by King Edward the Elder himself. After them follows the league made betwixt him and Guthrum the Dane consisting leape of such matters as had been formerly agreed of betwixt the said Guthrum and King Alfred which we have already mentioned, at such times as the English and Danes made Peace and embraced one another. These Articles were often afterward repeated by wifemen, and to the common utility of the Realm, as the Preface words it, increased and amplified. But so far as they respect Religion we must as before we hinted refer them to another place.

99. The next Legislator after King Edward the Elder was King Athelstan his Son. After a Religious Preface, the first Law he enacts is against Thieves, requiring that "If a Thief be taken in the fact, no Man spare him if he be above twelve years old, and have stole any thing above the value of right pence: if he be any one do contrarily he shall pay the value of the Thief's Head, or make amends for the fault, and yet for all that the Thief shall not be spared, who if he contumaciously make resistance, or flye for it, for the time to come shall obtain no favour: a Thief cast into Prison, shall there stay forty days, and then after the payment of an hundred and twenty shillings, be discharged. But the kindred must give security for his good behaviour, after which if he steal again, they must either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Prison; and in case any one resist them he shall pay to the King, or to any other it concerns the value of his own Head, and if any stand by him, he shall pay to the King an hundred and twenty shillings. The second is against "such as have no Masters, or daining, that "of those that are not of any Man's family, and consequently none can have right against them, the kindred shall give caution for their just demeaning of themselves and in Folcmote put them into some ones service: which if they will not or cannot do, let such Masterless men be esteemed as fugitives, and be beaten as Thieves, as they are light upon. If any one afterward relieve them let him pay the value of his Head, or according to that value, discharge himself of the guilt. But the third commands that "if a Master denies to do another man right and defends a naughty and knavish Servant, so that of him come plaint is made to the King, he pay the value of the thing in demand, and farther to the King forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings. But in case any make complaint to the King, before he demand his right as it is prescribed, he shall incur the like Mulct as the other should have done for denying Justice. If the Master be convicted to have been privy to the Theft of his Servant, he shall loose his Servant and pay the value of his own Head for the first offence, for the second shall loose all he hath. The same punishment shall the King's Treasurers and Reeves undergo if guilty of the same offence. The fourth ordains concerning "such as conspire against their Masters, that if thereof legally accused, Be and if the fact cannot be denied, the offender being convicted by threefold Ordeal, it shall be Capital.

Sect. 12.

C. 7. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 8. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 9. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 10. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 11. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 12. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 1. Sax. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 2. Sax. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 3. Sax. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 4. Sax. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 5. Sax. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 6. Sax. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

C. 7. Sax. Be ðone ðe heora agen recan nylon.

## Sect. 12.

100. The sixth Law of King *Æthelstan* is against "Witchcrafts, Incantments C. 6. Sax. and such like deeds as procure Death, that if any one by those that use them Le *gyarmum* made away and the thing cannot be denied, such practicers shall be put to death, *for. c. 11.* if they endeavour to purge themselves and be cast by the threefold Ordeal, let them lie in Prison, an hundred and twenty days, which ended let their kindred redeem them by the payment of an hundred and twenty shillings to the King, and farther pay to the kindred of the slain, the full valuation of the parties Head. And then must the criminals procure Sureties for their good deportment for the time to come. The same punishment shall be inflicted on Incendiaries and such as rescue Thieves. Nay let such as endeavour to rescue them, though no Man be wounded in the attempt, pay an hundred and twenty shillings to the King. As for Incantments mentioned in this Law, the Saxon word is *Lilbacum* which signifies the Art of *Conjuratio* or *Witchcraft*, yet not all in General, but that sort of it properly called *Fascination*, or Incantment used with certain *Ligatures, Fasciæ* or Bands. The Romans called this sort *Obligamentum Magi*. A Saxon. *Phylacteria* and *Ligaturæ*. Hence *Wætere* came to be a Magical word, as *lybæ* *compita* in that verse of *Virgil*, *Necesse tribus nodis terminos Amarylli colores*. This he wrote, *lybæ obligamentum* observes, from the Ancient Customs of Incantments wherein were reckoned knots, bands and necessities. In those matters also the word *Ligare* *lucum* came to be used. And as *Isidore* writes, to these things belong *Ligatures* of excruciable Medicines which the Art of Physick condemns, whether in precatations, *di vim* Characters or in any other things to be hung and bound about one, in all which is the Art of Devils sprung from a certain pestiferous society, or compact of evil Men *vide Somnium in Glor. for. v. Lilbacum* and Angels. Upon which account they are all to be shunned by Christians to be rejected and condemned, with all execration possible.

101. The seventh of King *Æthelstan's* Laws ordains concerning *simple Ordeal* C. 7. Sax. that "If one accused several times of Theft be cast by it, and have no body *Be anpen* to be surety for him, he be sent to Prison, and thence freed by his kindred, as sum *Opta* was before said. The eighth appoints that "If any man having no House nor Land *for. c. 11.* of his own, goes to serve in another Shire, and returning to the place whence he came to see his Friends, doeth any mischief, he that received him shall give caution that he shall be ready to make satisfaction, or else do it himself to the party aggrieved. The ninth provides that if any one challenge *Cat* tel as his own in another Man's hands, five Men out of their Neighbourhood C. 9. Sax. shall be called, whereof one shall swear that he rightly challenges them. But *Be ðonne* if another Man contend they are his, twenty Men shall be taken out of the Neighbourhood, whereof two shall swear with him, that he bred them. This *rehte* may be done without the Common Oath of all; but otherwise if the value of *for. c. 15.* the thing exceed twenty pence. The tenth forbids any Commutation of Goods C. 10. Sax. but in the presence of the Reeve, the Priest of the Town, or the Lord of the *Be yppa* Soil, or some other credible Person, under the penalty of thirty shillings, *gehyppa* and the forfeiture of the thing changed to the Lord of the Soil. And if any of *for. c. 16.* these bear false witness, let him be infamous, or no credit be given to him ever after, and let him forfeit besides thirty shillings. The eleventh prescribes the manner of accusing a Thief that's killed. First let there be three in *C. 11. Sax.* number (if they will take it upon them) two Kinsmen on the Father's side, *Be ðon ðe* and one on the Mother's, which shall swear, that they knew no reason why *rycgylun* their Kinsman should have been slain upon the account of Theft. Then let there *ge bæce* be twelve impanelled, which by their Oaths shall lay Theft to his charge, and *oflegge* then if the Kindred of the slain Party do not appear, those who first endea- *num. for.* voured to clear him of the crime shall each of them forfeit an hundred and *for. c. 16.* twenty shillings. The twelfth confirms the first part of the Law of King *Ed-* *ward* the Elder, Decreeing that no Man buy any thing out of Town which *arge bu* exceeds the value of twenty pence, but within the Town, in presence of the *tan pence* Portreeve, or some other credible Person, or else in presence of the King's *for. c. 17.* Reeve or Justice in *Folcmote*.

102. The thirteenth decrees, that "All Towns or Castles be repaired within fourteen days after the time of Procession or Perambulation, and that all Bargains be managed within the Town. The fourteenth appoints, that throughout the King's Dominions one and the same Money be current which shall not be Coined out of Town. If any Minter or Coiner imbase the Coin, let him loose his hand, which being cut off shall be

C. 13. Sax. Be byrga gebetunge. *for. c. 18.*

C. 14. Sax. Be mýnæteþum. *for. c. 19.*

"fixed

"affixed to the Workhouse. If any be accused of adulterating Money, and will purge himself, let him by the Ordeal of hot Iron cleanse his hands of such wickedness, but if by the Ordeal he be cast, let him be punished as now was said. At *Canterbury* let there be seven Minsters or Coyners, whereof four for the King, two for the Bishop, and one for the Abbat. At *Rocheſter* let there be three, whereof two for the King, and the third for the Bishop. At *London* eight. At *Wincheſter* six. At *Lewes* two. At *Hastings* one. At *Chicheſter* one. At *Hamton* two. At *Werham* two. At *Exceſter* two. At *Shaſbury* as many. And in every other Town one. The next Law requires, that no Target be made of Sheep's Skins under penalty of thirty shillings. That which follows commands, that for every Plough a Man keep two well furnished Horſemen. The ſeventeenth ordains, that he that receives reward from a Thief, and thereby hinders another Man's Right, be amerced the full value of his Head. The eighteenth forbids Horſes to be transported, except ſuch as be ſent upon free Gift. The nineteenth ordains, that if a Servant be Caſt by the Ordeal, the juſt and ſimple value of the thing be paid, that the Slave be thrice beaten; or if the full value of the thing be reiterated, this puniſhment is to be abated.

103. King *Æthelstan* by his twentieth Law enacts, that "If any one absent himself from *Folcmote* thrice, he be punished as contumacious against the King, if so be that the Holding of the Assembly was declared a Seven-night before. In such case if he refuse to do right, and pays not his mulct to the King, the ancientest Men of the Country are to go and seize upon all he hath, and take security for his appearance. If any one refuse to go with his Neighbours for Execution of this Law, he is also to be punished as contumacious against the King, when the Assembly is opened let it be proclaimed, that all enjoy Peace whom the King will have to enjoy it, and that every one abstain from Theft upon pain of losing his Life and his Estate. And if afterward any one be guilty of Theft, let the ancientest men of the Country ride thither, and seize on all he hath, one half to the King, and another to their own use, and take security for his appearance, in case no security can be had, let his Person be seized; if he stubbornly make resistance, and flye not, he may be killed. If any one concern himself for him, and kill a third Party, let the King and all that love him let themselves against such an one, and if any relieve him if he make his escape, let him be fined the value of his own Head, except he make it out that he knew not that he was a Fugitive, and then according to the value of the Fugitive's Head. The twenty first gives order, that if "any levingas one would get off his punishment of Ordeal, if he be able to procure Par-don of the Party that received the Injury, but by no means that he escape the penalty inflicted by the Law. The twenty second confirmation of former Laws requires, that "No man receive another Man's man (as this Law words it) manner into his Family without leave first obtained of his Master. He that doeth otherwise shall restore the Man, and pay the mulct of Contumacy against the King. And no man is to put away his men that are accused of any Crime, till they have first made satisfaction. By this it appears how ancient in this Nation, the Custom is of calling a Servant by the word used for the whole species, a thing as well with the Romans, and others more ancient, as with modern People.

104. The twenty fourth concerning Traffick in Confirmation of former Laws C. 24. Sax. ordains, that "If a man buy any thing with witness, which another man challenges for his own, the Seller make it good, and secure the bargain, whether he be bond or free. But on the Lord's day let no market be held, under penalty of forfeiture of the wares, and a mulct of thirty shillings besides. The next Law as a terror to such as shall forswear themselves commands, "That such being convicted shall not only not bear Testimony for the time to come, as people to whom no faith is to be given, but be forbidden also Christian burial. except the Bishop of the Diocese will, certify, that he had done all things, that were enjoined him. Of this the Priest of the Place is within thirty days to give sum notice to the Bishop, or else to be punished as the ordinary shall think fit. last of these Laws gives directions, that In case any of the King's Officers refuse

C. 15. Be ryclýpþreum. *for. c. 20.*

C. 16. Sax. *for. c. 21.*

C. 17. Sax. Be þæm toce for me þis yceatwe nimb. *for. c. 22.*

C. 18. Sax. Be hoprum. *for. c. 23.*

C. 19. Sax. Be ðeopman ðe ful ryph æt optale. *for. c. 24.*

C. 20. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 25.*

C. 21. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 26.*

C. 22. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 27.*

C. 23. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 28.*

C. 24. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 29.*

C. 25. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 30.*

C. 26. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 31.*

C. 27. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 32.*

C. 28. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 33.*

C. 29. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 34.*

C. 30. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 35.*

C. 31. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 36.*

C. 32. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 37.*

C. 33. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 38.*

C. 34. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 39.*

C. 35. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 40.*

C. 36. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 41.*

C. 37. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 42.*

C. 38. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 43.*

C. 39. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 44.*

C. 40. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 45.*

C. 41. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 46.*

C. 42. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 47.*

C. 43. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 48.*

C. 44. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 49.*

C. 45. Sax. Be ðon ðe demorþon. *for. c. 50.*

## Sect. 12.

to put these his Ordinances into Execution, or be remis in his Administration, "he be punished as Contumacious against the King, who will put in another that "will be more careful of his Duty. The receiving of the mult he commits to "the Bishop of the Diocese. If any one contemn these his Laws and Commands, "for the first offence he shall incur a penalty of five pounds, for the second the "value of his own Head, and if he offend the third time forfeit all the Estate he "hath, together with the Amity of the King and all his People. After this it fol- "lows, that these matters were settled and determined in the great Assembly at Gre- "tanleage, at which was present Archbishop Wulfhelm, together with all the Noble and Wiemen, that Æthelstan called together.

105. After these Laws follow others of this same King in the Saxon Edition to which Æthelstan preface in this manner. "I Æthelstan King, make known to "all that I have diligently inquired the Cause why our Peace hath not been so well "kept as I desired, and was formerly enacted at Greatanleage, and from the most "knowing Persons in my Kingdom I received this Answer, that it happened by "reason of too much patience, and suffering Crimes to go unpunished. Moreo- "ver lately keeping Christmas at Exeter, and there attended by my Wiemen, I "found them all most ready to venture themselves, their Wives and Children, "to procure those Violatours of the Peace, to procure those Violatours of "the Peace, to be so driven out of the Kingdom, that they might never "return again into it, which if any of them should do, he should be "punished as a Thief taken in the Fact. And in case any one cherish "or hold correspondence with any of them or their Servants, they should forfeit "both Life and Estate. For hence we believe it comes to pass, and for no other "reason that Oaths are so often violated, suretyship is so commonly broken, and "Pledges signify so little as they do. Then follows a Law injoining, that If any one entertained in his House another Man's Servant, which he has removed from his Family for his misdemeanour, and as one he cannot govern, such an one pay the full value of the Servant's Head to his Master, and besides that a mult of an hundred and twenty shillings to the King. But in case the Master of any Servant unjustly as- sist and abuse him, let him purge himself if he can of what is laid to his charge in Folcmote, and then put himself into any other Family he pleaseth. For we gra- tiously grant, that if such an one prove himself just and honest, he may serve whom he pleaseth. And if any Reeve or Judge pass this over, or unwillingly transacts it so as his fault be evidently proved, let him be punished as contumacious against the King, and if for a reward he hath perverted Justice, let him both be punished as contumacious against the King, and be further noted with Infamy as was said before; let a Thane so offending be punished in the like manner; and let the Reeve or Judge choose out Men faithful, and of Integrity the best he can light on within his Pre- cincts, and make them Witnesses and Overseers of all Controversies. And according to the value of the thing of Controversy let the Oaths of honest men, without any picking or chusing of them be interposed. The second Law requires, that If one pur- sue any Cattel by their Footsteps, and find them in another Man's ground, the owner of the ground shall, if he can, trace their Footsteps to another Man's ground, if not the Footsteps of the Cattel in his Ground shall, when the owner comes to make out his right, be taken as much in evidence as a first Oath.

106. The next thing that follows relating to the Civil State, is the valuation of mens Heads, which we have often heard mentioned by the Laws, but never yet of what particularly it amounted. First then faith the Text. The valuation of the King's Head according to the Common Law of the English, is thirty thousand Thrymses, whereof fifteen thousand are properly the value of his Head, the rest being Thrymses, whereof the last fifteen belong to the Nation, the first to the Kindred. Due for the Kingdom: the last fifteen belong to the Nation, the first to the Kindred. An Archbishop's or Earl's Weregild (as the Saxons called it) or valuation is fifty- teen thousand Thrymses. A Bishop's and Alderman's Eight thousand. A General's of an Army or an High Marshall's four thousand Thrymses. The valuation of a Spi- ritual Thane or Priest, as also of a Temporal Thane two thousand Thrymses. That of a Countreyman (Ceorl) by the Danish Law is two Hundred sixty seven Thrymses. If a Wellfoman grow so rich as to maintain a Family, have Land and pay yearly Rent to the King, he shall be valued at two Hundred and twenty shillings: if he pos- sess half an Hide of Land, at Eighty shillings. If he have no Land, yet if he be a freeman, the value of his Head shall be seventy shillings. If a Ceorl or Coun- treyman, the value of his Head shall be two thousand Thrymses. But if he come to have a Corset, or value of his Life shall be two thousand Thrymses. But if he come to have a Corset, an Helmet and a gilt Sword, though he have no Land let him pass for a Sithcundman.

Elalle for per gene- ced on jam mican fy- ne ex Greatan- leage, &c.

C. i.

Be son omme

per mome

the man unce

pehly.

C. 2.

Be son omme

per mome

the man unce

pehly.

Be resum?

## Sect. 12.

And if his Children or Grandchildren grew so rich as to possess five Hides of Land let all their Posterity be reckoned as so many Sithcundmen, and be valued at two thousand Thrymses. The Mercians value a Countreyman at two Hundred shillings, a Thane at twelve Hundred. They are wont to equal the single value of a King's Head with six thousand of Thanes, that is thirty thousand Scats; for so much is the value of the King's Head, and as much more must be paid as a recom- pense for his death. The value of his Head belongs to his Kindred, and the Compensation of his death to the People. He that is valued at twelve Hundred shillings, his Oath shall be of the same esteem as those of six Countrey- men, for were such an one slain, six Countreymen would satisfy over and above for the value, therefore let the value of him and all them be the same. By the English Law the Oaths of a Priest and a Thane are of the like esteem, and in respect of the seven Church Offices, to which by God's Gift he is risen, let his Place and Rank be equal with that of a Thane.

107. By these valuations of Heads from the highest to the lowest Rank, we may perceive, that in those ancient times punishments consisted rather in Mults than in Blood, contrary to our present Customs, whereby small offences in compari- son (especially if reiterated) are become capital which whence it hath proceeded, whether from this Consideration that Crimes in latter Ages do more abound, or from other reasons is not evident. The Wisdom of Legislators is most seen in this, to ordain such Punishments, as by example and terror may best prevent those Crimes against which their Laws are enacted, no other end or design can be cal- led properly theirs; this is that which vindicates their Punishments from the Imputation of Fury \* and Tyranny. And if less than Capital will do it, as Men and Christians, they ought to be sparing of blood, and as Politicians where the Countrey hath not too many Inhabitants. Therefore slavery, rowing in Gallies and digging in Mines, most Nations anciently preferred before Capital Executions, as those which would more terrify than death it self, especially high spirited Fel- lows, such as have spent their Fortunes, and whom shame of begging provokes to rob upon the High-ways. This was so much practised in the middle Ages, that the Law of the Boii tells us, that No offence is so great, but Life may be granted for the Fear of God. Amongst others the ancient Germans, and other Northern People who afterward gave Laws to Europe, punished the greater sort of Crimes and Homicide amongst the rest with Fines or Mults. For the Germans, Tacitus witnesseth, who writes that Homicide was expiated by a certain Number of Cattel, whereby all the House received satisfaction. For the Cimbrs and Danes De bello Rib- mar.

\* I castighi se non hanno per fine il dar Esempla sino furori, non Castighi. Mar- zini nel Furori, &c. p. 91.

Nulla sit culpa tam gravis, ut vita non concedatur propter timorem Dei. Tit. 1. Cap. 7. §. 3.

Our Saxon Ancestours as well as others, as we have seen by some of their Laws, deprived Persons of Liberty, and Mults generally they used, not commonly inflicting death upon Offenders, but where the value of the Head could not be paid, for the Murderer was bound to pay the value not of his own Head but of him he had slain, and according to the Crime sometimes a double, treble, nay nine or eighteen values. Their Mults or Fines were either greater or lesser. The Greater took away all or much of their substance, being the same with that which we call the valuation of the Head by them called Were, which word originally sig- nifieth a Man, and this valuation or payment secondarily, and by way of Trans- lation. The lesser sort of Mults they called Wite, which differed from Were both in this that it was less, as also in that it was uncertain, some- time more and sometime less, whereas the other was settled and constant, at least for some time. The first answers to the word Redemption, or as it's now used in English, Ranfome, and the last to Fine, and Americament properly.

108. But by this Valuation of the Head or Were, men were distinguished into certain Classes or Ranks. Of these there were three, viz. The Lowest, the Middle and the Highest. The lowest consisted of such as were valued at two hundred Shillings, thence in Saxon called Twyhyndnumen, in Latin Vir Ducentenus. The twyhyndne- middle were of such, whereof each was valued at six hundred shillings, called Six- hyndnumen and Vir Sexcentenus. The highest comprized those that were valued at twelve hundred shillings apiece, thence termed Twelfhyndnumen and Duodeci Cen- tentenus. In like manner their Wives were termed Ceorlissa or Twyhynda, (for Ceorle numen, and Twyhyndnum were the same) as also Syxhynda and Twelfhynda. Hence comes bynsane it to pass, that from these Classes, going by Hundreds, the word Hyndene is in- Sociaes terpreted Lambardo.

The valuation of Mens Heads. Of the King's. Of an Arch- bishop or Earl. A Bishop or Alderman. Of a General. Of spiritual Thane or Priest. Of a Countrey- man or Ceorl. Of a wealthy Wellfoman. A wealthy Ceorl or Coun- treyman.

Men distin- guished by Were.

Werewulf's, Lycantropes.



SecT. 12. interpreted a Society of Men. According to the degrees of the valuation of Mens Heads, they were to purge themselves of Crimes by such and so many Compurgations. Herein he that was richer was thought more worthy of Credit, and his Oath was the sooner taken, and therefore we read that the Oath of a *Thane* was equivalent to the Oaths of six Countreymen or *Ceorles*. As a Man's Value or his Wealth was more or less, so he might be a Purgator for, or purge lesser or greater Crimes, and therefore do we hear so often of *Purgation according to the rate of twelve Hides of Land or more or fewer*. For there it's observable, from the late mentioned Laws, that if a man was slain, his Kindred sometime received the value of his Head, which payment was called *Mægbot*. In like manner were they bound on the other side to pay the value of the Head of one slain by their Kindman, in case he became not responsible, and that to the Kindred of the slain party, which in the *Saxon* Tongue they termed *Cynegild* and *Cynebote*, the same in signification as *Mægbot*, now mentioned.

109. Thus was the Offender variously punished both in himself and Kindred for the same Offence, which punishment was sometimes so heavy, that not able to undergoe it, though Pecuniary, his life was taken for satisfaction. Part of the *Were* or valuation the Kindred received, so called as we have now said; another part was paid to the Lord for the loss of his Vassal, which they called *Manbot*; and a third Muilt was paid to the King for the breach of his Peace, called *Fridwile* and *Fridgild*. This latter was in use with the ancient *Franks*, who termed it *Fredus* and *Fredum*, as appears both from *Gregory's Turonensis*, and the *Salick* Laws. As to the *Cynegild* or *Mægbot*, it appears also from *Tacitus*, that the whole Family received satisfaction for a Kinman slain. And the Custom might seem to be taken from *Moses* his Law, who saith, *That in case a price of blood be required of him that had killed a Man, he should give whatsoever was laid upon him*. But thus much concerning the valuation of Heads, called *Weres*, the payment whereof they termed *Weregild*, to which we shall only add, that these valuations by King *Æthelstan* were very moderate, and that was the reason why many *Weregilds* were by after Laws put upon Offenders, sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes nine. Therefore in the Charter of Liberties to the City of London did *Henry* the first grant as a Privilege, that a Citizen should be but taxed or judged at one *Were* or an hundred *Shillings*, at which value he set a *Londoner*.

And that in his days *Weres* also were moderate, appears from this, in that he ordained that who so broke or set at naught a Law, for the first Offence should pay his *Were*; for the second Offence double his *Were*, and in case he the third time offended, should forfeit all he had. This is certain, that in the times of the *English* Norman Princes *Weres* and *Weregilds* were in fashion. They grew obsolete by degrees, but when utterly laid aside it is not certain. And the word *Fredum* (which was never in use with our Writers) grew also obsolete abroad after the Age of the Emperour *Frederick* the Second.

110. We have the History of the *Valuation of Heads* or *Weres*, but still shall we be in the dark if we know not the price, and that cannot be, except we something understand the value of these *Thryms*, by which they are rated in *Æthelstan's* Laws. That the word *Thrymsa* comes from the *Saxon* word *Three*, the same with our present *Three* is agreed, but in what respect it answered to *Three* is a little controverted. One was of opinion that it contained the third part of a German *Seldin* shilling, answering to their *Tremissis*. Another thought it to contain three *Penn* *Somer* nities; but most probable it is, that it contained *Three Shillings* *English* *Saxon*, with *Lambard*. out any relation to *German* or Foreign Money, although the *Mercians* seem to have differed from the other *English* in its value. As for the other sorts of Money; five Pennies in those days made a *Shilling*, and thirty Pennies made a *Mancs* (in Latin *Mancusa*) as *Ælfric* tells us in his *Saxon Grammar*. Of those Pence two hundred and forty made a Pound, which consisted of forty eight of their *Shillings*; and then as *Mr. Lambard* observed from some Silver Pence of King *Æthelred*, which he saw, two hundred and forty Pence equalled a pound in weight, that which seven hundred and twenty of ours now will not doe, although two hundred and twenty of our Pence also make

a Pound in value. The Word to express the most Money in those days was the *Seate* or *Scate*, which according to *Mr. Lambard* contained a vast sum, to the value of five thousand Pounds of Silver. Some are of opinion that it signified also a small piece of money to the value of an Half-penny. Besides this Half-penny (if an Half-penny they had) they had also the *Feorthing*, *Feorthing*, or *Farthing* containing the fourth part of a Penny as we may suppose. In short, we are told, that these several sorts and sums of Money were in use amongst our *English* *Saxon* Antecellours, viz. *Feorthing*, *Penn*, *Ose*, *Scat*, *Scilling*, *Thrymsa*, and *Pund*. Concerning *Ose* I have hitherto read nothing, but suppose *Ose* is meant, which was worth sixteen pence. Fifteen *Oses* also in a Book seen by *Sir H. Spelman*, was put for a Pound, and from a Manuscript Register of the Abbey of *Burton* in *Leicestershire*, he observed that the word *Ora* signified the same as *Uncia*. From that time the value of it was reckoned for sixteen pence, and sometimes for twenty pence, whence proceeded the difference of having *Ora* for twenty pence so often in *Doomday Book*.

111. To proceed with our Laws, all that we find of King *Æthelstan's* in the *Saxon* Edition of *Mr. Lambard* we have already related, there are others, though not in the *Saxon* Language, to be seen in the Chronicon of *John Bratton* the Abbat of *Jornal*, of which also we must make mention, such especially as we judge most convenient to be known. The first Catalogue we meet with consists of nine several Laws, whereof the first shews how the Court of the Hundred ought to be kept, declaring, that to the number of four Abbats meet, and that Right be done to all men in that Court. The second appoints how a Thief is to be prosecuted from the Hundred to the Tithing. The third imposes upon him that shall reject the Sentence or judgment of the Hundred, so that it passeth against him the second time, for the first offence the fine of thirty Pence to the Hundred, for the second offence sixty Pence, whereof one half to the Hundred and the other half to the Lord. For the third offence the loss of all he hath, and be Banished, except the King otherwise dispense with him. The fourth confirms what had been said concerning stray Cattel, that no man should keep them without the knowledge and Testimony of an Hundred or Tithing man, otherwise no benefit of Pouching should be allowed him. The fifth requires, That when one Hundred makes Hue and Cry, or pursues Cattel into another Hundred, this Hundred doe the like or forfeit thirty Shillings to the King. The sixth requires, That if any one decline the Law or make any escape, he that was the Procurer shall pay the value of the thing in question. The seventh again commands, That right and publick Justice be done in the Hundred, and in every other publick Meeting, and that a day be prefixed for every business, which whosoever transgresses, except hindred by the Command or Order of ones Lord, or by visible Infirmitie shall forfeit thirty Shillings, and yet be obliged to doe what he ought to have done at another appointed time. The eighth is very hard to be explained, and the Kernell not worth the labour of cracking the Nut. And the last is concerning *Ordeal*, of which in another place.

blanbarnum & de quibus sic Somerues in Glossar. Locus mirè enigmaticus & meliori Oculopo relinqgendus.

112. After this follow certain Judgments, as they are termed, which Wifemen are said to have ordained at *Exeter* by the Council of King *Æthelstan*, which were afterward confirmed both at *Feverham* a Town in *Kent*, and at *Thundresfeld*. Herein first are reinforced all the Laws formerly made at *Greatley*, except what concerned the Market of the City and the Lord's day. The rest contain severe Animadversions upon Thieves and such as receive them, viz. "Confinement into some place of the Kingdom which the King shall chuse. Nay, if one that stole after the Assembly held at *Thundresfeld* lital again, let he or she be what they will, they are condemned to death, together with such as harbour, or spare them if they meet them. And as to the manner of their death here are certain odd Circumstances. If she was a Free Woman that stole, she should be cast down from an high Cliff or Hill, or else drowned. If a Slave, he should be stoned by twenty of like condition; and in case any one's blow thrice failed he should so many times be beaten. And when the Thief was dead, every one of these Slaves or Servants should pay three Pence to his Lord. If the Thief was a She-  
" slave

Seate nummum in genere significat ut  
dixit Schot Schor, in Borealis etiam  
anglia parvulus shot adunc ubi patur pro  
pauca Cerevisia, pretio. Etiam Shot-  
pot.

peonðing, peneg, ose, seaceta,  
scilling, þrymsa, pund.

Man famulus Servus Vassallus.

ƿrithe pax. Germ. Frid.

\* De Mirac. St. Martini. lib. 4. c. 26.  
† Tit. 55. §. 2.  
Receiptique satisfactionem univosa de-  
mus.

Exod. 21. 30.

LL. Henr. I. c. 13. Qui legem ap-  
bit Were sua sic non prima vice; si se-  
cundo fecerit, reddat bis Weram suam;  
qui tertio presumat, perdat quicquid  
habet.

Libra on lesten 17 Pundon en  
ghyc. ƿƿ penningar gemacrað æne  
ne julinge 7 XXX penega æne  
maney 7 in extremo fine Gram.

\* Pecoris tici-  
mum & canis  
Oppa &

Sect. 12. "slave eighty Women of the like condition should each of them bring three Faggots or pieces of wood, and therewith burn her, and pay moreover for many Pence as the He-slaves were to do, or else be beaten. Another of these Laws forbids the receiving of another man's Servant, whom he cannot rule under pain of the forfeiture of an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, and the return and reparation of the Servant to be made besides. Another ordains, That a Lord shall not deny Hlafordocna, or his Protection, Defence, or the like, to a Freeman, who (being a Vassal) does him right in all respects. The last decrees, That such Judge or Officer as breaks, or hath not sufficient regard to these Ordinances forfeit an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, be he Thane or any other kind of man.

Wife men appointed by the King to manage the Government in particular Counties.

113. These Judgments or Ordinances bear not the Name of the King himself, but of the Wifemen of Exeter, who devised them there by the King's Advice or Consent, whose allowance gave them the Power and force of Laws, and those with the Wifemen whom he mentions in the Preface of other Laws to have been with him at that City in Christmas Holydays. These were also confirmed at Faversham and at a place called Thundresfeld. From these and other Passages it is evident, that in the days of this King Ethelstan, the Wifemen, or knowing Persons of particular Countries, Provinces and Cities, by the King's consent and allowance were wont to assemble and lay their Heads together, for the framing of such Ordinances as should be most convenient for the government of their particular Countries, and security of their Estates, and for the receiving what was enacted at the General Assembly of the Estates for the whole Kingdom; as in matters Ecclesiastical the Decretes of General Councils were wont to be received, or (as the Word was) confirmed in particular Synods, although of sufficient authority in themselves. And where in the particular Shires or Provinces such knowing men might be wanting, or for other reasons the King sometimes sent down certain from himself to consult with the Bodies of the Shires and Cities as well Noble, as Ignoble, and to convey to them such Ordinances or Laws as were thought most fitting for them. A notable acknowledgement hereof we have of the County of Kent in an Address made to the King, wherein with much Humility and thankfulness they make mention of certain Laws he had sent them; and testify their acceptance of them. This because of the Rarity of the thing, and for that it makes very much for the knowledge of the English Saxon Government, as well as confers to the farther knowledge of their Laws, we shall as well as we can translate from the difficult Latin of the Abbat Bromton.

The form of a Saxon Address.

114. Most dear, your Bishops of Kent with all Kentshire, Thanes, Counts, and Countrey-men, give thanks to you their most beloved Lord, for that you were pleased to give us orders concerning our Peace, and inquire and consult concerning our Advantage in a matter of such consequence to us both Rich and Poor. And this we have slain upon with all the diligence we could, by the advice of those Wifemen, whom you sent to us. And, most Dear Lord, the first is concerning our Tithe, to the which we are very desirous and ready to conform our selves, giving you most humble thanks for your Admonition. The second is concerning our Peace, which all your People desires may be observed as your Wifemen propounded at Greatley, and as now is appointed in the Council held at Fettesham. The third is, that all are very thankfull for the grace you were pleased to bestow on guilty Persons, in that all Forfeitures are pardoned, for such Thefts as were committed before the Assembly held at Fettesham, on condition that they commit no offence hereafter, and confess all their Robberies and satisfy your Majesty. The fourth, that none receive another Man's Servant without his leave, to whom he formerly \* belonged, neither within nor without the Limits. As also that a Lord deny not a Freeman his Hlafordocna, that is, his Defence or Protection, in case he have been faithful to him. The fifth thing is, that he that aids contrary to this is worthy of those punishments which are prescribed in the Instrument of Peace drawn up at Greatley. The sixth, that if so be a man be so Rich, and of such Alliance that he cannot be chastised, and will not cease to commit his former Outrages, that you will cause him to be taken away and removed into some other quarter of your Kingdom, as it is said in the Western Parts, let him be what he will Alderman (or Count) or Countreyman. The seventh, that every one hold all his men in his own Warranty against all Theft. If any there be that hath so many

Karissime, Episcopi tui de Kent, & omnes Kentenses, Thani, Comes & Villani tibi domino dilectissimo suo gratias agunt quod nobis de pace nostra precorere, &c.

\* Cui prius solvitur nec intra Marcom nec extra. Folgere est tradere se alicui ut Clientiam, servire, sequi, scilicet, ut olim solebant ii qui Angli dicebantur Retinere. Saxones poligam unde nostrum bodierum to follow, g (ut sepe) in a vel se mutare. Hinc etiam Folgorius, pro Client, scilicet, a Retinere. Morce proprie signum est exterioris limitis à Saxo. Oweap hoc Marke.

any men that he cannot keep them all, let him appoint an Overseer in every of his Villages, whom he can trust, and who will trust his men. And in case this Overseer dare not trust some of his men, let these men find out twelve Persons of their kindred who will be security for them. And in case the Lord or Overseer, or any other infringe this Ordinance, or depart from hence, let him be thought worthy of what was agreed on at Greatley, except any other kind of Justice better please the King. The eighth is, that what you said concerning the working of Shields contenteth all. Our Lord we beseech you of your mercifulness, that if we have in this matter either exceeded or been defective, you will order it to be amended, as you your self shall think convenient. And we are devoutly prepared for all things which you shall please to command us, and which any way lie in our power to perform.

Theft made Capital.

115. Next after this follow some other Articles, which are said to have been devised by the Bishops and Officers belonging to the Court of London, by them published, and confirmed by the Oaths of the Ealdormen (or Counts, he terms them Comites) and Countrey-men, or the ordinary sort of men in their Fridgild, Association, or Public Meeting, with the addition of those Laws or Judgments which were first ordained at Greatley, and afterward confirmed at Exeter and Thundresfeld. All these Articles now agreed on tend to the prevention of Theft by the punishment of Thieves and such as harbour or protect them. Theft is now confirmed to be Capital, and not only Associations are allowed and encouraged but also the raising of public stocks for defraying the Charges of prosecution, and the Encouragement of such as should shew themselves industrious in that behalf. We cannot but here suggest to the Reader what Remark he ought to make of these times, how the Crime of stealing, which generally indeed is taken notice most of in all the Saxon Laws and most caretaken for the prevention of it, grew more common than ever in the days of Ethelstan; the English having, as Ingulfus observes, in the days of Alfred imitated the Example of the Danes, and because they thought the blame would still be laid upon the Danes given themselves to Robbing: For by the strength and sharpness of the Remedy we may judge of the violence of the Disease. But formerly a Wite or Were, a Fine or value of the Head would serve for the Punishment, now nothing but death it self, to be inflicted both on the Malefactorous themselves, and those that abetted, received, or would not kill them if they met them. And whereas Gilds, Associations, or Societies were in use among Free People, whereby the Company in general was responsible for each number in particular; the like for prevention of Theft must be erected even amongst Servants and Slaves of both Sexes, they being both condemned to execute one another by the cruel Deaths of stoning and burning, and also to pay Money, as it were a Fine to the endamaged Party, as if bound to be Sureties for one another. We see what a necessity of shewing an Example and Prevention can make lawful as to punishments; and may hence take an account of the severity of our modern Customs in particular Towns, and of the Publick Laws against Theft and Robbing. If we in England be more severe against Thieves than in other Countries, and make smaller Offences Capital, it is because our Legislators saw the great proneness of the Natives to this Crime, and in their Judgments this way of punishment seemed more terrible than any other, (and perhaps more than later Ages have found it) and consequently the best way for prevention. Yet cannot I see why, of those two ill qualities which are ascribed to Islanders, from the condition of their Habitation, inclination to Theft should be as proper and Connatural as Inconstancy.

Edmund the next Legislator.

116. The next Legislator after Ethelstan was King Edmund his Brother and immediate Successor both in the Kingdom and in the practice of making Laws. We are told that in the solemn Feast of Easter (but not in what year) he held a great Council at London, as well of Ecclesiasticks as Seculars; where was present Oda and Wulfstan the Archbishops with many other Bishops to consult for the good of their own Souls, and of those that were under their care and Government. At this Council were enacted several Laws, which being fix in number are of Ecclesiastical Concernment, and amongst such matters must be remembered. These are found both in the Saxon Copy published by Lambard, and in the Latin of Bromton; but in Bromton's Book follow seven others of Civil Concernment, said to have been made by the King, his Bishops, and Wifemen at Calinton, which are not extant in the Saxon Edition. The first of these requires an Oath of Fidelity to King Edmund to be taken by all, in like manner as a Man ought to be faithful to his Lord without all controversy or sedition both in publick and in private, in loving what he shall love, and rejecting what he shall reject, and before the Oath be given, that no man conceal this matter no more in his Brother or

Neighbour

Sect. 12.

Exemplo nati- que Denarium- que colore est- am quidam indigenarum tarocinis ad capitis in- cendite cepe- rant.

Sect. 12.

Neighbour than in a Stranger. The second concerning apprehension of Thieves, enjoyns, That if it be known for certain where a Thief is, the Twelfthindi and Twifhindi unite together and take him either alive or dead. In case any one take up Mortal Feud against any one of them for so doing, he is to be esteemed as the Enemy of the King and all his Friends. And if any refuse to assist in the apprehension, he shall forfeit to the King an hundred and twenty Shillings, and to the Hundred, thirty Shillings. The third, as several before, forbids the receiving of another man's Servant lings. The third, as several before, forbids the receiving of another man's Servant that hath injured any man till he have done the injured party right, on pain of making amends himself. The fourth enjoyns, That if several Thieves do steal, the Eldest of them be taken and killed or hanged, and each of the rest beaten thrice, Racked, and for an Example have his Little Finger cut off. The fifth forbids the buying or receiving of strange Cattel, without the Testimony of the Chief Officer, Priest, the Ordeale or the Porreeve. The sixth enjoyns the prosecution or search of Cattel from place to place. He with whom they are found shall restore the Beast and pay to the King an hundred and twenty Shillings, which fine he shall also incur that resists and refuseth to do right. The seventh and last requires, That every person make his Servants and all that live in his Peace and his Lands to be trusted. That all such as have ill Names and be loaded with Accusations have security given for them. And whatsoever Officer, Thane, Alderman, or Countryman be that refuseth to do accordingly shall forfeit an hundred and twenty Shillings, and farther, be thought worthy of such punishments as have been before mentioned.

17. After these follow seven other Laws of King Edmund, which are found both in the Copies of *Bromton* and of *Lambard*. Before them we find a Preface wherein the King signifies to all his Subjects, both old and young, that he had most studiously inquired in a solemn Assembly both of Ecclesiasticks and Laicks, by what means Christian Faith might best be propagated. And that it seemed most convenient to them all that he should cherish and procure love and mutual friendship through all his Dominions. For they were much troubled at the unjust Contentions that were among them, and therefore he and they did ordain. First, That if hereafter one man kill another, that he alone take up Deadly Feud or Enmity with the Kindred of the slain, unless within twelve Months, by the assistance of his own Kindred, he pay the Wergild or value of the slain man's Head, of what condition so ever he was. In case his Kinsfolks forsake him, and will pay nothing for him, he alone shall bear the Quarrel, and they shall not be taken for Enemies. But they in the mean time shall not relieve him, nor have peace with him, which if they do or have, they shall forfeit all they have to the King, and he that first forsok his Kinsman shall be taken as an Enemy by the Kindred of the slain, and bear deadly Feud against them. And if any shall revenge himself upon or prosecute any other of the Kindred beside the Killer himself, he shall forfeit all he hath, and be taken as an Enemy both by the King and all that love him. The second denounces, That if a man slie to a Church or the King's Town, and there any one set upon him or do him any harm he shall be punished in the same manner. By the third the King expressly forbids that any Fight or Manbote, that is, any fine for Fighting or Killing be remitted. By the fourth he openly signifies, that his House shall afford no shelter to him that hath shed blood, except he have first made satisfaction to God and the Kindred of the slain, and have done whatsoever was enjoyed him by the Bishop in whose Diocese the Fact was committed. By the fifth he gives hearty thanks to God and them all who had assisted him in making this Law of Peace for the restraining of Thieves, and be trusts that they will be the more ready for the time to come to assist him by how much more necessary they see the Law is to be observed. The sixth enjoyns, That he that breaks the Peace, and sets upon a man in his own House, forfeit all he hath, and his life be at the King's disposal.

18. The Seventh and last of these Laws is concerning Enmities or deadly Feuds, declaring that it is the duty of Wisemen to suppress them, and prescribing the way after this manner. First, as the Law is, every where a Mediatour is to be sent before to the Kindred of the slain man, who is to signify to them that he that killed Be him will make satisfaction, then into the Hands of this Mediatour the Manlayer is to be delivered, that he may quietly appear and give Caution for the payment of the value of the dead man's Head; which as soon as he hath done, the King's Peace is to be made

C. 2. Sax. Be ðon ðe mon oþer þe on Cypcean gerece. Oþþe on Cynninge buph 7 Apud Jernal.

C. 11. Mine buph.

C. 3. Sax. Be rýnþe 7 man; bocce. Jernal. C. 111.

C. 4. Saxonc. Be blösgöce. C. IV. Apud Jernal.

C. 5. Saxon. Dæncunge ðam ðe þy ðýpþe rýrþ. C. V. Apud Jernal.

C. 6. Saxon. Be munþþöce] hamroce. C. VI. Apud Jernal.

C. 7. Saxon.

C. VII. Apud Jernal.

made betwixt them. One and twenty days ended let him pay Halsfage, (as the Abbat *Secl. 12.* *Bromton* hath it) or as the Saxon Text *Healsfage*, that is (as Mr. *Lambard* rightly interprets it, that which was paid in way of Commutation for the punishment of tying by the Neck to the King or Lord. Within one and twenty days after (or Nights as the Text hath it) let him pay Manbot or Money for the Servants death due to the Lord, as we have formerly explain'd it; and within one and twenty more the Wergild or value of the slain Parties Head, as *Bromton* hath it, or, rather as the Saxon Text, the first portion of the Payment. As for these Capital Enmities or Deadly Feuds the Reader must understand they were ordinary among the Germans and Barbarous Northern Nations, who ordinarily maintained private Quarrels by their whole Kindred, thereby rendering their Fewds as it were Patrimonial and Hereditary. So *Tacitus* writes concerning the Germans, that they were constrained to take up the Quarrels and Friendships of their Fathers and Kinsmen. There was necessity of it, Murders and Homicides not being censured by the Sentence of the Judge, but, as one expresseth, by the hands and fury of the Kindred of the slain, who in punishing used their own Methods and Measures as they listed. The custom as the Northern People uled in their own Countries when transplanted into more Southern Soils they would not leave off no more than several others, no not when their Principles should have been bettered by Christianity. But whatever Princes or Laws could do, those Enmities they still maintained, so that Legislators by degrees could scarcely get ground upon them, not daring to forbid the whole business, but regulating it as we see King *Edmund* doth by these two Laws, in the one prescribing the manner of carrying on these Deadly Quarrels, in the other the method of compounding them. Amongst the *Salique* Laws also, those of the *Lombards*, *Franks*, and other Obsolete Constitutions, as well as in the *Capitula* of *Charles* and *Ludovic*, are there many Laws concerning this Subject. The Capitulary of *Charles* the Great calls this Enmity *Paida*, in German it's *Fuede* and *Feido*, which seem to be derived from no other than the Saxon *pah*, now in English *Foe*, otherwise an Enemy. Our Saxon Ancestours termed it *feh* from the same Original, and hence we may well derive the present word *Fewd*, and give these the Name of *Deadly Fewds*. Mr. *Lambard* was of opinion that to these Deadly Fewds succeeded that Action in Law granted to the next kin to the Party slain, called *Appeal de mort*. But the cruel Custom of the Fewds themselves continued till the Norman times and longer, as appears by that Law of King *Edward* the Confessor, revived and confirmed both by *William the Conquerour*, and by *Henry* the second, as *Hoveden* tells us.

ðær sefer þ þringsls þrum autem significat principium, originem, gils ut auia.

Suspere tam inimicitia, seu parrii, seu propinqui, quam amicitia necesse est. Vid. Lambardi Glossar. in voc. Capita. les inimicitie. Spelman. in voc. Paide.

A Sax. pah & habe, junioribus hode & hood, Germ. heyd, heit, hat, quod in vocum terminatione ut supra monimus conditionem vel qualitatem denotat.

\* C. 12. Parentibus occisi (i.e. Cygo) Bythe

natis more Francorum) fiat emendatio, vel guerra eorum portetur. Unde Anglice procerbum habetur. Bythe ppeape of rite oððe bæp. i. e. Ene lanceam à latere aut fer.

The manner and Rites of Marriage.

119. Besides these Laws before mentioned, there is a certain Constitution ascribed to this same King *Edmund*, by *Bromton*, concerning the manner and Rites of Marriage. The same was found by Sir *Henry Spelman*, in *Saxon*, in a Book belonging to *Corpus Christi College* in *Cambridge*, joyned to the Laws of King *Alfred*, but in the Margent is noted, by some observer, that the same constitution was found amongst the Laws of King *Edmund*, as *Bromton* the Abbat of *Fernal* hath it. The Tenour of it is thus. 1. If one purpose to marry a Virgin or a Woman (a Widow *Bromton* hath it) she and her friends consenting, the Bridegroom both by the Law of God and Man ought to give caution for the fulfilling of what Covenants made before, as also that his purpose is, and his desire to have her as a Wife, according to the law of God, and no otherwise, and for this his friends must also ingage. 2. The second thing must be to take care of their maintenance, and it must be known who shall maintain them, and for this, both the Bridegroom and his friends must in-

Spelman. Concil. p. 425, þi man mæren þesban rceal. 7 hýrlice popepape þæpagon to beon 7

Jernal. in leg. Edmundi & Wilelmi in Editione nova legum Lambardi Saxonicæ p. 60.

Saxonica autem versum interpretati sumus secundum quod monuit Domestici, in lib. de Gavelkind. c. 3. Constitutionem enim hanc a Spelmanio Editione erratis variis iniquitatem observavit.

gag.

Sect. 12. 3. Then after that, let the \* Bridegroom declare what he will give his Bride, besides that which she formerly made choice of with his good liking in case she overlive him. 4. In case they so agree, it's fit she have the one half of all his Estate, and if they have a Child betwixt them, the whole Estate till such time as she marry again. 5. What the Bridegroom hath promised, let him confirm by giving caution, let him carefully observe it, and his friends engage on his behalf. 6. If they be now agreed on all things, let the Kindred of the Bride contract her to him as a Wife, and engage for her honesty, and then let caution be given for celebration of the Marriage. 7. If afterwards her Husband carry her out of the Territory of the Thane or Baron where she was bred, into the District of another Thane, let caution be given to her friends that she shall receive injury from no Man. And in case she herself do any ill thing, let her friends be ready to make satisfaction to her Husband, if she have not wherewith to do it. 8. At the bestowing of her in Marriage a Priest must be present, who of right, with the Blessing of God, shall promote their Conjunction to the attainment of all Felicity. 9. Lastly, There must be good heed and assurance had, that there be no Impediment of Consanguinity betwixt them, lest afterward they be justly separated, who were unjustly joyned together.

The form of  
Endowing.

120. To the fourth Article of this Constitution, Sr. Henry Spelman, in the Preface to his Note; The ancient form of Endowing, as hinting that it was the Custom amongst the English Saxons; for the Wife that overlived her Husband, to have half his Estate, and in case she had a Child by him, the whole till such time as the Marry another Husband. Accordingly he interprets the Saxon words, *Quod liquidum eveniat*; If it so come to pass, viz. that she overlive him. But *Interpret* Mr. Sommer who hath discovered other faults in this Edition of Sr. Henry, interprets the words, *if sic conveniat*, viz. if they so agree; the King thinks it just that she have the half if the outlive her Husband, &c. This Endowing, being that which they call *Dotarium* or *Donarium*, according to this best Interpretation of the words, was not then necessary, or by compulsion, but so as was thought fit, if it was so agreed before the Marriage: but whereas Mr. Sommer in his Glossary, thinks it the same with the maintenance mentioned in the Second Article, by our

A Saxon. *forþer i. e. vifins, i. baria unde dotarium nostrum i. Foris nutrire, & lean exhibere.*

In leg. Canoni. c. 71.

*Moþgan ȝife matutinium domus, sic etiam Germanice Morgin ȝifcat mane & Gab domini.*

\* Lib. 9. c. 10. Hist. Tami in dote quæ in Morgangiba.

being necessary, but it, to agreement. the other uncertain, and according as he himself will have it, to agreement. Besides this Endowing this *Dotarium* or *Donarium*, there was that which our Saxon Ancestours called *Morgangife*, the Lombards *Morgangap*, the Burgundians, *Alamans*, and others *Morgengeba*, and some *Morgingab*, so called for all these amount to the one, because it was a gift bestowed by the Bridegroom on the Bride, that morning they were to be Married. Yet doth \* Gregory *Turonensis* distinguish it a Dote from the ordinary Endowing. It seems to have been some special thing given to the Bride, as an especial mark of the Bridegroom's favour. Some think it to correspond or have some affinity with the English Custom of Endowing or Enticoffing at the Church Door, as they term it. Whereby the Bridegroom, when in the morning he is about to enter the Church to be Married, makes a present, as it were, to his Bride of some piece of Land.

121. But these Gifts and Endowings are quite contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Romans, with whom, *Dor*, properly significeth that Portion which the Husband receiveth with his Wife. They were not wont to give their Wives any thing back, and therefore have no proper word whereby to express such a Gift (Donations betwixt Man and Wife being carefully in their Laws forbidden) which we in English call *Dower*, answering properly to *Dotarium* or *Donarium*, (a) and the like. Tacitus admires it thus. The thing it self, amongst the Germans expressing it thus. The (b) Wife brings no Portion (Dotem) to the Husband, but the Husband (Dower) to the Wife. Yet the Greeks most

(a) Vocatur etiam Dotarium *Dotium*.

(b) Dotem non uxori marito, sed uxori maritus offert.

anciently

anciently as they had (c) words to express both Portion and Dower, were wont thus also to provide for their Wives. Homer feigns Vulcan, to have endowed Venus, and to have demanded back the Dower after that she was taken in Adultery with Mars; and in like manner, Claudian feigns the same thing to have been done by Pluto to Proserpina. For the Galls, Cæsar testifies that the Husband was wont to return the value of what he received in Portion with his Wife. Strabo writes of the Cantabrians in Spain, that they also Endowed their Wives, and left their Daughters their Heirs, which thing he dislikes, as giving Women power over Men. To be sure the Teutonic and Northern Nations, practised this course, as is evident from Gregory of Tours, concerning the Franks in Gall, and concerning the Goths, Saxons and Lombards, their several Laws. In some places half the Lands, and some a third part went in Dower, and in others Money. In other places it was left to the discretion of the Man to give what he pleased. The English and Scots have in later Ages, after the Fashion of the Sicilians, allotted the third part; though Kent and some Boroughs, one half part, as also some Towns in France. But this Custom hath farther to plead for it, that it had the Hebrews also for its practicers, as appears from that place which faith, a Man shall Endow a Woman, and take her for his Wife. And Sicheu being begging to Marry Dina, bids them ask what Dower they would, and he would grant it.

How much  
was assigned  
for Dower.

The Settlement  
given to  
Wives.

122. So much is fit to be pleaded for our Custom, and in favour of the other Sex against the Romans, who yet were so just, as when they put away their Wives, bid them take what they brought along with them; which words were used expressly, to signify a Divorce. Our English Saxon Ancestours were both careful for the main Chance, not to have nothing with their Wives, because meat cannot be bought in the Market without Money, and yet were both so just and kind as to provide for their Wives by way of Dowry when they Married, that they might be able to Live when they were Dead, and were content to be bound up for performance, and not to be left to their own discretions what they would do after Marriage, or at their Deaths. By King Edmund's Constitutions we have seen their care on one side, and that they were not heedless on the other appears by an ancient Saxon Monument, or a Tripartite Writing, concerning a Marriage made in the Days of King Cnut, which here for Illustration of this Subject we shall Exemplify as we have it published by Mr. Sommer. Here appeareth in this Writing the Agreement that Godwin made with Byrhtic when he Wood his Daughter. That is, first he gives her one pound weight of Gold on condition that she stand to the Agreement, and he giveth her these Lands at Strete,

with all that thereto appertainerth, and in Burware Marþs one hundred and fifty Acres; withall, thirty Oxen, twenty Cows, ten Horses, and ten Theowmen or Bondmen. This was agreed at Kingston before King Cnut, in the presence of Living the Archbishop, as also in the Convents at Christ Church, of Ælmlere the Abbot, the Convents at St. Augustin's; of Æthelwin the Sheriff, Sired the Elder, Godwin, Wulsey's Son; Eadmer at Burham; Godwine, Wulstan's Son; and Charles, the King's Servant. And when this Maid was fetched to Brighting, then went off all these for Sureties, Ælgar, the Son of Sired; Frerth, Priest of Folcton; Leofwine, Priest of Dover; Wulsey a Priest; Eadred the Son of Eadelm; Leofwine, the Son of Warelm; Cenwold Ruff; Leofwine, Godwin's Son at Horton; Leofwine the Red; Godwine the Son of Eadgite, and Leofsun his Brother. And which of them longest liveth shall have all the Possessions, aswell that Land which I give them, as every thing. This thing is known to all \* Doughty, or Valiant Men in Kent; and in Suffex both Thanes and Churles, or Countrey-men. And this Writing is Tripartite, one is at Christ Church, a second at St. Augustin's, and the third hath Byrhtic himself. See here the manner of Marriage, and settling matters thereto belonging in those ancient Times. And take notice by this Juitrument, as also all along by the Laws how cautious they were in all respects, scarcely transacting any thing but by the Intervention of Suretyship.

123. To return, The next Legislator after Edmund, was King Edgar his Son, who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCCLXIX. and ended it in the year DCCCCLXXV. He amongst many Laws and Canons of Ecclesiastical Concernment, published also some which respected the Civil State of his Kingdom; or, as he terms it, to the People, to be observed by them, whereof this is

Sec. 12 the first, whereby He enjoys, that "Every Man, Poor or Rich, enjoy the benefit of the Law, and have Justice done him. And for Punishments, he would have them so moderated, that thereby, being accommodated to Divine Clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto Men. The second forbids Appeals to the King in Suits, except Justice cannot otherwise be obtained. And if a Man be oppressed, he may betake himself to the King for relief. And in case a pecuniary Mulct be inflicted for a fault, it must not exceed the value of the Man's Head. The third imposes a Mulct upon a Judge that passes an unjust Sentence against any Man, of an hundred and twenty shillings to the King, except such Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of any malice, but only it happened by error and unskilfulness: in such case let him be removed from his place, except he can obtain favour of the Bishop to keep it: and let the Bishop of the Diocese convey the Mulct that is imposed upon him to the King's Treasury. The fourth ordains, that Whosoever maliciously defames another Man, whereby he receives any damage to his Body or Estate, in case the defamed Person can wipe off those injuries, and prove them false, the Defamer's Tongue shall either be cut out, or he shall redeem it with the value of his Head. The fifth is that which we have formerly cited, which Commands every one to be present at the Gemote or Assembly of the Hundred; ordains that the Burghemote or Alfmote of the Towns or Cities be held thrice a year; and the Shiregemote or Meeting of the County twice; whereat are to be present the Bishop and the Ealdorman, the one to teach the People God's Law, and the other Man's. The sixth requires, that Every Man find sureties for his just behaviour. In case any one commit a crime and fly for it, let the Sureties undergoe what should have been laid upon him. If so be he stole any thing and be taken within a twelvemonth, let him be brought to Justice, and then let them receive back the value of his forfeit on his behalf. The seventh orders, When any one is accused of evil report and again accused of some crime, absents himself from the Gemotes or Publick Meeting, some of the Court to go where he dwells, and take Sureties for his appearance, if they may be had; if they cannot get them, let them take him alive or dead, and seize on all his Estate, wherewith the complaining Party having had such share as may satisfy him, let the one half of the remainder go to the Lord of the Soil, and the other half to the Hundred. And if any of that Court, being either a Kin to him, or a Stranger to his Blood, refuse to go to put this in execution, let him forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings to the King. Farther, let not such as are taken in the manner of stealing or betraying their Masters obtain pardon of their Lives. The eighth and last ordains, that One and the same Money be current throughout the King's Dominions, which no Man must refuse. That the Measure of Winchester be the Standard. And that a Way, or Weight of Wool be sold for half a Pound value of Money, and no more.

124. The next Legislatour after Edgar was King Ethelred, his Younger Son, who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCCLXXIX. and ended it in the year MXVI. Brompton the Abbat of Jorval presents us with four several Bodies of Laws of this King, made at several times, and in divers places, whereof there is only two extant among the Saxon Laws, published by Lambard. The Laws comprized in the first Body are six, and said to have been made at Woodstock in Mercia, according to the Laws of the English, in a Council of Wisemen, held there by King Ethelred for the Promotion of Peace. The first of these, which King Ethelred requires, that "Every Free-man have his sureties, who shall be bound for him, that he shall be ready to do every Man right in case he be questioned. If one be often accused and made infamous let him undergoe the scrutiny of threefold Ordeal. But in case such an one's Lord contend, and affirm that he hath neither broken his Oath, nor been cast by the Judgement of Ordeal after the Council held at Bromdun, let his Lord call to him out of that Hundred one or two Thanes, who together with him shall confirm by Oath that this Servant neither ever forswore himself, nor paid never any thing upon the account of Theft, except he have some Officer, who (according to his Right) may do it without Swearing. In case they made Oath let the Accused Party chuse whether he will undergoe the tryal of single Ordeal, or make an Oath in three several Hundreds, which shall answer to one pound and thirty pence in equal proportion. But in case they refuse to swear, let the Accused undergoe the tryal of threefold Ordeal:

"Ordeal: and if so be that he appears a Condemned Man, let him restore twofold to the Complainant, and pay the value of his Head to the Lord, and find Sureties for his good behaviour for the time to come. If he offend the second time, let it cost him his Life. In case he refuse to be Tried by the Ordeal, and fly for it, his Sureties shall pay the just value of the thing to the Injured Party, and to his Lord the value of his Head, if he have so carried himself as to be worthy of it. But if it be objected against his Lord, that after the Fact, committed by his advice and assistance, his Servant fled away, he shall take to him five Thanes, and thereof purge himself; which if he do, he hath shewn himself to be worthy of the Were, if he do not the King shall have the Were or value of the Head, and the Thief shall be made incapable of any benefit of the Law. The Lord shall answer for his whole Family, and be Surety for the appearance of every person in it. And if any of his Servants being accused, run away, his Master shall pay his Man's Were to the King. And if the Master be Accused as the Adviser to the escape, he shall purge himself by the assistance of five Thanes. If he do it not, he shall pay to the King his Were; and his Man shall be an Outlaw.

125. The second "Appropriates the mulct which is laid upon any Man that possesseth Bockland, for any fault by him committed, to the King; and forbids any compensation to be made for any Accusation, but in presence of the King's Reeve or Officer. The third ordains, that a Bond-man being cast by the Ordeal, be marked with an hot Iron for the first offence, and being cast the second time in the same manner, by all means to be put to Death; which Law bears some resemblance to our present Law or Custom, where Clergy is allowed for the first crime committed. The fourth forbids all Buying and Chaffering without Suretyship and Witnes. If it happen otherwise, the Lord of the Soil is to have the thing in his custody till such time as it appear to whom of Right it belongs. By the fifth, the King's Reeve or Officer is obliged to require Sureties for the good behaviour of such as are of ill fame amongst all Men, which if such an one do not give he is to be put to Death, and Buried in a profane place with Malefactors. And if any make resistance in his behalf, he is to undergoe the same punishment. The sixth, after Brompton, but which hath neither Title nor Number in the Saxon, concludes it thus. "And whosoever neglects or doth allow of us all, shall forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings to the King.

126. The next Body of Laws made by King Ethelred, as Brompton ranks them, are said to have been made at Venetys, or Wanats, now Wantage in Berkshire, the Birth place of the glorious King Alfred. They are thirty in number, and were made by King Ethelred and his Wisemen for the encrease of Peace and Felicity. The first of them is concerning the Keeping of the King's Peace as it was in the days of his Predecessours, and for the punishment of the Breach of it, as that in a Gemote of five Boroughs, with the forfeiture of five pounds, in one Borough by seven hundred (shillings are meant) in a Wapentack by one hundred; and in an Ale-house if a man be killed, with six half Marks; if he be not killed, with twelve Ores. Hence (but especially from the Laws of Ina) we may observe how ancient the Liquor of Ale, and Houses designed to the sale and drinking of it have been in England; how ancient also Quarrelling and breaking of the Peace in such places. But much more ancient have all these been than the continuance of the English Saxons in this Country; they were too much in fashion with these Northern Nations in those Days of Tacitus, as appears from what he writes of the Germans; so that what Mr. Camden writes in his Annals, of Drunkennes being first brought into this Country by the Souldiers that served in the Low Countries under the Earl of Leicester, and that then Laws were first made against this Vice, is to be understood with an exception of this Antiquity; for when the English Saxons came first into the Island, they brought Drunkennes along with them out of the Chersonesus of Germany. For of the ancient Germans Tacitus reports, that "To pass a day and night in Drinking was no disgrace at all. Being Drunk they would quarrel, and often wound and kill one another. Yet most commonly (saith he) they consult in their Feasts and Banquets concerning Reconciling of Enemies, making Affinities, chusing Magistrates, even of Peace and War: as if at no other time the mind was fitter either to entertain plain thoughts or heat upon great

Ale and Ale-houses among the English Saxons.

Secl. 12. "great Conceptions. Quintilian also assures us, that in ancient times, such as had Fought in the Field against one another, would be Friendly at an Entertainment at the Table. In Germany this Custom, we are told, still continues; and here in England at our *Ales* and *Wakes*, Controversies and Quarrels were wont to be heard and compounded. As to Drinking and Drinking Houses, the present Age can shew and say as much or more than any other, both as to quarrels, and as to the doing of business, for no business now is to be done, but in a Drinking House. But in our Greater Towns and Cities, the Scene of these too often tragical Meetings is removed from Germany and England, to France and Spain; or if it be still in Germany, it's removed close to the Rhine. The Grape hath got the advantage of the Barley: and Bacchus (if ever) may now seem a Deity, nay above all the rest, having (by Vulcan's means) in the Capital City lately turned his Houses into sumptuous Palaces, the most sumptuous there to be seen; and in the adjoining Parts jostled several Gentlemen out of their Habitations.

127. The second Law requires credit to be given concerning either quick or dead, according to legal Testimony which it will have all Persons, free to make as well as to swear. The third consists of such Terms as certainly cannot be explained. The fourth commands that The public Meetings be observed in every Hundred or Wapentake, and that twelve Thanes (saith Bromton) or twelve men of free Condition (as Lambards reads it) being elderly men, together with their Præpositus or Overseer, swear over Gospels or Sacred things, that they will neither condemn an innocent Person, nor acquit a guilty. From this Law as well as other Circumstances it appears, that the way of trial by twelve men, that we now call a Jury in use.

ces it appears, that the way of trial by twelve men, that we now call a Jury in use with the English Saxons before the Conquest, and not introduced by William the Conquerour, as Polydore Virgil an Italian, and not much skilled in the Antiquities of this Island hath delivered in writing. To confirm what we have said, the third Chapter of the League, betwixt King Alfred and Guthrum the Dane, very much maketh, which orders that If the King's Thane or Minister be accused of Homicide he shall purge himself if he dare by twelve other Thanes or Ministers. And in case he be in degree inferior to the King's Thane he shall take Eleven of his Equals, and one of the King's Thanes or Ministers, and so purge himself from all suspicion. The like is here ordered to be observed in all suits, exceeding four Mancuses or Marks. And in case one be afraid so to clear himself, he shall pay the treble value of the thing in question. Besides these throughout the Saxon Laws as the Reader may observe, there is frequent mention of clearing, and purging by so many Men called together, sometimes of twelve, sometimes of twelve or fewer, and the more common and ordinary had this course been even in those times, but for the Ordeal so much in repute, which also got more strength and reputation toward the Days of Ethelred, and the Conclusion of the English Saxon Monarchy. Amongst the ancient Charters of Kings published by Ingulphus, are also Footsteps of this Custom though but in its youth as it were, or growing up do appear. As in that of Witleaf, where punishment is to be inflicted upon a Fugitive from the Monastery of Croyland, his Flight is to be found by six men that must be sworn, so in the Charter of Confirmation granted by Edrede, such as injured the Monks, or infringed the Liberties thereby confirmed to the Monastery, are to make satisfaction for all Damages sustained, which are to be taxed by the Oaths of four or five sufficient creditable Men, by whom the Truth of the matter may be the better made out, before his Judges or those of his Heirs and Successors. Therefore neither did Edward the Confessor first bring up this Custom of Juries, or deciding Controversies civil or criminal by twelve or other Number of Persons, though he might introduce the Custom into Normandy, where he long sojourn'd as one of that Country hath written. But the Custom of trying Criminals even by twelve Men, was frequent amongst the Franks, Burgundians, Boii, and where the Customs of Fees took place, as appears sufficiently from the ancient Laws of these Nations.

128. The Laws of King Ethelred made at Wantage, have many of them relation to the Trial by Ordeal, and contain many obscure terms, Bromton, or whoever he was that made them Latin, being a very unprofitable Translator. Others of them are referable to other former Laws, and therefore we shall only pick out from amongst them, such as are most worthy to be taken notice of. The Eleventh makes The adulterating of Coin a Capital Crime. The twelfth Forbids any Cattel to be bought but with two Witnesses, requiring that the Skin and Head be kept three Nights, as also that of a sheep; and in case any one sell the

C. 2.  
C. 3.  
C. 4.

\* Vide Ethelred.  
L. 12.  
† Eijjdem.  
L. 9.

Vide Spelman.  
in Glossar.

11.  
12.

Skin before three Nights be over, he is to forfeit twenty Ores. The twentieth Declares how far the King's Peace shall extend from his Gate every way, that is three Miles and three Quarters, and three Acres in breadth, nine Feet and nine Barley Corns. The two and twentieth directs that Aldredelgate and Circelegate (so they are called) have their Keepers or Porters. The twenty third declares, that if a small Vessel came to Bilyngelgate, an half Penny was wont to be given for toll; if a greater bearing Sails, a Penny. If a Keel or Hulk, being a long and large capacious sort of Vessel, four Pence are to be given. Out of a ship laden with wood one Piece for Toll. Thrice a Week toll of bread is to be paid, viz. on the Lord's Day, Tuesday and Thursday. If a Boat arrive with Fish, it is to pay an half penny, if it be a bigger Boat a penny. Those of Rouen in Normandy, that came with Wine or Grampois, those of Flanders and Ponthieu, and others from Normandy and France, were wont to open their wares and free them from Toll. Such as came from Liege and other Places, travelling by Land opened their wares and paid Toll. The Emperor's men coming with their ships were accounted worthy of good Laws, as we also to buy in their ships. And it was not lawful for them to foretell the Market from the Burglers of London. They were to pay Toll, and at Christmas two gray Cloths, and one brown coloured with ten Pounds of Pepper, and five pair of Gloves with two Vessels of Vinegar, and as many at Easter. From Panniers that come with Hens, one Hen for Toll. Those that trade in Butter and Cheese fourteen days before Christmas, must pay a penny for Toll, and another penny seven days after that Festival. The twenty sixth imposes the same Punishment upon such as wittingly receive, as they that make bad money. The twenty eighth puts it into the King's Power whether to fine, or put to death such Merchants as import counterfeit bad money, and impose upon Portreeves that shall be accessory, the same Punishment as lies upon those that Coin false money, except the King think fit to pardon them. The last, That there may be fewer Minters than formerly, ordains that there be three in every great Port Town, and in every other Port one with their underworkmen. And the Governors of these Ports are required, as they will avoid the charge of Contumacy against the King, to see to the weight, and that the pieces be so stamp'd, that fifteen Ores may make a Pound.

The League  
twixt Ethelred  
and the  
Danish Army.

129. After these Laws in Bromton follows the League, which was made betwixt King Ethelred and the Army of Anlaf, Justin, and Guthmund the Son of Stegete. The first Article hereof, Establisheth a Peace betwixt the King and his C. 1. Sax. People, and this Army which the King supplied with money, according to the Form of C. 1. apud the Agreement, made by Sigeric the Archbishop, and Ethelward and Alfric Alder-Fornal. man, when they obtained first of the King leave to buy the peace of these Countries, which they governed. If therefore hereafter any violence be offered to England by Sea, this Army, saith the King, is to assist us, and we will prepare all necessities for its subsistence, as long as it shall continue faithful. And if so be that any Foreign Nation make Friendship with them that do the said violence, both we and the Army shall account of them as Enemies. The Second Article, Gives freedom to come into Port though belonging to the Enemy, whether driven thither by Tempest or otherwise. The third, To all their Friends and Allies confirms Peace and Security both at Sea and Land, though they be met in an Enemies Country. In case such a Friend convey his Goods into an Enemies House, he shall lose the Goods, but go free himself. But if he either fly or make resistance, or do not make known himself and be slain, no satisfaction is to be made for him. The fourth requires that If a man be robbed in a ship the Master thereof is to make satisfaction, or by four others taken to him make faith that he came lawfully to the Goods that are challenged. The next Article imposes a Mult of twenty five pounds upon a free Englishman, that kills a Dane of free Condition, except the Murderer yield up himself: the same forfeiture a Dane incurs if he slay an Englishman. If an Englishman kill a Dane of servile condition he shall pay one pound, and the like a Dane if he kill an Englishman. If so be that eight Persons be slain, the League shall be accounted violated, but if under this Number, Compensation shall be made according to the value of the particular Persons.

130. If this happen in a Town the Townsmen are to take the Murderers alive or dead, at least their next Kinsman is to surrender them Man for Man, which if they refuse to do,

Unum monetarium in Stanford in perpetuum liberatum concedimus inquit Rex Edgarus filii. Monasterio Croyland. Ingulph. p. 884.

C. 2. Sax. Be ceapcrysium;  
C. 2. apud Fornal.  
C. 3. Sax. Be ðær cýnnyger  
ppimannum? C. 3. apud Fornal.

C. 4. Saxon. Be ðon ðemon  
scipe beapcraos ry? C. 4. apud Fornal.  
C. 5. Saxon. Be monplege? C. 5. 6. apud Fornal.

C. 6. Sax. Be ppimhrec binnan  
býpys? C. 8. apud Fornal.

the

Secl. 12.  
20.  
22.  
23.

26.  
28.



Sect. 12. the Baldorman must doe it, if he doe it not the King; if the King refuse, that Countrey must be accounted out of the League. The Seventh Article, indemnifies both sides, for all Murthers and Plunderings before this League. The one side is not to receive the Servant, Robbers or Enemies of the other. That which follows Condemns a Countreyman, that shall plunder or kill, if it be affirmed by a Seaman and a Land man. If he kill their Cattel, he shall be taken both by the King's Party, and the Army for an Outlaw without admision of any Excuse. clares that the English purchased peace of the Army with two and twenty thousand pounds of Gold and Silver. The ninth directs that If a Man find his Goods in another Man's Hands, he with whom they are found tell where he had them, and give security to produce his Voucher. In this case if he be to send for a Man out of another Shire, he shall have convenient time to doe it. If upon offer he take the thing upon him, the other shall be acquitted with whom the Goods were found. This Voucher must then produce his, and if he live in another Shire, have a Weeks time given him to produce him; if he live beyond two Counties, a Fortnight, if beyond three, three Weeks, or a Week to be allowed for every Countrey. But all of them must come to the place where the Goods were found. The tenth and last concerning 'vouching', tells us that in times past it was the Custome with whom a thing was found, that he should thrice produce Vouchers, and then they should go to the place where the Voucher lived. Now to Wifemen it seems more reasonable, that in the place where the thing is found, the Vouchery proceed till it come to a Period, lest that those who are not so able to bear it in seeking for their own be tired out with the length of the way, and time, whereas it's most just, that the trouble should be imposed upon the unjust Possessor. But he that finds his Goods is to beware, that he with whom he hath found them find sufficient security, to produce those that will save him harmless, and lest he make any unjust challenge, left endeavouring to trouble others be himself embroyed in intricate Affairs. If there be any have challenged one that's now dead, and hath no Heirs to purge him, let him if he can, prove by Witnesses that he did so challenge him, and thereupon be being discharged of the Guilt, let the blame lye upon the dead Party, except he have Friends that will legally purge him as if he had been alive. In such case he is to be taken as clear, and he is to be accounted guilty of the Theft with whom the Goods were found, so far as much as Denial is of more weight than affirmation. Lastly, if any one in this matter of 'vouching', refuse to proceed any farther, but contends that the Goods were his own, he may be at his choice if he can ascertain his propriety by credible witness. For, if it do not otherwise appear, Propriety is presumed to be rather in the Possessor than in the Pretender.

131. The next Body of Laws which follows in Brumton, and was made at a place called Habbe, are all of Ecclesiastical concernment purely except it be the fifth, which prohibits any man to be sold out of his Countrey. But there is published by Sir Henry Spelman the Acts of another Council held by this same King Ethelred at a Place called Aetham, amongst which are some that relate to the Civil State. The sixth prohibits also the sale of a Man out of his own Countrey, especially into the service of a Pagan. The seventh will have no man put to death for a small fault, but inculcates mercy. The nineteenth forbids a Widow to marry within a twelve month at least. The two and twentieth takes care for preserving the Peace, and keeping the Coin uncorrupt, that one and the same go throughout the Land. The like for just weights and measures, the reparation of Cities, Towns, Castles and Bridges, and warlike expeditions, both by Sea and Land. The twenty third takes care that presently after Easter, the Annual expedition by Sea be hastened, and ordains that if any Man doe any hurt to a ship designed for the service of the State, he both make satisfaction for the Damage, and be punished as a Breaker of the King's Peace. And if he utterly spoil the Vessel, so as he be made unserviceable, he shall make full amends for the Damage, and farther, be taken as guilty of High Treason. The twenty fourth Deprives that Man of all his Fortunes, who deserts the Expedition whereat the King himself is present. The next Deprives him that hath killed a Man, or sworn himself, of all his fortunes; also if he offer to come into the King's presence before he hath made satisfaction, except the King will dispence with him. The twenty sixth Deprives him both of Life and Fortunes that Conspires against the Life of the King. If he deny it, he must purge himself by the most solemn Oath,

C. 7. Saxon. C. 8. apud Jurn.

C. 8. Saxonice. Belancer manny  
vthce 7 C. 9. apud Jurnal.

And afterward it de-

C. 9. Sax. Be don de mon gey  
de him loyos par 7 C. 10. apud  
Jurnal.

C. 10. Saxon. Be te amum 7  
C. 11. apud Jurnal.

or by treble Ordeal accordi g to the Law of the English, or after the Danish Law, as it appoints. That which follows ordains, that it any openly set himself to oppose the Laws of Christ or the King, he be punished either by paying the value of his Head, or otherwise according to the quality of the offence; and if he procure his own death by making resistance, he must lye unrevenged. These are the Laws of King Ethelred, which respect the civil State, made as we have distinguished them at several times and places, but what these times were we are uncertain, though we be sure the Laws were made during his Reign.

132. There are others which we cannot certainly affirm to have been made in his time, though the General conjecture be that they were, and these are comprized in an Agreement or Act, which the Wifemen of England and the Councillours of Wales, made concerning the Inhabitants of the Mountains of that Countrey. The first Article of this *Senatusconsultum*, as they call it, prescribes the pursuit after Cattel, by the Footsteps from one place to another. The second wills that Within nine or ten days, the one Countreyman do write to the other whether it be in purging themselves, or in any other matter which is in Controversie. But in all Accusations betwixt English and Welsh men, they shall clear themselves only by Ordeal, except the Accuser permit it. And each of them if they cannot otherwise have their right, may lawfully take away pledges one from another. The third gives order that If any one be injured and have taken a pledge from him that did the fact, he that gave the offence shall redeem it, or so much of his Goods as it amounts to be seized. That he who refuses to doe Justice, may be compelled to doe it. Here twelve men, six English, and as many Welsh, shall administer Justice to those of both Nations: who in case they do not doe right shall forfeit all they have, except they excuse themselves by their Ignorance of the Law. Here behold another pattern of a Jury, and of that which we call *Medietas Linguae*, viz. when a stranger is to be tried, six English, and as many of the Parties own Countrey, at least, strangers are impelled to judge as to matter of fact, and according to their evidence give in their Verdict. The fourth Article wills, That when an English or Welsh man is accused of Theft and cast in the Trial, he shall only pay the forfeit due for the Theft, and no other mult or any thing besides. The fifth, Exalts but half of the Value of the Head, in case a Welsh man kill an English man, or an English man a Welsh man, of what Family soever the slain Party was.

133. The sixth Article, Forbids the Welsh to come into England, or the English to enter Wales, except received at the other Bank by the Borderers, who shall take care for their safe Conduict and Return. And in case any Borderer be accused of false dealing herein, and cannot by witness disprove it, let him be fidd. In the same manner, if any one procure that any stranger doe any damage to a Man of the Place, and be suspected to have been privy to the fact, with respect had to the Damage he shall purge himself by the Oaths of Select men. First the Accuser shall make his Accusation by Oath; and then if the accused Party be cast in his Trial, he shall pay double Damages to the Plaintiff, and a Mult to the Lord. The seventh Article sets the value of an Horse, that miscarries at thirty Shillings, and if it be pretended that there was no fault in the Person charged, the Purgation shall be according to that rate, and so for the rest the value of a Mare, and a yearling Colt at twenty Shillings: A wild Asses Colt at twelve Shillings: An Ox at thirty Pence, a Cow at twenty four Pence, a Swine at eight Pence, a Sheep one Shilling, a Goat at two Pence. Any other thing unseen must be valued by Oath, and recompence made accordingly. The Eighth directs that If one find his Goods with another man, and he challenges to avowry one that lives beyond the water, then that the Controversie may come to an end, shall be give sufficient Caution. And he that finds the Goods shall by the Oaths of six men make it good, that he justly lyes challenge to the thing that was stolen, because But he that goes to avowry must swear alone, that he doth rightly doe it. And in case any beyond the River contend, that the thing questioned is of his own proper goods, he must make it evident by the Judgment of Ordeal. The ninth declares that *Wentsete* (by which some understand *South Wales*, but others more probably *Monmouthshire* being anciently called *Gwent*, *Went*, *Wentset* and *Wentland*, so named from its chief City which of old, had the Name of *Venta Silurum*) Sometimes was subject to the Dunfates or Mountainers, but seems rather to belong to the West Saxons. And thither they must send Tribute and Hostages of Peace. As also that it's meet, that the Mountainers send Hostages if the King think it fitting.

Sec't. 12. 134. These were the Laws made by the *English Saxon* Kings, before the *Danes* established their Monarchy throughout the Land, which Laws King *Cnut* after his return from *Rome*, commanded strictly to be observed, especially those made by the late King *Ethelred*. And being now at leisure from War, and applying himself to the good usage of what he had ill got, he made Laws of his own, respecting both the Ecclesiastical and Civil State, reinforcing some old Laws, and altering and adding others, as he found occasion, in all which, as he tells us in his Preface, he used the Council of his Wifemen, and commands those his Laws to be observed throughout *England*. "The first of Civil

"Concernment commands Justice to be faithfully and indifferently administered both to Poor and Rich, and abomineth all unjust Laws. The second commands Mercy to be used, and that no man be put to death for a small Offence. The third prohibits a Christian to be sold out of the Kingdom, especially to Unbelievers. The fourth Baniſhes or Condemns to Death, Witches, Sorceresses and Whores; and threatens Thieves and such as injure and doe violence to the People. The fifth forbids the Superſtitious of Pagans, with Incantments and Delusions. The sixth expells Murderers, perjured Persons, and Adulterers out of the Land except they speedily repent. The seventh exhorts all men to beware of these Crimes and suppress all Flatterers, Lyars, Robbers, Thieves. The eighth commands to all People the keeping of the Peace, orders one and the same good Money to be current, and no man to refuse it. If any one imbase the Money, his Hands are to be cut off without any redemption. And if a Reeve or Governour be accused that it was done by his consent, he shall purge himself by a treble purgation, and if he be cast incur the same punishment. The ninth enjoyns a due care to be had of just Weights and Measures. The tenth commands as the Law of *Ethelred* (for these are but as repetitions of his Laws) that "Towns and Bridges be well looked to, and that the Militia both by Sea and Land be enforced according as the necessity of the Commonwealth requires. By the eleventh he promises to use and entertain such Councils as may tend to the promotion of Justice, the profit of the State, and the advancement of Christian Piety.

Of Forfeitures incurred by the Law.

135. That which follows, being the twelfth, is remarkable for comprizing those *Forfeitures* which the King challenges as due to himself in the Countries of the *West Saxons*, except he please to confer them upon any other, viz. "The Penalty incurred for breach of the Peace, for breaking into an House, stopping up a Passage, and forsaking ones Colours. If also for some Crime a man be outlawed the restitution of him to his former condition belongs to the King. He also that possesseth *Bocland*, forfeits to the King, whoever else may be his Lord. And whoſoever relieves or harbours a Fugitive, except he can plead ignorance, shall pay to the King five Pounds. The thirteenth Law makes the same Challenge of all these *Mulcts* or *Forfeitures* in *Mercia*. The fourteenth makes the same Challenge in such parts as are governed by the Law of the *Danes*, of *Mulcts* incurred for fighting, refusing to goe out in the Militia, breaking the Peace, and violent entry of an House, except he honour any man else, by granting these *Royalties* to him. The like is to be said of such an one as harbours or relieves one that is made incapable of the King's Peace. If any Judge have for hatred or lucre perverted Justice, by the Law of the *English* he is to pay to the King the value of his Head, and also to be removed from his place, or redeem it as the King shall please, except he plead that what he did was out of ignorance, and then he must confirm this Assertion by Oath. By the Law of the *Danes* he is to incur the *Mulct* of the breach of the Law, except he plead Ignorance. In case any oppose or refuse to submit to lawful Judgment, let the *Mulct* be theirs that are concerned. If it belong to the King the Fine shall be an Hundred Shillings, if to the Earl Sixty Shillings, if to the Hundred thirty. By the *English* Law, if all be concerned, all are to be paid. But by the Law of the *Danes*, if any one make opposition to the just administration of the Law, he is to pay *Lahslite*.

C. 1. Sax.

C. 2. Sax. c. 25. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 3. Sax. c. 20. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 4. Sax. c. 26. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 5. Sax. c. 27. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 6. Sax. c. 28. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 7. Sax. c. 29. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 8. Sax. C. c. 29. & 30. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 9. Sax. c. 31. *Apud* *Jornal*.  
C. 10. Sax.

C. 11. Sax. c. 31. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 12. Sax. c. 33. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 13. Sax.

C. 14. Sax.

C. c. 33. 34.

& 35. *Apud* *Jornal*.

136. This

136. This word *Lahslite* is *Danish*, and first found in those *English Danish* Laws.

It signifies properly the Transgression or Breach of the Law, but here secondarily, the penalty incurred for that breach. The Reader must take notice, that though the *Danes* mingled here with the *English*, yet both Nations preferred their own common Laws and Customs. The *English* for as much as can be perceived, to every several sort of offences assigned generally their several *Mulcts*, which they called *Gildwites*. But the *Danes* punished several offences by one sort of Animadversion called *Lahslite*. Therefore in those Laws often occurs, Let the *English* man be punished with *Gildwite*, and the *Danish* with *Lahslite*. But though this one punishment was common with them for several Offences, yet was it various in quantity according to the condition of the Party offending. As, a man of liberal condition his *Lahslite* was five Marks, His Sonner in that possessed *Bocland* three Marks, that of a *Ceorle* or *Countreyman* twelve Ores, *Glasfar* ex *Testin* *Refessio*. Here we have what answers to the *English* *Twelfbind*, *Sexbind* and *Twibind* men. Some have imagined, that when *Lahslite* is mentioned in general terms or *Wite* in reference to the *English*, the value of them is twelve Ores, because of that Article in the League, renewed betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrum*, which ordains, that if a Priest deny Baptism, where it is requisite, he shall pay *Wite* with the *English*, or *Lahslite* with the *Danes*, that is, faith the Text, twelve Ores. But this was the lowest sort of these *Mulcts*, neither can we imagine that the punishment for breach of all Laws was the same, or not fitted to the height of the Crime.

Ab Anglo Danorum lah, lex & pite rapio, violationes ad huc dicitur sit in two.

gilspite mis Englum 7 mis ece num lahslite.

137. The fifteenth Law of *Cnut* confirms that of King *Alfred*, "Whereby is ordained, that he that by defamation does another man damage in his Body or Fortunes, and is convicted of falsehood by the proofs of the Party, have his Tongue cut out, except he redeem it with the value of his Head. The sixteenth also, as other Laws before mentioned, will have no Complaints made to the King, except relief cannot be had in the Hundred, at the Meeting whereof all are to be present, or be amerced for their absence. The seventeenth requires, that the *Burghemote* be held thrice a year, and the *Sciregemote* twice or oftener, wheret the Bishop and Alderman are to be present to those purposes as has been before said. The eighteenth will have no man by taking away Pledges, or distraining to doe right to himself against any man, except he have four times demanded it, and expected right to be done him in vain in the Hundred; then he has liberty to get his own where he can. The nineteenth commands, that every one of free condition put himself into some Hundred and Tithing as he desires, that being in a condition to purge himself he may also be in capacity to claim from another the value of his Head. Otherwise none that exceeds twelve years, in case he receive any wrong, shall be capable of enjoying the same Privilege with a Free man. Be he Master of a Family or a Retainer, he must be entered into some Hundred or other, and must have Fidejussors or Sureties for his appearance in case he be accused of any Crime. Some great men, as they can doe it, protect their Servants, giving out sometimes, that they are Free, other times that they are Slaves, but we not induring any such unjust practice, command, that every one of twelve years of Age give security by Oath, that he will neither steal himself, nor be accessory to the Theft of any other. Thus doth he revive what King *Alfred* had before cautioned, that no Freeman should be without Society, without Law, or live at randome, without this most Efficacious Curb of Suretyship, by being thus received. And to what was before, adds this Caution of twelve years, beyond which for the publick Peace and security none were to live without being admitted and received into some Hundred and Tithing.

138. The twentieth Law of King *Cnut* "so far indulges a man unblameable and of good repute, who never brake his Oath in the Hundred, nor was cast by the Ordeal, that his single purgation be accepted. But a man of the contrary reputation shall either be compelled to take his single Oath in three Hundreds, or a threefold one according to the custome of that Court, or be put to the Ordeal. But a single Purgation is to be made with a threefold preparatory Oath. A man of good esteem may have some faithful man in his stead to be his Prejurour, or else he must doe it himself; for a preparatory Oath is never to be omitted. The one and twentieth forbids any man to have the privilege of vouchery, except by sufficient Witnes to prove from whom

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" he had the Goods that are found with him. The Witnesses must affirm, as they love God and their Lords, that they have most religiously born testimony, and that both by their Eyes and Ears they are assured that he rightly came by the thing in question. The twenty second revives the Laws about buying without Witnesses, forbidding any thing to be bought above the value of four pence without the testimony of four Credible Witnesses. In case any one buy any thing contrary to this Law, if any one challenge the thing to be bought, the Buyer shall not have the benefit of Vouchery, but restore him the thing, with the just price of it, and a Mulct to whom of right it belongs. But if the thing was bought by legal Testimony, he shall have twice allowed him the liberty of Vouchery, and the fourth time the thing is to be delivered to the Owner, except some other make use of his right in challenging it to be his. For neither doth it seem fitting to us that any one should challenge a thing when there are Witnesses to disprove it, and consequently he is convicted to be guilty of Fraud or Malice; neither that what was stole should be recovered within a less time than six Months.

C.22. Saxc.44  
Apud Fornal.

be recovered within a less time than fix Months.

139. The twenty third "directs, that if a man of evil report absent himself from the Publick Meetings thrice, at the fourth time some of that Court go thither, and if they can get no Sureties for his appearance, to apprehend him alive or dead, to seize on all he hath, and when the just pretenders have received the true value of what they lay claim to, then of that which is left the Lord shall have one half, and the Hundred the other. If any of the Court, of Kin or Stranger, refuse to goe, he shall for that fine to the King in an hundred and twenty Shillings. Of those that are taken in the manner of stealing, or betraying their Lords, their lives shall in no wife be spared. The twenty fourth forbids one Accusation to be superfed by another, but the Hundreders shall think fit, orders the first to proceed. The next forbids all the harbouring of a man above three days, except recommended by bids all the harbouring of a man above three days, except recommended by him he formerly served : As also to remove his Servant from his Houfe till he have purged himself of what is laid to his Charge. That which follows denounceth, that if any one meet a Thief and permit him to pass without denouncing him, shall pay the utmost Farthing of the value of the man's head, be covering him, shall pay the utmost Farthing of the value of the man's head, be it as much as it will, or by a full and perfect Oath make it good that he knew nothing of his Theft. And if he cried out against him, and those that heard him would not pursue the Robber, they shall be punished as contumacious against the King, except they make void the supicion. The twenty seventh in case a man be of evil report but by threefold Ordeal. But if his Lord verily men, admits of no purgation but his Oath, nor since the Council held affirmeth that he hath neither broken his Oath, out of that Hundred the Lord shall wincheester been cast by the Ordeal, out of that Hundred the Lord shall take one or two men of Credit, and with them make Oath, that he neither hath broken his Faith formerly given, nor been condemned by the Ordeal, nor paid nothing for stealing ; except some Reeve or Officer there be whose authority may have weight sufficient to clear him without these Oaths. If they make their Oaths, the Accused shall be at choice whether he will be tryed by single Ordeal, or make an Oath in three Hundreds, which in proportion shall answer to one Pound and thirty Pence. But in case they refuse to swear he shall goe under the Examination of threefold Ordeal after that manner.

f C.23. Saxc.45.  
D Apud Jornal.  
n 46.

The manner  
of Examination  
on by three-  
fold Ordeal.

140. "The Accuser must find five Persons who shall be Prejurours, and he himself shall be the sixth. As soon as the Accused is cast, the first time he shall pay double damages to the Accuser, and to his Lord, if he have shewn himself worthy of it, the full value of his own Head, and give Sureties that he will abstain from all Crimes for the time to come. But in case he be cast the second time, he shall have no liberty of making any Compensation, but his Hands, or Feet, or both, if the heinousness of the offence require it, shall be cut off. But if after this he doth not leave off his former Courses but still commit more Villanies, then as they shall think fit that are concerned, either his Eyes shall be pull'd out, his Nose cut off, his Ears or his Upper Lip, or his Skin be drawn over his Ears for an Example, with a respect to the safety of his Soul. If he flee and escape the Judgment of Ordeal, his Sureties shall make full satisfaction to the Accuser, and to the King or some other that deserves it, the value of his Head. But if his Lord be accused for having been accessory to his escape after the Fact committed, with five men of credit he must purge himself, which if he do, he shews himself to be worthy of the

“ value of his Servant's Head. If he doe not, the King shall have the value of Sect. 12.  
“ the Head, and the Thief shall by all men be taken as excluded from the be-  
“ nefit of the Law.

141. "The twenty eight will have every Maſter to be Fidejuſſour, or reſpon-  
ſible for the appearance of all his Family. And if any of his Servants be im-  
peached, he ſhall anſwer it in that Hundred where the other brings the Action.  
In caſe any of them accuſed of a Crime run away, his Maſter ſhall pay the va-  
lue of his Head to the King. If the Maſter be accuſed as acceſſory to his flight,  
he ſhall purge himſelf by five men of good repute. If he do not acquire  
himſelf he ſhall pay to the King the value of his Head, and his Servant ſhall  
be Outlaw'd. The twenty ninth enacts, that if a Bondman or Slave be by the  
Ordeal condemned, he ſhall firſt be marked with an hot Iron, and if caſt the  
ſecond time, be put to death. The thirtieth ordains, that if a man be of evil re-  
port ſo as no man ſpeaks well of him, the Reeve (the Sheriff doublets is  
meant) ſhall take ſecurity for his appearance when he is called, which if he  
doe not give, he ſhall be put to death and buried in a prophane place: And if  
any one ſtand up in his defence, he ſhall incur the ſame puniſhment. And if  
any Officer neglect or reuſe to put this in Execution, he ſhall by one univer-  
ſal Sentence pay an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King. The thirty  
firſt wills the ſame manner of Purgation of Criminals be uſed in all Boroughs.  
The next directs, that if a man be deſtitute of all Friends or be a Stranger ſo  
that he hath none to be bound for him, ſuch an one, if accuſed, ſhall be ſent  
into Cuſtody to be examined by the Ordeal. That which follows ſentenceth  
ſuch as are convicted to have forſworn themſelves upon the Goſpels or *Sacra-*  
to looſe their Hands, or to give half the value of their Heads to the Lord and  
the Biſhop. The thirty fourth accounts it of ſmall moment, that one who has  
openly born falſe Witneſs have no Credit given to his Teſtimony for the  
time to come; but orders, that he moreover pay to the King or the Lord  
the Fine wont to be paid in the room of the Neck being tyed, called  
*Healsfange*.

C.29.Sax.c.53  
Apud Jernal.

C.30.Sax.c.54  
Apud Fornal.

314

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142. The twelve Laws that follow next in courſe reſpect Eccleſiaſtical Mat-  
ters, and therefore to ſuch we muſt refer them. The forty ſeventh requires, C.47. Sec. 57.  
that Adultery be puniſhed more or leſs as the Circumſtances be, affirming it Apud Jural.  
to be bad for a Married Man to lie with a Maid, much more with another Man's  
Wife or one in Religion. The forty eighth directs, that Inceſt be puniſhed ei-  
ther with the value of the Head, with a Mulct, or the loſs of the whole Eſtate,  
there being a difference betwixt abuſing ones own Siſter and another Kinſwo-  
man more remote. The next Chariſties him that Ravishes a Widow or a Vir-  
gin with the payment of the value of his own Head. The fiftheth denounc-  
eth, that if a Man's Wife be convicted to have lain with another Man, ſhe  
ſhall for ever be noted as Infamous, and her Husband ſhall have all that be-  
longs to her; beſides ſhe ſhall looſe her Noſe and her Ears. But if ſhe be  
only accuſed of Whoredom, and in the Tryal be caſt, the Biſhop in ſuch caſe  
is to be Judge, and commanded in his Judgment to be ſevere. As for Married C.51. Sec. 57.  
men the next Law enjoineth, that "if one lie with his own Maid Servant he  
forfeit her and make ſatisfaction both to God and Man: If beſides his Wife  
he keep a Concubine, the Prieſt ſhall deny him all Chriſtian Privileges till he  
put her away, and as well by his forbearance for the future as in other things  
according to the Biſhop's direction, he have made ample ſatisfaction. That  
which follows baniſhes Strangers with all their Vices and Fortunes out of the C.52. Sec. 58.  
Land if they do not briidle their Luſts. By the fifty third, if a Man upon  
premeditated malice kill another, he ſhall be delivered up to the kindred of the C.57. Sec. 58.  
ſlain. If he be only accuſed of the Murther and be found guilty, the Biſhop  
in that caſe ſhall be his Judge.

249.Sax.c.77.  
Apud Fornal.

..50.Sax.c.58.  
Apud Jormal.

.51-Sax.c.79,  
80-100

Journal.

52. Sax. c. 81.  
oud Fornal.

57. Saxc. 82.  
pub Jorنال:

143. " By virtue of the fifty fourth Law, whosoever  
" Conspires against the King, or his Lord shall forfeit Life  
" and Fortunes, except he purge himself by threefold Or-  
" deal. By order of the fifty fifth, He that breaks his  
" Faith given to the King shall forfeit five Pounds; if it  
" was to an Archbishop or great Noblemen three Pounds,  
" if to a Bishop or Alderman two. If any fight in the  
" Court, by the next that follows, it's Capital except the  
" King will pardon it. The fifty seventh punisheth him that  
" shall disarm a man with that which they call *Heals*.

C. 54. Sam. c. 83. *Apud Fornal.*

C. 55. Sax. c. 84. *Abund. Fernal.*

C. 36. Sax. c. 85. Apud Jernal.

C. 57. Sax. c. 86. *Apud Jernol.*

"fange."

Sect. 12.

"fange, if he binds him, with half the value of his Head. The next restrains the violence of Souldiers, ordaining, that if in an Expedition any break the Peace he shall either forfeit his life or the value of it; and if he plunder make sufficient Compensation. That which follows, declares, that he that breaks into another man's Houfe, according to the Law of the *English*, is to pay five Pounds to the King; if it be done where the Law of the *Danes* obtaineth, he must be punished according to their Custome. And if he be justly killed in the Attempt, nothing shall be forfeited upon that account. The sixth ordains, That if one man rob another of any thing, he restore the thing together with the value of it and pay the value of his Head to the King. The sixty first declares breaking down and burning of Houses open Theft, manifest Murthers and betraying of one's Lord, according to humane Laws, to be Crimes, for which there is no *bote* or satisfaction to be made, by way of Mulct or Compensation. The next fines such as shall deny to pay toward the Repairing of Towns, or mending of Bridges, as shall refuse to go upon the Warlike Expedition, it be an *English* men, an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King; if he be a *Dane*, he is to make satisfaction according to their Custome; or fourteen men are to be named to him, out of which number he may make his choice of eleven to purge himself.

144. The sixty third in like manner declares, that "all ought to contribute to the repairing of the Churches. The sixty fourth denounces against such as shall harbour Excommunicated or Outlawed Persons, that they shall bring them forth to Justice, make satisfaction to those that are concern'd and pay the value of their Heads to the King. But in case they will keep and defend them, loss of Life and all their Fortunes. The next wills, that Mercy be shewn as much as may be to such as plainly and unfeignedly amend their ways. And by that which follows, the King declares he will put a difference betwixt small and Great, Rich and Poor, Young and Old, Infirm and Healthfull, forasmuch as some men may offend out of a kind of necessity, and a distinction is to be made betwixt a forced and a voluntary act. Therefore will he succour where there is most need of his Help. The sixty seventh contains an Act of Grace of the King to his Subjects, whereby he relieves such as formerly were oppressed. He enjoyns all his Officers, that they make provision for his Houfe out of his own Lands and Tillage, and that they compell no man to furnish him with any Conveniences in this kind, upon pain of paying the value of their Heads if they impose any Mulcts upon Refusers. The sixty eighth ordains, that in case any man by neglect or by the suddenness of his death depart this World Intestate, his Lord shall take nothing of his Goods but what is due to him as an Heriot. But all is to be distributed by his Judgment to the Wife, Children, and next Kindred justly according to their several right. The sixty ninth in order settles the Rates of the Heriots, ordering that the Heriot of every one be according to his Dignity. As first, that of an Earl eight Horses, whereof four with Furniture and four without, four Helms, as many Corsets, eight Spears, as many Shields, four Swords, and two hundred Mancuses of Gold. That of a King's chief Thane four Horses, whereof two with Furniture and two without, two Swords, four Spears, and as many Shields, one Helmet, one Corset, and fifty Mancuses of Gold. The Heriot of an Inferiour Thane an Horse with Furniture and Arms, or amongst the West Saxons the sum that is paid, called *Halsfange*, in *Mercia* and East *England* two Pounds; but amongst the *Danes* the Heriot of a King's Thane, who has free jurisdiction, is four Pounds. And if he be nearer to the King his Heriot is two Horses, whereof the one with Furniture and the other without, a Sword, two Spears, as many Targets, and fifty Mancuses of Gold. But the Heriot of a Thane of the lowest condition is two Pounds.

145. This word *Heriot*, or as the true *Saxon* word is, *Heregeate*, signifies Furniture for War, given by the Vassal to his Lord, probably at first de-

C. 58. Sax. c. 87. *Apud Jarnal.*C. 59. Sax. c. 88. *Apud Jarnal.*C. 60. Sax. c. 89. *Apud Jarnal.*C. 61. Sax. *þurþnec. j þæpneþ. j open ðýpþ. j æþenemþ. j hlaponþrice. æþcep þeapnþ laga jþ beclær. c. 90. Apud Jarnal.*C. 62. Sax. c. 91. *Apud Jarnal.*C. 63. Sax. c. 92. *Apud Jarnal.*C. 64. *Saxonicæ. c. c. 93, 94. Apud Jarnal.*C. 65. Sax. c. 94. *Apud Jarnal.*C. 66. Sax. c. 95. *Apud Jarnal.*C. 67. Sax. c. 96. *Apud Jarnal.*C. 68. Sax. c. 97. *Apud Jarnal.*C. 69. Sax. c. 97. *Apud Jarnal.*

Ab Depe

exercitus

signed

ð geote a *Saxon* *geocan fundere* & *Metaphorice reddere, vel erogare, unde Scoto Britannis Hericeldis q. d. Hericeld, g in æ, (ut illis sæpe) transiunt.*

Sect. 12.

signed for the driving away Thieves and Robbers, which abounded when the *Danes* or Northern Nations to frequently invaded the Land; for though the word *Here* do in the *Saxon* Language signify an Army, yet is it in our *Saxon* Authors (when without composition) generally taken in the worst sense, for Invaders and Spoilers, a lawful Army collected by the King for the Defence of the Nation, being called by the Name of *Fyrd*. Sir *Henry Spelman* fetches the Original of *Fyrd*, the thing from *Clodovee* King of the *Franks*, who having about the Year of Our Lord DXI. given the *Alamans* a very great overthrow, and deprived them of all Honour and Liberty, assigned them as Vassals, some to his Treasury, and some to the Church, the former being termed *Servi Fijcalini* and *Fijcales*, and these *Servi Ecclesiastici*. He ordained, that when any Master of a Family Died, the Officer of the King, or Bishop should seize upon the best Horse he had, or the Cloths of most value. Some are of opinion, that to this *Heriot* succeeded what was afterward called *Relief*; but that these were several is manifest in this, that sometimes both an *Heriot* and *Relief* were paid from the same Lands, and an *Heriot* had place where an Heir did not succeed in the Patrimony, which *Relief* never had. Mr. *Lambard* thought that the *Normans* when they Conquered the Land, and spoiled the inhabitants of all their Arms and furniture for War, remitted the *Heriot*, and took Money in its stead. Most probable it is, that *Heriot* and *Relief* were different, and that Vassals in the *English* *Saxon* times contributed those Habillments of War to their Lords, towards the Expulsion of those Northern Thieves and Invaders, as we said. Their Land they held on that condition with that burthen and service, and therefore they held them as Feudataries. *Heriots* were in use in the Infancy of *Fees*, when *Fees* were held in a more general and Law sense, as we have already demonstrated. *Relief* succeeded when they were grown up to more regulation and certainty, clothed with new circumstances, of Succession, and the like. The giving of Horses and Arms by Vassals to their Lord, was a thing also practised by the *Germans* and *Italians*.

146. To make an end of King *Cnute* his Laws, The seventieth "Confirms to a Woman and her Children the Seat and Habitation which her Husband enjoyed. But if there were any Suits commenced against the Man when living, his Heir must answer them. The seventy first Requires Widows to continue in Widowhood twelve months, and then permits them to Marry. If a Woman Marry before her twelve months be out, she is to loose her Dower, with all that her Husband left her, which is to come, in such case, to the next akin; and he that Marries her shall pay the value of his Head to the King, or whomsoever he assigns it. Nay, although she was taken by force she shall loose all she had, except she depart and return no more to this Husband. Widows are not suddenly to enter into Religion; Widows shall not be compelled to pay their *Heriots* till twelve months be over, especially if not able to pay before. A Woman, by the seventy second Law, is not to be compelled to Marry against her will, nor sold, except the Man voluntarily will give something. The next confirms what had been formerly enacted, Concerning a Man's leaving his Weapon at another Man's Door, and another's making ill use of it. That which follows in like manner confirms what was Law before, Concerning a Woman's not being accessory to the Theft of her Husband. First, If a Man be convicted to have brought stolen Goods into his Houfe, it's the same thing as if he stole them; but his Wife shall not be accounted guilty of Theft, except she kept it under Lock and Key. Now the Wife ought to keep the Keys of these things, viz. of the Store-house, of the Chest of Cloths, and her Coffer; in any of which if she lock up any thing, she is to be accounted guilty of Theft. Otherwise the Wife cannot hinder her Husband from bringing any thing into his Houfe. It was the custome (such is the avarice of Men) for the Child which lay in the Cradle, and never yet had eaten Meat, yea though it was asleep, to be accounted as guilty of this Crime as if it had had understanding. But I (saith the King) absolutely forbid that, with some other things that are odious to God Almighty. Here Mr. *Seiden* demandeth if from any other Fountain than this can be derived what *Henry de Bracton* and other *English* Law-givers deliver, concerning a Man's Wife being accessory to his Theft.

147. The seventy fifth Law "Deprives him of Life and Estate, who either in an Expedition by Land or Sea deserts his Lord, or his Fellow Souldier; and in such case the Lord is to have back the Land he gave him; or if it

was

Temp. Conræ. di primi vide Signum de Reg. Italice.

lib. 8.

C. 70. Sax.

c. 98. *apud Jarnal.*

C. 71. Sax.

c. 99. *apud Jarnal.*

C. 72. Sax.

c. 101. *apud Jarnal.*

C. 73. Sax.

c. 102. *apud Jarnal.*

C. 74. Sax.

c. 103. *apud Jarnal.*

in Jan. An.

Fountain than this can be derived what

Henry de Bracton and other English Law-givers deliver, concerning a Man's Wife being accessory to his Theft.

C. 75. Sax.

c. 104. *apud Jarnal.*

c. 105.

Sect. 12. "was *Boceland* it goes to the King. But in case any one dye in a Fight in the preference of his Lord, either at home or abroad, his *Heriot* shall be remitted, and his Children shall succeed both to his Goods and Lands, and rightly divide them. The seventy sixth Gives him liberty that hath defended his Land, and cleared it from all doubts and incumbrances in the Sciregemote or County Court, to possess it quietly while he lives, and to leave it to whom he pleaseth when he dies. The seventy seventh Gives liberty to every Man to Hunt in his own Grounds, but forbids all under penalty to meddle with the King's Game, especially in those places which he had Fenced by privilege.

By those places thus privileged, he means those which afterwards the Normans called (a) *Forests*, being Ground defart and woody, most commonly expofed to the King's Wild Beasts or Deer, not fenced about with any Hedge or Wall, but circumscribed and privileged, as here he words it, Fenced with certain Bounds, Laws, Immunities, Magiftrates, Judges, Officers and Servants. Concerning these *Forests*, he published Constitutions thirty four in (b) Number, which becaufe he mentions them not in this nor in any other of his Laws, seem to have been made afterwards. But the thirtieth Article is almost the very fame with this Law, forbidding all to meddle with his Game, but permitting them to Hunt in their own Grounds, (c) yet without *Chafe*. Afterwards the Norman Kings made strange improvement of what he began, turning many Towns and Churches into Dens of Wild Beasts, with what success it's neither pleasing nor seasonable for us here to relate. The seventy eighth Law requires, that *Drincklean* and other Offices of Service "due to Lords, be inviolably observed. Mr. Lambard interprets this *Drincklean*, *Honorary Gifts of Drink*. It seems the same with *Scotale*, which was Ale wherewith Fellow-Vassals joyning together were wont to entertain their Lords or their Stewards when they came to their Manors. The seventy ninth Law revives the Law before, which will have C. 79. Sax.

"All enjoy perfect peace, and be free from all molestation which go to, or return from Gemotes or Publick Meetings; as now they that are Members of Parliament. The eightieth and last, in Confirmation of all these Laws made by the King to be observed by all his Subjects, upon any that shall break them, for the first offence impofeth the value of his own head whether he be *Englifh* or *Dane*; for the second offence it doubles the punishment; and for the third, deprives him of all his Fortunes. The King clofeth all with a very Religious Exhortation to Piety, and a Prayer.

148. There are onely now remaining the Laws of King *Edward* the Confessor. These we have not published in the Saxon Tongue, nor as he fet them forth, but as they were afterwards confirmed by *William* the Conquerour, and as Tranfcribed by one who had lived in the Days of *Henry* the Second, or after, who has interlaced them with things very much, sometimes Foreign to the purpose, and with tales of King *Arthur*, and other matters. At best they are a Rhapsody of things, rather telling and explaining things what they anciently were, than exprefsed in Legislative manner; but of such of them as make for our purpose, (as several of them do) and give us light in the Discovery of the ancient Polity or frame of Government of our *Englifh* Saxon Ancestours, if we have not already made use of them, we shall give the Reader an Account.

To pafs those which are merely of Ecclesiastical Concernment. The eleventh Law or Article tells us what was the Original of *Danegeld*, declaring that The payment of it was appointed for Pirates, which infesting the Countrey, wasted it to their utmost power. Now for repressing their Insolence, *Danegeld* was appointed to be yearly paid, viz. twelve pence out of every Hide of Land throughout the Kingdom, to hire those that should resist the Irruption of Pirates. Here the Reader is to remember what we said before concerning King *Ethelred*'s raising of this Money called *Danegeld*, that two sorts of Payments are called by that Name, viz. that which upon occasion was raised to give the Danes and wherewith to buy off their Hostilities now and then as the case required, and that other which was imposed for procuring *Danifh* Ships and Men to refrain the

*Danegeld* laid upon Hides.

(a) *A Latin. fortis, hinc extris Forefiere pro peregrinis, Salus autem hujusmodi Saxonibus nostris & Denis dicebatur. Buc Holc, i. e. Salus Cervinus; aliter teperalo vel teporalo, q. d. ferarum stabulum.*

(b) *Vide eas res places apud Spelman. in Glossar. voc. Forestia.*

(c) *Sine Chaceo tamen quid loci sit ut venatores viderint.*

C. 78. Sax. c. 109. apud Jernal. *Drincklean & Sax. dvinck & lean fipendium, tributum, unde nostratum Loane.*

*Scotale & Sax. ycot (potius yceat) symbolum & ale cerevisia.*

C. 80. Sax. c. 110. apud Jernal.

11. De *Danegeld*, *Danegeldum redditio propter piratas promissa fuita est. &c.*

the Irruptions and Infolencies of the Northern Rovers, the former (as we said Sect. 12. was upon occasion, but this was Annual. As for the payment of the latter, the Custom was, according to the Laws of that Age, that the Richer fort should be taxed according to the number of Hides, as is evident from *Doomday Book*, written in the time of King *William* the first. Now as to the Rate, *Mariusus Scotus*, *Hoveden*, and *Florentius Wigorniensis*, all tell us that at that time whosoever possessed three hundred and ten *Calffates* or Hides of Land, was charged with the building of one Ship, and a Coat of Armour and an Helmet was imposed upon nine, or as *Huntingdon* and others upon eight; all being rated proportionably after this manner, who were owners of more or fewer Hides, or of part of an Hide. *Huntingdon* saith an Hide was so much Land as could be Tilled with one Plough in one year. But others of the quantity of Hides determine otherwise. And indeed it was various according to the different Customs of several Countries.

149. Some there are who write, that two Shillings were yearly laid upon every Hide of Land for suppression of those Pirates, so that they make the payment double to what is said by this Law ascribed to King *Edward*. But as they differ herein without any reason; so do they with as little discretion set the yearly Tax at the rate of thirty eight thousand Pounds; as others do at thirty thousand. For at what Rate soever that Tribute was paid to the King according to the alteration of times, it appears for certain from our several Histories that the Stipends usually allowed to the *Danifh* Fleet were so uncertain, that they were sometimes higher, sometimes lower, as it could scarcely otherwise happen, according to the number of Ships and Forces, that were necessary for defence of the Realm. This payment being higher or lower as occasion served, was to be sure paid till the year MLI, or the tenth of this King *Edward* the Confessor. "But then as *Ingulphus* himself tells us, in regard that the Earth did not bring forth its fruits in such plenty as it was wont, but devoured many People by Famine, thousands dying through scarcity of Corn and want of Bread, the Pious King being moved with Compassion towards the People, released that most grievous Tribute called *Danegeld* to all *England* for ever. It is reported (saith he) by some, that this most Religious King being brought by his Officers into the Treasury to see the *Danegeld* that was collected, and to take a view of so vast a heap of Treasure, stood amazed at the first sight, protesting that he beheld the Devil dancing upon the heap of Money, and extremely rejoicing, whereupon he immediately commanded it should be restored to its former Owners, and would not keep any of so cruel an Exaction, but remitted it for ever, viz. In the thirty eighth year after *Swane* King of *Denmark* commanded it to be paid every year to his Navy, in the time of his Father *Ethelred*. So *Ingulphus*, with whom agree both *Hoveden* and *Matthew of Westminster*, that King *Edward* remitted it for ever. Yet whatever this good King might relolve or order, the Dialogue belonging to the Exchequer makes it to have been paid for fourteen years longer, till the time of the Conquerour; nay, during his Reign, and the Reigns of his Successors, when they either had or suspected a War with Foreigners. From *Hoveden* it appears, as well as from the Interpolator of *St. Edward*'s Laws, that it was paid to *William Rufus* and King *Stephen*, and from the Accompts of the Exchequer, sometimes to *Henry* the second, after which it grew out of date, other Courtes being taken to scower the Seas and defend the Kingdom, of which we are not here to take notice.

150. The twelfth Article of *St. Edward*'s Laws declares, That the Peace of the King is manifold. As sometimes it's given by his own hand, which the English call *Cynnyser* honeste realbe spyy. This was given to places and Persons by way of Privilege as to Churches or Churchmen within their own Walls, as appears by the League betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrun* the Dane, in which it is termed *Cynnyser* hano spyy. Another sort of Peace is on that day he is Crowned, which lasts eight Art. 1. days. That at Christmas, which holds also eight days, as also at the Feasts of Easter and Whitfuntide. Another sort is given by his Brief or Letters. And another there is belonging to the four great High-ways, viz. *Watlingstreet*, *Fofs*, *Hickenildstreet*, and *Ermingstreet*, whereof two are extended to the length, and two to the breadth of the Kingdom. Another yet there is of the Rivers of note, which convey Provisions to Cities or Towns. Then doth this Writer declare the Forfeitures incurred for breach of these several sorts of the King's Peace, as to which we refer the Reader to the Laws and Customs already mentioned, as well as to what he here writes thereof; onely here mentioning this, that the Breach of the King's Peace in those great High-ways and Rivers was punishable in the greater Assemblies or Courts





Sec. 12. silence therein, he proudly injure any man, he shall make double compensation for the loss which the English call *Arcpithelhet*. The thirty first requires, that the King's Peace, granted by his own Hand, that of the eight days of his Coronation, of the Feasts lately mentioned, and the others granted by his Breve or Letters, if broken, have the same way of punishment or forfeiture, and that by the greatest way of trial, had in the County where it was broken; as thus. In Danelaga, or after the Law of the Danes; by eighteen hundreds, which number makes up seven times twenty pounds the Dane; because the Danes had the forfeiture of the hundred; those of Norway and four: because the Danes had the forfeiture of the hundred; those of Norway had eight pounds. Therefore eight being multiplied by eighteen, make up an hundred and forty four. And this was not done without cause: For of these eight pounds, the King had an hundred Shillings, and the Consul (Earl he means) of the County fifty, he having the third penny of forfeitures: But the Dean of the Bishop, whose Deputy the Peace was broken, the other ten remaining, the Peace of the King, viz. granted with his own Hand, that of his Coronation, and the Feasts abovesaid of Christmas, Easter and Whitontide.

C. 36.  
De larceniis.

156. The thirty sixth Article directs that, if after a Man be slain as a Thief or Robber, any complaint be made to the Justice, that the man was wrongfully put to death, and lies buried amongst Thieves, and such like Malefactors, and offers to make it good, that he first give security for so doing. "Then shall a month and a day be allowed him to bring together the Kindred of the dead man, of both sorts, twelve by his Fathers side, and six by his Mothers. In case these eighteen will take the matter upon them, together with him who first complained and hath given security, let every one of them give also security with a Sword, and afterward find sureties, who shall be able to pay his Were, in case they cannot make good what they have undertaken. Then must he that killed the man give security, and find sureties to ingage that he was justly slain, and as a Thief justly lies, according to the Law amongst such Malefactors. And if a Thief justly shew in what Theft or Robbery, and how he was slain. If it appear that he was taken alive, let him name the Justice and Judge, and produce his lawful Witnesses out of the Neighbourhood, which Persons, if they warrantize that Justice was rightly done upon the man as a Thief, he that killed him shall be acquitted: and those that made their complaint shall forfeit their ingagement as to the Judges and Witnesses. But if they make it out that he was unjustly slain, he that killed him shall forfeit his obligation to the Justice of the Bishop, and find sureties for doing what is right: then shall the Justice of the Bishop (his Officer he means) cause a Proceffion to be made with a Priest, habited in an Albe Maniple, and Stole, and Clerks in their Surplices, with Holy-water and a Cross, the Candlesticks and Incense-pot, with Fire and Incense going before, and the Friends of the dead having taken his Body up, shall put it on a Bier, and carry it to the Church, where Mass being said for him, and other Rites performed, they shall Inter him as becomes a Christian. Then within sixteen days, shall he that killed him pay to the Bishop three forfeits. One for killing an honest Man instead of a Thief, another because he Buried his (Christian) \* Brother as a Thief; and the third, because he gave security to acquit himself but could not.

157. The thirty seventh Article or Chapter, tells us that King Edward defended or prohibited *Ursurs*, forbidding them to remain in any part of his Kingdom. And if any was convicted to have exalted *Usury*, he was to forfeit all his Estate, and be outlaw'd. And you must know that he heard it said in the Court of the French King, while he there sojourn'd, that *Usury* was the root of all Vices. The next Article acquaints us, that in the same Law also was prohibited the buying of quick Cattel, or used Cloth without sureties or good witnesses. If it was a thing of Gold or Silver, or seemed such to be, it should not be bought without the testimony of Goldsmiths or Minters, who if they saw it belonged to the Church or Treasury, should take care it were not done without security. In case the seller could find no sureties, the thing with what belonged to it, should be kept till his Lord came or some other that would warrantize him. If any one bought any thing without these circumstances, that would forfeit it, and otherwise be punished. Afterward the Justice was to enquire by the lawful men and those of best account in the Town, Village, or Hundred where the buyer dwelt, of what manner of life he was, and whether ever he was charged with any other misdemeanour. If it was affirmed that he was a Man of good

C. 37. De Ursariis, Ursarius quique defendit Rex Edwardus. Normani hoc scriptor utitur voce defendit ut hoc dicitur Franci pro ostendere, prohibere. Nihil enim aliquid in hoc, ad hoc dicitur, God defend, pro Deum ostendere, God forbid.

C. 38. De emptionibus sine fiduciaribus, quod Anglici dicitur sustinere.

repute, he should purge himself by the Judgment or Sentence of the County, that he knew not the seller to be guilty as to the sale, neither of any other crime, and if he could, should tell who, and where he was: whereupon the Justice should enquire after him to bring him to Trial; and if he could not be found he should be outlaw'd. Now the thirty ninth and last, farther acquaints us, that whereas it is said that no man should buy any quick Cattel without sureties; The Burchers of the Cities and Towns, whom the English called *Fleishmongers*, made complaint that they every day ought to buy such Cattel, to kill and sell them; forasmuch as in the death of Cattel, their life consisted. Moreover, the Citizens, Townsmen, and the multitude, cry'd out for their Customs, that about *Martmas*, they were wont to buy Cattel in the Market, to kill against *Christmas*. Great murmuring was there amongst the People, by reason of this Law. Wherefore I am of opinion, saith our Writer, that as in other Assemblies, if the question had been put yea or nay, they would have answered the latter, and if you had been present, you should have heard private murmurings, as well as clamours and noise of the tumultuous People. Therefore the King thought fit not to take away from them these Customs that were just and prudent; witnesses and consideration of the sellers, being of force in bargaining in the King's Market.

158. These are they which bear the Name of the Laws of King Edward the Confessor, together with such as we formerly mentioned in describing the Polity of our English Saxons. But such as (what we hinted before) are rather to be called Rhapsodies than Laws, being Notes or Comments made upon his Laws by some *Scular*, some pretender in the time of the Norman Kings. So that when the Reader hears the Laws of St. Edward so much talked of, so much contended for, both by word and sword, after the Conquest, he must not understand these to have been the Laws, which are only some scraps taken up and commented on in this manner. For indeed these Laws were said to be the Laws of the Confessor after the Norman Revolution, not because he made or exacted, but observed them, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* tells us. One of those that King Canute enacted, or rather revived with some other circumstance, being in substance formerly ordained by King Alfred, commanding every one above twelve years old, to be entered into some Century and Titling, Bratton ascribes to this King, writing that this was enjoyed by the Law of Edward the Confessor. So this Interpolator or Noter himself tells you, that those Laws of St. Edward so much desired, and at length obtained from the Conquerour, were invented and constituted in the time of King Edgar, his Grandfather; but after his death they were laid aside for sixty eight years, during the Reigns of the succeeding Princes. But after that King Edward came to the Crown by the Counsel of his Barons, he revived, repaired, adorned and confirmed this Law, and being confirmed, it was called the Law of King Edward, not that he first invented it, but when it had been laid aside and quite forgot, from the time of his Grandfather Edgar; for the said space of sixty eight years, because it was just and honest, he drew it out of the deep pit of oblivion, renewed and delivered it to be observed as his own. By these and other circumstances, we may gather that the whole Body of these Laws we have recited, or all such of them as were approved by this King Edward, who was a Prince of great mildness and indulgence to his People, such written Laws as were in force in his time, and such Customs as had been all along observed in the Saxon times, and still were kept on foot in his days, were after the Norman Conquest, when the People so earnestly contended for their Liberties, called by the Name of the Laws of St. Edward, thereby being indeed meant the English Saxon Laws, which received denomination from him, being in effect the last King of that Race, and one whose memory the People revered and preserved in an especial manner, for the great Reputation he had got of Sanctity, and the gentleness of his Disposition.

159. Now after the Norman Conquest what alteration was made in those ancient Laws and Customs, by introducing the Norman way of Fees, and other matters out of that Country, as also after the struggling of the Barons, how far *Magna Charta* and the Common Law were the issue and product of these English Saxon Laws and Customs is not our work, especially now to enquire, lest we should exceed the Bounds of our present Period, and seem to thrust our sickle into the Corn of other Men. But this would better be done, by digesting these Saxon Laws into a Methodical Body under certain Heads, which seems not very hard to be accomplished. For these Laws it's more than time we dismiss them, having already committed an Extravagance, being carried farther than the general Nature of our

Design

Sec. 12.  
C. 37.  
De Emptio-  
bus & Ma-  
lariis.

Lib. 2.  
Tra. 2.







the like. We have now quite left off the *Ge*, and where we retain this Augment we use it in *Be*, as still we say for *Geleafe belief*, *Gecomen become*, so we still say, *bespeak betought*, and several others. It were tedious here to make Observations of other Alterations introduced by time and foreign Commerce, and not hard to trace them down by degrees to such as understand the *Saxon* Tongue, and are conversant in the Writings of *Chaucer*, *Lidgate* and others that wrote nearer to the Conquest. An entire Volume of this might be made, and the Reader in a business of his own Country may himself take some pains or expect an account from the Learned Authour of the Original of the *English* Nation. I shall now only farther observe that the Conquerour took not so much care to destroy this Language (which his own Ancestours spake for the substance before they came into *France*) but the *English* our Ancestours however Conquered were as careful to preserve it, to which end in several Monasteries, particularly in that of *Tavistoke* in *Devonshire* Lectures were read of it, and certain Persons were appointed to profess it, even as long, or well nigh as long as these Monasteries continued. Had this course still been observed the Antiquities of our Nation with many things which now lie hidden and abstruse, might have been much more known, and some stop might have been put to this giddy humour of despising all words, as well as Fashions and other things, without consideration, merely because they are not foreign or new.

*is Communicando ad posterum transmississent. Quod quidem in Canonicis monialium Tavestokeni in Comitatu Devonie, & multis aliis conventibus (nostra memoria) receptum fuit, credo ne ejus sermonis periret, ob lingue insolentiam penitus obsoleveret. Math. Parkerus in Pref. ad Hist. Alfredi.*

## AN

A N  
INSTITUTION  
OF  
General History:  
OR  
The History of the World.

The Fourth Part.

BOOK II.  
Of the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

CHAP. I.

From the promotion of Nicephorus, to the Death of  
Leo the Philosopher.

The Space of one Hundred Years.

Nicephorus  
Emperour of  
the East.

**I**RENE being deposed as we have said, Nicephorus the Patritian, and General *Logothetes*, was Proclaimed, and Crowned Emperour in the great Church at *Constantinople*, on Tuesday, being the first of *November*, in the tenth Indiction, the seventh year of Pope *Leo* the Third, the Second of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the West, A. D.

DCCCII.

2. The day after his Promotion, knowing *Irene* to be possessed of great Treasures, he went to her, and with flattering words and fair promises, obtained a discovery of them, after which he neglected her, and whereas she had surrendered them on this condition, that she might be suffered to live peaceably and honourably in the Palace of *Eleutherius*, which she herself had built; having obtained his ends, he banished her to the *Prince's Island*, to a Monastery there also of her own building, and afterwards, perceiving himself hated of the People, lest they should restore her to her former dignity, without all mercy he removed her to *Mitylene* in very ill weather, and there in the Isle of *Lesbos* she died of grief, the ninth of *August* after. Her body he caused to be buried in her own Monastery; for several such places of Religion she had built, together with many Hospitals for

Whence taken  
out of the  
Treasure.

Then banished  
her, where  
she dyes with  
grief.

Theophanes  
Cedrenus Hist.  
compens. in  
Nicephoro  
nar. Annal.  
Tom. 2. in  
eodem.

for Relief of the Poor and Aged, and done many other Acts of Piety, as our Historians deliver----- who much admire her, and as much detest *Nicephorus*, upon what ground it's eafie enough to conjecture. She being gone, he betook himself in the fame manner of Address to her blind Son, pretending great kindness to him, and receiving him into his own Houfe, out of hope to flatter him into a betraying also of more Treafure; and his flattery had fuch influence upon *Constantine*, being a Man of a light and heedlefs temper, that he difcovered to him Treafure that was hid in the *Sigma*, a place fo called from its femicircular Figure. This obtained, he neglected him as he had done his Mother. And before this, on the laft day of *April*, *Nicetas Triphyllus*, by whose stout endeavours he had obtained the Diademe, he fo far rewarded for his good deeds, as to take him out of this miserable world by poison.

Cajoles *Constantine* for the discovery of more.

Poisons *Nicetas Triphyllus*, his promoter to the Diademe.

Is very covetous.

Frauds the Diceration.

Upon which *Bardanius* utters.

But afterwards is shaven.

And his Eyes put out by the Emperor's order.

He Crowns *Stauracius* his Son. Makes War upon the *Armenians*.

Who returning his visit.

The Emperor's exultation.

*Amas' part.*

*Ceratiom dandem folle f. be nummulo-cognite.*

*Cedrenus.*

*Theoph.*

*Cedrenus ad Ann. 3. Nicephorus. Idem ad Ann. 4.*

*Arabian*

"*Arabian* too strong for him wrote to him a Letter; whereby he taxed him with injustice for invading another Man's Territories, not contenting himself with what was left him by his Father. He demanded by whose command he did it. *Mahomet* his Prophet he said commanded him to love all Christians as his Brethren, Almighty God took care for both, and was not delighted with the blood of Man unjustly shed. He could not come to hurt those that did him no injury, for any want he had of Gold, Silver or other matters, having abundance of pretious things and Rarities of his own; but in case any thing he had would supply him he would lovingly fend it. He concluded his Letter by putting him in mind that they were both Mortal, and being to die e'er long, should be called before an higher Judge, by whose award each was to receive according to what he had deserved whether good or bad.

And by Presents obtains a Peace.

Which being broken, the *Arabian* makes another Invasion into the Roman Territories.

*Nicephorus* Marrys his Son to another Man's Wife.

The *Bulgarians* take *Sardica*.

Which causes a new Tribute to be imposed on the People.

The *Saracens* make an Inroad into the Roman Pale.

*Nicephorus* makes an Expedition against the *Bulgarians*.

5. To this Letter he added considerable Presents, by which the *Arabian* so charmed that he condescended to a Peace on these terms, That the Romans should pay the *Arabians* a yearly Tribute of thirty thousand *Nomismata*, besides three thousand as Tribute for his own Head, and as many for that of his Son, and such Forts as the *Arabians* had taken and dismantled should in no wise be repaired. But *Aaron* being retreated, *Nicephorus* rebuilt and reinforced all these places which so irritated the *Arabian*, that this very year he sent an Army which took *Theba*, and another by Sea to *Cyprus*, where it overthrew the Churches, and either killing or driving away the Inhabitants, plundered and wasted the Island. The year following he invaded the Isle of *Rhodes*, where was taken a great Number of Prisoners, but the Castle was stoutly defended by the Garrison, and the Fleet in its return suffered much damage by an hideous Tempest, which our Writers attribute to the violence they purposed to offer to the Relicks of *St. Nicholas* at *Myra* a City of *Lycia* in their return. *Nicephorus* in the mean time was employed in the Marriage of his Son *Stauracius*, for whom when he looked for a Wife he made choice of *Theophania* the Kinswoman of the late Empress *Irene*, though she was contracted to another man. To this unjust act he added the deflowering of two most beautiful Virgins, which so incensed the People, that several Conspiracies were hatched against him, but he suppressed them e'er they could produce any thing considerable, and raged cruelly against such as were detected. Many of the Nobility made choice of *Arctadius* a Quæstor and Patritian for their Prince, but he having smelt out the design caused the Man to be shaven, and enter into Religion, which done, he banished him into *Bithynia*. Of the Conspirators some he put to death, others he banished, and of some he confiscated the Estates, sparing none of what condition soever, whether Bishops, Monks, or the Officers of the Great Church, in those times held in great Veneration by the People.

*Zenar. Theoph.*

6. The year following being the seventh of his Reign the *Bulgarians* gave him farther trouble, intercepting eleven hundred pounds of Gold wherewith the Army was to be paid at *Sragneon*, and killing the Convoys with its Captain. At the same time *Cramus* their Prince took *Sardica*, and therein put to the Sword six thousand Souldiers, besides Townsmen a little before the Feast of *Easter*. *Nicephorus* went with an Army against him, but performed nothing worth the mentioning, onely such Officers as had escaped the hands of *Cramus* he handled so roughly, that he constrained them to revolt to him. Being returned to *Constantinople* he imposed upon the City a new Tribute for the repairing of *Sardica*, which vehemently incensed the People, so as to cast the Multitude into great Tumults, but he still had the better of them, and revenged himself by Executions and Banishments, as he had done before; and laid upon all the People most grievous, heavy, and unheard-of Impositions. Some of this Wealth obtained by violence, was as violently taken away by the *Saracens*, who making an Inroad into the Roman Territories as far as *Euclaita*, fell upon *Leo* the Captain of the *Armenians* as he was going to pay the Army, and took from him sixteen Talents, a thousand and three hundred Pounds, besides the slaughter of a great Multitude of his Souldiers. This happened in *February*, and in *July* following *Nicephorus* undertook an Expedition against the *Bulgarians*, with *Stauracius* his Son, at parting giving order to *Nicetas* the Patritian and general *Logotheta* to lay Taxes upon Churches and Monasteries, with an Imposition of eight years upon the Houses of Noblemen, which caused great Lamentations in the City. Hereof when he was admonished by *Theodosius Salibarn* a Patritian and the Manager of his Affairs, who told him how the People murmured and would be glad he came by any mischief. If God hath hardened mine heart as he hardened Pharaoh's, what good may my Subjects



Sect. 12. *jells expect from Nicephorus?* And he bade him expect no alteration of what he saw at present. This *Theophanes* protests he had from *Theodosius* his own Mouth.

Refusing  
Peace.

7. Having gathered together the Forces both of the East and the West, and constrained many poor men to serve at their own Charges armed with Slings and Staves, with their Curies and the Curies of the whole Army he marched into *Bulgaria*. *Crumus* having notice of his coming sent to him while he yet lay at *Marcella* to desire Peace, fearing such a Multitude as he brought along with him; but overcome by his own Inclinations, as well as by the Flatteries of those about him, he rejected his Proposals, and on the twentieth day of July about the rising of the Dog-star invaded the Country, himself predicting his own ruine, for he had these words often in his Mouth. *Who shall go and deceive Ahab? Whether God or the Devil draw me, I am drawn unwilling.* And this was accounted an ill Omen, that before he entered *Bulgaria*, a much beloved Servant he had, called *Byzantius*, fled to *Crumus* from *Marcella*, carrying away with him the Imperial Robe and an hundred Pounds of Gold. At first he seemed to have the better, yet ascribed the success not to God, but cried up the Conduct and good fortune of *Stauracius*. Such Commanders as withstood his Progress, he exceedingly threatened and commanded all living Creatures to be put to the Sword, and neglecting to bury the Bodies of the slain, was only intent upon Plunder and Booty. The Court or Palace of *Crumus* he took and sealed up the Doors thereof as his own, and such of his Followers as imbezelled any of the Booty he punished by cutting off their Ears and other Members. *Crumus* now again being much out of heart offered him good terms, on condition he would quit his Country. But he puffed up with his success and acted by covetous desires, was impatient of the very name of Peace.

Wastes the  
Country.

Taking the  
very palace of  
*Crumus* their  
King.

But is over-  
come at last  
and slain.

8. *Crumus* therefore acted by the more prevalent passion of desperation, like a desperate man indeed, instead of opening a way to the Enemy, blocked up all egress and regress by *Palisado's*, which to affrighted the Emperor that he prefigured his ruine, saying, *That if they had Wings they could not escape imminent destruction.* Two days after *Crumus* set upon his Camp, and stormed it, wherein *Nicephorus* himself was slain, together with all his Officers, and a vast number of Soldiers. Here fell *Aetius*, *Peter Sisinus*, *Theodosius Sabbaras*, and *Triphiles*, all Patricians, as also *Eparchus* a Patrician and Governour of the East; with many *Protospatharii*, the *Excubitus Domestici*, the Captains of the several Troops, the *Drungarius* of the Imperial Watch, the Governour of *Thracia*, with the other Governours of the Provinces. All the Arms and Baggage were also taken, and so miserable was the Estate of the Empire at this day, that the Writer thinks it not fit to be understood by Christians, as exceeding all height of lamentation. The Head of *Nicephorus* he put upon a Pole, and when he thought he had sufficiently exposed it, inclosed the Skull in Silver and caused his Nobles in an insulting manner to drink out of it. Although this day were made many Widows and Fatherless Children, yet many love it the better, and were something comforted with this only thought that he was dead. For as *Theophanes* affirms, never did Christians feel any thing more insupportable than his Government, exceeding all that Reigned before him in Ambition, Luxury, and barbarous Cruelties, so as to declare all in particular to posterity would seem incredible, and to him laborious.

*Nicephorus* his  
Character.

9. But *Cedrenus* gives us the main of his Accusation in ten Particulars. "The first is, That he constrained his Subjects out of all Quarters to remove in to *Slavonia*, and afterward sold their former Possessions, which thing "nothing differed from an Hostile Captivity, all of them being put to the utmost extremity. The next was, That he caused poor men to serve in the Wars, and their Neighbours to supply them with Arms and Money, eighteen "Nomismata for each, and besides pay for them their publick Taxes, which they "called in Greek *Allelengium*, because for Tribute they were Sponsors or Sureties "one for another. The third Crime was, That he commanded an account to be taken of every Man's Estate, and the Owner accordingly to be taxed; moreover, "for the Auditor or Accomptant every man to pay (for every *Nomisma*, saith *Zonaras*) two *Ceratia*. In the fourth place all Easements and Relaxations formerly "granted he took away. In the fifth, from all Religious places, publick Houses, "delivered to the Educations of Orphans, and all sorts of Hospitals, he caused to be exacted *Smoke* or *Hearth money*, even from the beginning of his Reign. The "best of what belonged to these Places he seized to his own use, yet made them "pay

To *Agapio*,  
a *Monk*,  
the *Cedrenus*,  
*Zonaras* di-  
vises it in  
two *Ceratia*.

"pay for what was left, and some double, though he had so emptied those Houses that they were constrained to remove out of them. His sixth Tyrannical "Practice was to cause his Officers to take an account of such as were grown suddenly Rich, and to exact money from them in such manner, as if they had "found Treasure. Nay, in the seventh place from such as had found but a Barrel or Vessel twenty years before, he would squeeze money. His eighth Crime "was, that those who received any Inheritances from their Grandfathers or "Great Grandfathers, he would force to pay something to the Treasury, though "the Inheritance had been divided twenty years before; and such as bought any "Slaves beyond *Abidus*, he constrained to pay for each two *Nomismata*, especially the Inhabitants of *Dodecanesum* or the City of twelve Islands. His ninth "that he made the Mariners and Seamen, especially those inhabiting the Maritime "parts of *Asia* the less, such as never were practised in Husbandry, to buy such "grounds as he had taken from other Men, and pay him Rent. In the tenth "place he summoned all the eminent Seamen of *Constantinople* together, and "each delivered twelve Pounds of Gold, with this burthen, that for every *Nomisma* they should pay four *Ceratia* for life, when at the same time they paid "all the other Duties for their Vessels.

10. Thus much *Cedrenus* tells us, he delivers by way of *Compendium*, having omitted the manifold Injuries he did both to Persons of high and low condition in the City, being more than can be written, but such as these. The Slaves of Rich men he suborned falsely to accuse their Masters, rewarding the Accusers and fleecing their Masters of their Wealth. So rapacious he grew, that a certain man who living in the Forum sold Honey and Wax by Retail, and by his own labour and industry had acquired competent Wealth, being sent for he commanded to lay his hand under the Emperor's Head, and by Oath assure him how much Gold he had. He confessed he had an hundred Pounds of Gold, which he caused him speedily to bring to him. This being done, to what purpose (saith he) shouldst thou be at all this trouble? Dine with me, and taking home with thee an hundred *Nomisma's*, therewith be contented. He adds; that being much addicted to the *Manichees*, and rejoicing at the difference of Churchmen, he scoffed at all Christians that loved their Neighbours. His Captains he commanded to use Bishops and Clerks no otherwise than like Slaves, to make use of their Houses and all their Goods at their pleasure, deriding those that dedicated any thing to Holy uses. All Emperours that were before him, he taxed as ignorant in the Art of Government, took away Providence, and affirmed that none was greater than the Emperor if he had but the Craft of Government. Such is the Character *Cedrenus* gives us of this Emperor, with whom agrees *Zonaras* as to the substance of the Charge. He Reigned eight years and nine days, as some have it, or as others more truly eight Years, eight Months, and six and twenty days.

*Stauracius*  
succeeded.

11. *Nicephorus* being slain, *Stauracius* his Son escaped but with a deadly wound received in his Neck, and in his latter came to *Adrianople*, where by the endeavours of some Magistrates he was saluted Emperor, but could not appear in publick by reason of his Wound. Sensible of his condition he resolved to devolve the Empire upon *Theophania* his Wife, so great affection he bore unto her, and upon that account endeavoured to deprive of his sight *Michael*, surnamed *Rangabes*, or *Roncabes*, the *Cursipalata*, who had Married his Sister *Procopia*, because he stood most in the opinion of the Nobility for the Dignity. But *Michael* having timely notice of it so wrought with the Senators, that calling together the Soldiers by break of day they named him Emperor in the Cirque, which when *Stauracius* knew he quitted the Palace, and with his Wife betook himself to a Monastery, where having taken upon him the Habit, he shortly after died, having been Emperor but two Months and ten Days. *Michael* at first seemed free of the preferment, professing himself unable to undergo such a burthen, and made mention of *Leo the Armenian*, a Patrician, and Captain of the Forces of the East, as a courageous and valiant man; but *Leo* strained Courtship, professing himself unworthy of the Throne, which he affirmed to belong to *Michael*, whom he exhorted to undertake the Government, promising him by Oath his utmost assistance, and that he would be his ready and faithful Servant to his lives end. Thus whether at first he intended to be Emperor merely to preserve his Life, or dissembled his Ambition in the offer made to *Leo* (which for what end soever proved of dangerous consequence, as we shall see anon) he obtained the Diademe; wherewith he was Crowned in the great Church by *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, and after he had by an Instrument written on purpose declared, that he would neither

But turning  
Monk.

*Michael Rangabes* obtained the Diademe.

*Zonaras*:  
violates

violate the Privileges of the Church, nor defile his Hands with Christian Blood, in the Eleventh year of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the West, the sixteenth of Pope *Leo* the Third, the fourth Indiction. A. D. DCCCXL

12. He hath the Commendation of a Pious and good natur'd Person, such as had been injured by *Nicephorus*, he relieved and provided for the Widows of Soldiers. *Theophania* the Wife of *Stauracius*, he courteously treated, giving her a good Summ of Money together with an Houſe which he turned into a Monastery, and from the Burial of her Husband in it bore his Name. A few days after his Coronation he cauled *Procopia* his Wife to be adorned also with the Diademe, having given her the Title of Emprefs; and after some time commanded the Patriarch to perform the same Ceremony to *Theophylact* his Son, whom he also dignified with that of Emperour, and propounded a Marriage for him, *Theophanes* writes to *Charles* King of the *Franks*. This *Charles* must be no other than *Charles* the Great, as we read in the Annals of the *Franks*, sent an Embaſſie to *Nicephorus*, for Confirmation of the Peace betwixt the two Empires. The Ambassadors were *Hatto* Bishop of *Baſil*, *Hugh* a Count, *Asi* a Lombard of *Forumjulii*, *Leo* the *Spatharius*, a *Sicilian* by birth, and *Wilbarius* Duke of *Venice*. Coming to *Conſtantinople* they found *Nicephorus* dead, and therefore transacted their matters with *Michael*, who was so ready to entertain their overtures, that he sent his Ambassadors with them at their return to *Charles*, whom finding at *Aquisgranum*, they complemented in behalf of their Master. Their Names were *Michael* a Bishop, and *Theogroſus*, both *Præſepatharii*, from whom *Charles* having received their meſſage, the Spring following sent other Ambassadors to their Master for farther Eſtabliſhment of the Peace, viz. *Amalarius* Bishop of *Triers* and *Peter* Abbat of *Nonantula* in *Italy*, both of them men famous for Learning in that Age; but coming to *Conſtantinople*, they found not him then in the Throne, but *Leo* who ſucceeded him, by whom they were heard, and diſmiſſed together with Ambassadors from him to *Charles* upon the same errand.

Repells the invading Saracens. War on several Hands. The Agarens or Saracens made Inroads into the Eastern Provinces, but were repelled by Leo the Armenian who governed those parts, who in one battel slew of them two thousand men, and got many Horfes with other booty. Crumus Prince of the Bulgarians took up Arms with more success, having received a repulse in a matter which he demanded. Some of that Nation

14. Now is a Corner laid to appear in divers shapes, and amongst the rest of a Man without an Head; this probably having little other Foundation than in the Fancies of Men, who in seeing the shapes of Clouds as in ringing of Bells, may work their imaginations to any posture or sound they please. but *Crimus* takes *Mesymbria*, and wastes the Western Parts of the Empire with Fire and Sword. Hereupon

Makes his Son  
*Theophylact*  
Emperour  
with him.

Repels the in-  
vading *Sara-  
rens*.

The Bulgarians fall upon  
Mefymbria.

Zonas.

**Cedrenu**

Κὶ αὖτὸς μέγας  
Θεοκτίστης  
ἔσθ' ἀρετῇ καὶ  
συνέσῃ ἀνυ-  
τέλευτος τῷ τότῃ.

**Zongoras**

## CHAP. I.

upon the Emperor sends out his Orders for raising of Men, and hastes into *Thrace*, his Wife accompanying him as far as *Cedolim*, at which his Souldiers murmured and reviled him, that he was forc'd to send her back. *Crumus* having notice of his coming drew back his Men from their Depredations, and *Michael* coming into *Thrace*, suffered his Men to behave themselves so disorderly, that they were as offensive to the Inhabitants as the Enemy himself, which procured the Emperor no small prejudice. *Crumus* fortified himself against his coming not far from *Adrianople*, and after his sitting down near to his Camp began to skirmish; but in thele the *Romans* still had the better, and therewith were so elevated, that with great earnestness and impatience they required a Battel, which the Emperor either out of fear or for good reason deferring till he could have a good advantage, differing they grew mutinous, and upbraided him with fawcy and importune Clamours, threatening that except they were led forth, they would break out, and of their own accord attack the Enemy. *Michael* being thus constrained to doe it led them forth, and put them into a Posture for a Fight, which *Crumus* perceiving ordered his men also according to the Custome of his Nation, and to blows they came. The *Bulgarians* had plainly the worst of it, and were so overpowered by the Valour of their Enemies, that they were about to run, *Crumus* their Captain having even spent himself with riding to and fro, and by his presence and speech labouring to reinforce the Battel, when *Leo* the Captain of the East, whose Ambition was now come to maturity, caused his Squadron to leave the rest and depart the Field, no hardship or necessity at all urging him to it. This fight utterly dismayed those that were so hotly engaged, and as much incouraged the *Bulgarians*, whom at first *Crumus* restrained from pursuit, believing it was some Stratageme, and done of purpose to draw them into some greater danger. But seeing the *Romans* flye without all order, or any stop, he then enforced the pursuit, and made great slaughter of them. The Emperor with small difficulty escaped to *Adrianople*, and thence got to *Constantinople*, with a slender Equipage, leaving *Leo* behind him in *Thrace*, to protect the Countrey and repress the Incurfions of the Barbarians.

15. He being gone, *Leo*, who had already prepared the minds of his Soldiers by declaiming against him as an effeminate, unskillful and cowardly man, now more openly discovered his Design. Consulting with his Officers, and concluding he had now a good opportunity, he sent abroad his Emiliaries to tell through the whole Army, how filly and unexperienced the Emperour was, and that by his ignorance in warlike matters the *Roman* Forces had been defeated, and their ancient glory and fame eclipsed, or rather quite extinguished. By this means the minds of the Soldiers were corrupted, and such as he could pick up he joyined to his own Troops, and perswaded them to revolt from *Michael*. On the other side these Agitators cried up the Ability and Integrity of *Leo*, as a man born to preserve the *Roman* Name and Empire, and they caused the Soldiers to compare about his Tent, and having reviled and renounced the other to salute him Emperour. He pretended great unwillingness, nay, so pertinacious seemed he to be in the refusal, that *Michael Traulus* or *Balbus* the Stammerer one of his Principal Officers drawing his Sword, and causing those with him that were of the Conspiracy to doe the like, threatened to kill him, except he would accept of the Empire. When the Report of his having assumed the Title came to *Michael*, some would have perswaded him to buckle himself to a vigorous resistance, and suppress the Usurper; but being of a quiet disposition, he refused to cast himself into so great danger, and reprehended those sharply that instigated him on to a Civil War, to the destruction of many innocent Persons. By some of his intimate Friends, he sent to *Leo* the Diademe, Purple and Scarlet robes (Ensigns of the Empire) whereby he might see that he quitted the Dignity, as one ready enough to part with his life, rather than that upon his account one drop of Christian blood should be shed, and he bad him without all fear or doubt to come and take Possession of the Palace. *Procopia* his Wife being a Woman of an high Spirit, vehemently indevoured to perswade him to the contrary, nay, rather to refuse than to quit the Imperial Throne, and him to no purpose.

16. So write our Historians generally concerning this change and promotion of *Leo*, that it was accomplished by his own Arts, through his Insinuations, his crafty and fraudulent Suggestions against *Michael*. Yet the History of *Theophanes* attributes the fall of *Michael* to his own Imprudence, aligning the contempt and hatred of his Person, to his oppressing his Subjects by the Army he had raised against *Crumus*. It faith nothing of *Leo's* tampering with the Soldiers.

And in a Bat-  
tel through the  
Treachery of  
*Leo* rout the  
Emperour.

**Leo saluted  
Emperour by  
the Souldiers.**

Hath the Dia-  
deme and  
other En-  
signs sent  
him by *Mi-  
chael*.

$$Y \quad Y \quad 2$$

but on the contrary, that when *Michael* after the Defeat would have resigned to him, he refused it. But *Michael* being firm in his resolution to lay down, notwithstanding for some time he was hindered by his Wife and Sons, and quitting the City, the Magistrates and People earnestly implored his assistance, for the saving of both Church and State from Ruine. He as earnestly refused, considering the difficulty of the times, the continual IncurSIONS and Violence of the Barbarians, and being unshaken in his Fidelity to the Emperor. But perceiving the Enemy to draw nigh the City, he sent to *Nicephorus* the Patriarch who was much for his advancement, and desiring his Prayers, with the Magistrates and Souldiers went to the Tribunal raised without the City, and there was declared lawfull Emperor of the Romans. *Michael* having notice hereof, went with *Procopia* his Wife and his Children to the Oratory of *Pharus*, where being thaven he put on the Monastical Habit on the Eleventh of July in the sixth Indiction, and on the second day of the week. Thus relates the matter the History of *Theophanes*, who lived at this time, and was an Eye-witness of all these passages. But some say he brought down his History but to the end of *Nicephorus*, so that this must not be his but the addition of some other who favoured *Leo*, and concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the Empire. However it came to pass, *Michael* laid down the Purple after he had reigned one Year, nine Months, and as many Days.

17. *Leo* the Armenian began his Reign on the seventh day of July, in the thirteenth year of the Reign of *Charles* the Great, the eighteenth of Pope *Leo* the Third, the sixth Indiction, A. D. DCCCXIII. However he first obtained the Government; having once obtained it, he took care for the securing of it to himself.

*Michael* he parted from his Wife and Children, sending him away to the Island *Prota* to the Monastery there, where he spent the remainder of his Days; and *Theophylact* his Eldest Son, they say he Gelded, and then Banished him with his Mother and Brothers. *Michael* *Balbus*, or the Stammerer, he promoted to the Degree of a Patritian and Count of the *Schola Excubitorum*, and to *Thomas* his other Fellow-servant he gave the Command of the Confederate Forces. The *Bulgarians* at this time were put up with their late Victory, and made IncurSIONS afresh in *Thrace*, where without controul they wasted all things. *Leo* not well settled in his Seat, thought it best at present to restrain their Hostilities by good words, and sent Ambassadors to *Crumus*, who thinking he had much the advantage of the Romans, refused to entertain any reasonable Propositions, and sent the Ambassadors back without having any thing obtained. The Emperor hereby forced to take Arms, omitted nothing to strengthen himself, and Marched against the Enemy. Engaging in a great and bloody Battle, the *Bulgarians* had much the better, and having routed the Romans, gave the Chase in great disorder, which *Leo* perceiving, who stood upon an Hill, with a Reserve fell down with great violence upon them, renewed the Battle, and got a notable Victory. Many were slain, and more taken Prisoners. *Crumus* himself hardly escaped, for having received a Wound by an Arrow, and beaten from his Horse, he had quickly lain into the Hands of his Enemies but that he was rescued, and set upon another Horse by the more than ordinary Valour and Industry of his Guard. This Victory very much repressed the Insolence of the *Bulgarians*, and kept them within their Bounds some time after; and on the other side raised up the drooping Spirits of the Romans, whom the Valour of their Ancestours had in a manner forsaken. *Leo* in Triumph with great Spoils and many Captives returned to *Constantinople*.

18. After this our Historians very much revile him as Heretical and Cruel, because he opposed vigorously the Worshipping of Images. Otherwise they confess he was a most Vigilant and Industrious Prince in Reforming what was amiss in the State, omitting nothing that might tend to the benefit and advantage of it; so that *Nicephorus* the Patriarch whom he had Banished from his See, and out of respect to matters of Religion was his utter Enemy, yet when he heard he was Dead, confessed that the Common-wealth had lost an ungodly, but however a Great and considerable Governour. As he was very exact in ordering his matters of State, so very severe against flagitious Persons. On a time as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his Wife was taken away from him by a Senator, of which he had complained to the Governour of the City, but could have no redress of the injury. *Leo* commanded that at his return should appear before him both the Complainant, the Criminal, and the Judge. By Evidence the Senator was so pressed, that he confessed

the Fact; and the Judge being asked why he had not punished so heinous a Crime, was silent, as having no excuse. The Judge therefore the Emperor discharged of his Place, and ordered the Adulterer to be punished according to the Laws. Most commonly *Leo* heard Causes himself. The Officers of his Army, his Souldiers, and all sorts of Magistrates he chose merely for their Worth and Abilities, no Place being purchased for Money or any other Consideration than that of Merit, in his time, for he was a great contemner of Money. He endeavoured also after several Accomplishments, as that of the Voice, though not naturally fitted for Musical Exercises, and he himself was wont to begin the Psalms in the Church, especially at *Christmas*. In conclusion, he was one of the best, if not the very best Prince of this Age in this declining state of the Empire; and had he not been against the Worshipping of Images, in many words and much flourish by our Writers who were of the contrary opinion, for such an one would have been acknowledged.

19. That Jealousie, and consequently Cruelty was not his fault appears from this, that want of sufficient caution procured his Ruine. *Michael* of *Amorium* the Stammerer (as we said) he had preferred, and as it proved to that height, that he grew proud and insolent; and as it often happens to such as have done eminent Service to Princes in obtaining their Crowns, imagining that he could never be sufficiently requited, nor commit any offence which the reputation of his former Services would not expiate. Being amongst other vices very lavish of his Tongue, and not able to conceal any part of his mind, he first began to talk against the Emperor, and at length threatened to deprive him, and Marry the Empress. The Emperor being informed of his Discourses, at first resolved to dissemble the matter, and take no notice, knowing him to be very lavish of his Tongue. But afterwards he let him know that he was sensible of his opprobrious language, which he would deny, and then fall into the same fault again. *Leo* therefore resolving not to be wanting to his own safety, set some Spies upon him to observe him more strictly; that they might give Evidence against him, and amongst the rest there was one *Enabulus* very familiar with them both, who would often reprehend him, and admonish him of the danger into which those intemperate Discourses would bring him; but seeing he was not to be reclaimed, he made the Emperor acquainted with all his Designs, which in his drink he easily discovered. *Leo* then not thinking fit to delay any longer, on *Christmas*-Eve sate himself in Judgment and heard his Accusers, by whom he was evidently convicted of Treason; and having not been able to deny the same, had Judgment to be Burnt alive. The Prisoner is bound, and on his way to the place of Execution, when the Empress *Theodora* having notice of it, runs out of her Apartment in the Palace like a Distracted Woman, lays hold upon her Husband, and calls him wicked, and an Enemy to God, in that he would have no respect to that Holy time, wherein he was also to partake of the Blessed Sacrament. *Leo* was moved with her words and passion, and fearing to offend Almighty God, respited the Execution, and commanded him to be kept by one *Papia*, with Shackles on his Legs, whereof he himself would keep the Key. But turning to his Wife, he told her he had done what she had desired, being overcome with her Frantick passions; but she and her Children would find at length what would be the issue of it.

20. So intent was he upon this matter, and as our Writers affirm, so terrified by several signs portending his Destruction, that the following Night he could not sleep, but to secure himself of the Traitor, broke into the House of *Papia*, where, to his great wonder, he saw him bestowd in a very fair and costly Bed, *Papia* lying by on the bare Floor, and so fast asleep, that with no jogging or stirring could he awake him, a thing not incident to those that expect nothing but death. With this sight he was so vexed, that he resolved on the Destruction both of the Prisoner and his Keeper. But *Papia* got knowledge of his coming by one of the Watch, who knew him by his purple Buskins, and observed narrowly his behaviour, and having told to *Michael* the extreme danger they were now jointly in, as desperate Men they consulted how to extricate themselves. *Michael* pretended by the means of one *Theodistus* to come to conference with certain Religious Persons about the estate of his Soul, to which the Emperor being not averse, when *Theodistus* had liberty to come to him, instead of providing for his Soul he took care for his Body, causing him to go to his fellow Conspirators and to threaten them, that except they would enter into some sudden

Who turns Monk.

*Leo* begins his reign.

Banishing *Michael*, and Gelding his Son.

Beats the *Bulgarians*.

His Character.

*Zenar. Cedren.*

*Michael Balbus* condemned for Treason is respited from Execution.

*De mortibus Populorum etc.*

*Χρυσόστομος*

*Οὐτος ὁ*

But is still mistrusted by the Emperor.

den and effectual course for his deliverance he would Discover them all to Leo.

21. These Men being very much startled, ventured upon this course to rescue him, and preserve themselves. It was the Custome then, that such Clerks as Sung in the Emperour's Chapel did not (as afterward) lye in the Court, but each at his own House, whence about the third Watch of the Night they all met at the Ivory Gate, and by that entring the Palace, so went to perform the Morning Service. With these the Conspiratours mixed themselves, and carrying their weapons hid under their Cloths, entred the place, and in an obscure part of the Church hid themselves till the sign was given. One part of the Service being done, in comes the Emperour according to his Custome, and with a loud Voice begins his usual \* Anthem, when they take the advantage, but by mistake fell upon the Dean of the Chapel, or he that † Preided over the Clerks, either because his Head was covered as the Emperour's was, for it being then a great Frost they all wore warmer Hoods, but he quickly uncovered himself, and by shewing to them his bald Pate: saved his Life. The Emperour perceiving the matter, conveyed himself to the Altar, and there with the chain of the Incense Pot, or as some said, with the Cross, defended himself as well as he could: but they all rushing upon him together, some wounded him in the Head, others in the Belly, and others in other Parts, till overpowered by the Number, though he demeaned himself most stoutly, like an Hart at a Bay, he was at length knock'd down: Perceiving one of a vast stature to fetch a blow at him, he conjured him by that Grace which inhabited the Sacred place to spare him, but he answering that this was a time for killing and not conjuring, cut off his Hand, together with the Horn of the Cross. At length, spent with wounds, and falling to the ground, one of them struck off his Head; and to such an end came Leo, after he had Reigned seven years five months and fourteen days. In a Book of Predictions belonging to the Emperours Library, is said to have been an Oracle of *Sibylla*, expressed in an Hieroglyphical way, by a Lion, from the Back of which, as low as the Belly, was drawn the Greek Letter X and a Man, who standing behind the Lion, thrust a Spear into his Body through the Letter. This obscure Oracle the Questour of old time could alone Interpret, affirming it to signifie an Emperour, that being called Leo, should be slain on the day of Christ's Nativity.

Who is Mur-  
thered by the  
Conspiratours.

22. The Body of the slain Prince the Conspiratours cruelly dragged into the Cirque, being void of all manner of fear, for that they set a guard about the Court, out of which they presently cast the Emperess, together with her four Sons, *Sabbatius*, to whom, being designed Emperour, was given the Name of *Constantine*, *Basil*, *Gregory*, and *Theodosius*, all which, putting into a Boat for the present, they sent packing into the Island *Prota*, and there caused them to be gelded, after which *Theodosius* speedily died it seems of the wound, and was buried with his Father, and *Constantine* thereupon grew dumb; as for their Mother, she was shut up in the Monastery of the *Lords*. But *Michael*, freed now from his Gaoler *Papia*, with the Shackles on the Feet (for Leo had got the key) sat down upon the Imperial Throne, and was saluted as Emperour, and worshipped by all in the Palace. About noon the noise was all spread abroad, and then, as time it was, were his Bolts knocked off with an Hammer, and without either washing his Hands, thinking on God, or doing any thing fitting such an occasion, he halted to the Great Church of *St. Sophia*, desirous to be Crowned by the Hand of the Patriarch, and received for Emperour by all the People, trusting only to his fellow Conspiratours, and the Murderers of Leo. Here *Cedrenus* makes a wonder, first, that Leo of such and so many flatterers should have none to stand up in behalf of his cause, but like so many creeping Animals, each of them betake himself to his lurking hole; and at the impudence of *Michael*, that he should enter the Church, not like some Murderer or Hangman, whose Hands were polluted with Blood, but as some Conquerour, who had deserved the Palm of Victory, and justly prized himself for some notable Achievement. Whereas he had not shed hostile but civil Blood, and that not in an ordinary place, but at the Holy Altar, where the Lord's Blood was offered for expiation of sins. This *Michael* was born at *Amorium*, a City of the upper *Phrygia*, and in this manner became Emperour, in the seventh year of *Ludovick* the Son of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the *Franks* in the West, the fourth of *Paschal* Bishop of *Rome*, in the thirteenth Indiction. A. D. DCCCXX.

His Emperess  
cast out.

And his Sons  
Gelded.

*Michael* in his  
Shackles salu-  
ted Em-  
perour.

His Character.

23. As he came to his Preferment by Treason and Cruelty, as basely and ignominiously he Reigned, shewing himself to be Emperour, by no other thing than the Diadem and the Purple. All Discipline, Order, and rational ways of Administration, he with great scorn rejected, as formal fopperies, but, indeed because he knew they would discover his folly, and render ridiculous those courses, his own Inclinations and silliness put him upon. Such as in his mean Estate had been his Trade or Exercise, now in the highest degree of Eminency and Power he esteemed his best qualifications. As (if you will have it in down right terms from *Cedrenus*) to guests and divine, whether \* Pigs newly pigged would prove well, if brought up; to be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or Afs, to have skill in Mules, whether they would prove better for riding or carrying other burthens. In like manner by the mere look, to be able to tell what Horses would be good for the Race, and what for the War; the like concerning the fruitfulness of Sheep and Cows, the quantity of Milk they were like to give, and the quality of their young newly brought forth. Most ingratul he had been to his first Master and Benefactor *Bardanius*, and worse did he behave himself to Leo, whose Wife and Children he used as we have said, only allowing them a small pittance to live on out of their great Estate he had seized, with some of his own Servants to attend them. Learning so much he abominated, that he would not suffer Children therein to be instructed, lest they should be able to understand and resist his madness, or be able to write more readily than he could, for therein he was so slow, that another might as soon read a Book as he go over the Letters of his own Name. Such Ignorants as he, have left an evil example to the world; for before the decay of the *Roman* Empire, and Hogherds and Neat-herds came to Arrive at the Sovereign Power, who in their younger years by reason of the Poverty of their Parents, had no opportunity to learn, Princes were the best instructed in Learning, the greatest care was had to breed them in Philophy, and they thought it behaved them to excel others, as well in knowledge as in birth and Dignity; but these upstarts, these base and illiterate Persons coming to be Emperours, began first to decry as mean, useless, and formal, that to which their slender education could never reach, and what they did not understand.

Leo's Character.

A Civil War  
occasioned by  
one Thomas.

24. But as seldom it happens, but that some notable mischief happens in the Reigns of such sordid Princes, a Civil War fell out in the Eastern Parts, which brought all sorts of inconveniences upon the World, and consumed so many mortals, that it caused a great scarcity of Men throughout the Empire. The Author of it was one *Thomas*, concerning whose birth and condition, there is a difference amongst Writers. Some have reported him both of obscure Parents, Barbarians, and very poor, and that according to his Original he led his Life in his own Countrey; in continual drudgery and hard labour, the onely means of his preservation. After this he came to *Constantinople*, where he got into the Service of a Senator, and there plaid several pranks, being so impudent as to defile his Master's Bed; which being discovered, to shun the disgrace and punishment of his crime, he fled to the *Agarens* (or *Saracens*) and with them having continued the space of five and twenty years, and approved himself by his Actions much unto them, he abjured the Christian Religion, and turning *Mulometan*, procured the Command of a good Party of Men, and to be sent against the Christians, promising to subdue the whole *Roman* Empire to their Authority. And left the *Romans* should be averse to him as a stranger and a man of another Religion, he affirmed himself to be *Constantine* their Lawfull Prince, the Son of *Irene*, whom his Mother had deprived both of his Eyes and Empire, and who before this time had left the World. Others there were that affirmed this *Thomas*, the same with him that served *Bardanius*, and concerning whom the Monk of *Philomelium* prophesied, as we said, before, and whom Leo had made Captain of the Consciders; that this *Thomas* understanding Leo to be Murdered by *Michael*, partly to be revenged on him for the death of his Patron, and partly to satisfy his own malice (for from his youth he had ever born ill will to *Michael*) and out of fear of the Monk's prediction, he now took Arms: First of all he raised a great Army in the East, the place of his abode, lifting all that were able to fight, whereof some followed him out of hatred of *Michael*, who had incurred the contempt of all men, others followed him out of good will, some for hope of booty, and those whom some of these motives urged, he compelled to give their Names to the enterprise. His advantages were, that in respect of the gravity of his aspect, he was revered by all; besides he was very familiar and fair spoken, qualities very

*Cedrenus*.

very acceptable to Souldiers, and inferior to no man in strength and courage.

25. Having seized on the East, and made sure of the publick Revenue there, as he began so he proceeded, whom he could not allure to his Party, by force bringing them over to side with him. *Asia* miserably wasted, and dealt severely with those Cities, which out of respect to the Emperour, stood out against him; the whole Region he took, except the Countries of the *Officiari* and *Armeniaci*, which through the valour of their Commanders, *Olbianus* and *Catacelas*, stood it out, and for that were rewarded by the Emperour, with the gift of the Smoak-money or Hearth-money, which was wont to be paid into the publick Treasury. But the *Saracens* now taking notice how the *Romans* were imbroiled in a Civil War, took the advantage, and made incursions into all places, Islands as well as others. *Thomas* was hereat concerned, fearing lest his Men affrighted hereat, would desert him, and betake themselves to the defence of their own possessions. He resolved therefore by a sudden onset to repress them, which he did, together with a promise that he would put into their Hands the Territories of the Empire, and subdue it wholly to their Command. By this means being rid of them, he put the Diademe on his own Head, and assumed the Title of Emperour, being declared such by the Patriarch of *Antioch*. Now did he increase his Forces by new Levies, not only out of the Neighbouring, but remoter Nations, as the *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Perhans*, *Assyrians*, *Armenians*, *Chaldeans*, *Iberians*, *Zichi* and *Cabiri*, and changing his Name to that of *Constantine*, adopted one whom he thought would be a support to his usurped Dignity. *Michael* all this while was not wholly idle, but made preparations for resistance, but so unequal, that *Thomas* engaging with them, easily defeated them, killing many, and forcing the rest for to shift for themselves. Having by this success very much established his affairs, he pursued his good Fortune with great industry, setting out a Fleet to Sea of Ships, both fit for Fight and Burthen, which had such success, that he became thereby Master of the Emperour's Navy, and appointing the *Rendezvous* at *Lesbus*, with eighty thousand men, came to *Abydos*, waiting all places in the way. Not only such as were easy to come at; but such as made resistance he took by force, and set on fire.

26. One Castle there was which made stout resistance, and this *Thomas* sent his adopted Son to Attacke. He proceeding without care or good order, fell into an Ambush laid for him by *Olbianus*, who sent his Head to the Emperour; and he dispatched it back again to *Thomas*, as he was proudly pursuing his Victories. But little affected with his loss, which the world was wide enough to supply, Adoption being easier than natural Generation, he remitted nothing of his former vigour, but passed over into *Thrace* just upon the changing of the Moon, when the Night was darkest, that he might not be discovered. *Michael* was aware of it, and to prevent his Design, had reinforced all his Garrisons, and by both good words and deeds confirmed the resolutions of his Souldiers as much as he could, although to very little purpose. For as soon as he was returned to *Constantinople*, and *Thomas* was arrived in *Thrace*, they all revolted to him, and followed him to the Siege of that City. The Emperour hereupon as he could, raised other Forces, which committing to the Conduct of *Catacelas* and *Olbianus*, he sent to meet the Tyrant, and put a stop to his proceedings, and he neglected not his Sea affairs, putting matters there into as good a posture as his present condition would suffer. But *Thomas* like a Torrent, with his vast Armies, both by Sea and Land, bore down all before him, easily routing and dissipating all the Emperour's Forces, wherever they appeared, and struck him with so much Terror, that he caused a chain to be drawn cross the Haven, from the Castle to the opposite Village, to stop his Progress into the inward Parts of the adjoining Sea.

27. At this time there lived in the Island *Scirus*, one of the *Cyclades*, a certain Captain called *Gregory*, whom being a near Kinsman of *Leo* the late Emperour, *Michael* had thither banished for boldly upbraiding him with his death. *Thomas* thought fit to draw him to his Party, and for that purpose, gave him the Command of twelve thousand Men, and sent him to Attacke *Constantinople*, being assisted by a strong Squadron of Ships, that the Defendants thus set on both by Sea and Land, might have the greater diversion and less ability to defend themselves. He himself intended to follow with the gros of the Army. The chain was without much difficulty broken, and Siege laid to the City on all sides, after which *Thomas* himself coming up, many furious Assaults were made, but the In-

habitants made such vigorous and resolute opposition, that nothing they produced, and *Thomas* found himself deceived in his expectation, that the Citizens upon his Approach would have opened their Gates and received him in, which caused him to send *Gregory* before, as it were to prepare for his entrance, resolving to follow in State with the Body of his Army, and his newly adopted Son *Anastafius*, who for this Honour had lately forsaken the Monastical Life. Finding himself treated with opprobrious Language, and threatened with Death instead of a kind Reception, he incamped himself as strongly as he could, and sent a strong Party to the Euxine Sea, and *Hieras* to take in all the Fortified Towns, that he might not have an Enemy at his back. As he made preparations to Attacke the City itself, he was much discouraged by the union and resolution of them all within, and much distracted in his mind what course to take; but at length, trusting to his multitudes, resolved to try his Fortune again by Storm.

28. By break of day commanding the Signal to be given, he draws his Men out of their Trenches. To his Son he commits the Scaling of the Wall by Land; by Water, he orders his Fleet with Fire and all sorts of things that would annoy, to attempt the Town on that side, and he himself resolves to fall upon the Towers of *Blacherna*, wherein he conceived the chief strength of the Besieged to consist. No sort of Engine for Battery or Ladders wanting, nothing omitted to strike Terror into the Defendants, and to force them to yield. But on a sudden arose a violent Tempest which both dissipated the Ships by Sea, and by Land so disordered the Engines and Instruments of Battery, that they were rendered useless and unmanageable, so that he was constrained to give over, and found to a retreat. This so encouraged the Citizens, that now they took more resolution, and began to make Sallies, which so vexed and wearied him, that Winter also being sharp in those Quarters, he resolved to raise the Siege, and leaving *Thrace*, Quarter his Army in some warmer place, with firm purpose to return in Spring as soon as the Season would permit. This he performed, but found *Michael* now better provided for his Reception, being furnished both with a Fleet and a Land Army. At the same Quarter he gave the Assault as before, and with as much violence, which while it continued, *Michael* found a convenience to talk with some of his Souldiers, to whom he promised not only pardon for what was past, but good rewards in case they would desert his Service, and abstain from the shedding of Blood in so bad a quarrel. But they were deaf to all his charming Language, and rather more animated against him, measuring their fidelity to their own Captain by his strength, which in their apprehensions made every way desperate the cause of *Michael*.

29. *Michael* perceiving his good Language had no operation upon the Enemy resolved, with greater hopes to apply it to his own Men, and that he did with such success, that making a fallly upon the Enemy he did great Execution, and killing very many of them obtained a notable Victory. *Thomas* having received this defeat at Land had no better success at Sea, where his Navy miscarried through the Cowardise of his men, who terrified with the approach of the Emperour's Tirremes fled back to Land, and some of them revolted, the rest retired unto their Camp. His success was better against *Gregory* the Kinsman of *Leo*, who perceiving his Affairs go down the wind, and believing he would in a short time dwindle to nothing, resolved to make his Peace with *Michael*, and the rather because the Emperour had gotten his Wife and Children into his Hands. But *Thomas* had timely notice of his intended flight with that party which he commanded, and as he was marching away, before the Emperour could receive the News of his revolt fell upon him, and easily mastering his Party took him alive, and presently put him to death, having left a convenient Number of men, all this while to keep the siege, lest the Enemy should take the Advantage, and fall in upon his back. The exploit performed, he returned to the siege, and sent Letters up and down which fallly proclaimed a mighty Victory, and sent for such Ships as lay in *Greece*, as purposing to pursue his good Fortune by Sea also, and the Fleet came as far as *Beridas*, consisting of fifty Vessels in all, as well those of burthen as the other for fighting. The Emperour's Fleet had notice of their coming, and secretly by Night set upon them. Many were taken with the men, others were burnt; and those that escaped came up to *Blacherna*, which they joined with the Land Forces.

Endeavouring to form it, is diverted by a sudden Tempest.

And much weakened by a fallly from the Town.

30. In the mean time several skirmishes happened at the siege, sometimes *Michael* himself, otherwhiles *Theophilus* his Son, or *Catacelas* and *Olbianus* issuing out upon the Besiegers, for he durst not adventure upon a set Battel, because *Thomas* far exceeded him in Numbers. But by this time the Report of the *Roman* Emperours being blocked up in a Town, had flown far and wide, and was come to the Ears of *Mortagon* the King of the *Bulgarians*, who was therewith affected, as pitying the Dignity rather than the Man he sent privately, to encourage him with a promise, that he would come speedily to his assistance. *Michael* either for that he suspected what this stranger in conclusion might do, or was unwilling the Country should be wasted by another Army, or rather to save his Money in getting and keeping, whereof none of his Predecessors had been more fond, thanked the *Bulgarian* for his kindness, and excused his not accepting of his Relief. But for all this *Mortagon* who was accustomed to War and Depredations, and desirous to confirm the League for thirty years, which he had made to the *Armenians*, undertook the expedition against *Thomas*, and coming into the *Roman* Territories as far as *Cedolus*, there incamped himself. *Thomas*, as he had reason, was very much disturbed, finding himself too weak to continue the Siege, and fight the *Bulgarians* too, great Forces being requisite to each of these undertakings. At length he resolved to fight the *Bulgarians*, which he did at *Cedolus*, but was worsted in Battel; great Numbers of his men being slaughtered, the News whereof coming to his Fleet before *Constantinople*, it presently revolted to the Emperour. Yet such was his Ambition and Hopes of attaining his ends, at last, that encouraged by the retreat of *Mortagon* into his own Country, he still continued his siege.

31. But finding all his Attempts frustrate, at length he marched to a place called *Diabasis*, some furlongs distant from the City, and very convenient for Excursions where he incamped himself, and thence wasted all near the Walls, without any formal siege or drawing out his Forces. The Emperour encouraged by this his Retreat raised a considerable Army, which he committed to the Conduct of *Catacelas* and *Olbianus*, and thereto joining his Guards and the ordinary *Militia*, he led them all against him who received them courageously, and by way of stratagem ordered his men to counterfeit flight, and suddenly again to retreat, and so terrifie the Enemy. But his Design would not take at this time. His men were quite tired out with expectation. Such of them as had Wives and Families at Home, now began to think of returning to them; how lavishly they had shed civil and innocent Blood, and to gratify the madness and ambition of one man spent three years in prosecution of that, which now there was no probability of attaining. The sign being therefore given they fled not in jest, but in good earnest, and dispersing themselves, most of them went over to the Emperour. *Thomas* himself with a few got to *Adrianople*, and *Anastatius* his fictitious Son seized upon the Castle of *Birya*, *Michael* resolved to make sure of them ere they could recruit, and in the first place pursued *Thomas*, whom besieging, he resolved not to use any Engines or Instruments of Battery in attacking the Town, but to starve him out, partly because he would not delace the Walls and Houses, and that he might not teach the *Scythians*, bordering upon the place, the manner of taking Cities by storm. A line he drew about the place, and blocked it up every where. *Thomas* put forth all such as were not fit for War, but necessaries at length failing those that remained, most of them made their escapes as they could, at a little Gate, and over the Walls by Ropes, part of them going to the Emperour, and part to *Anastatius* still lying at *Birga*.

32. Those that remained with *Thomas* being reduced to such extremity, that they were forced to eat rotten Leather and other things which naturally Man abhors, at last entertained Correspondence with *Michael*, and having obtained pardon for what was past, delivered him up in Fetters to him. *Michael* observing the Customs received in those times by the Emperours, upon such occasions, the first caused him to lie all along on the ground, and then set he his Feet upon his Neck, after which his Hands and Feet being cut off, he was put upon an Ass and shewed about the Camp, saying only thus much, *Thou who art the true King (or Emperor) have mercy upon me.* The Emperour went about to examine him if any of his Courtiers were of the Conspiracy, and he had doubtless accused many had not *John Exabulus* the Patritian advised *Michael* to forbear and not to trust an Enemy that accuses his Friends; by which saying he saved many miserable Citizens and the very Friends of the Emperour from great impending mischiefs. *Thomas* at length spent by lingering Torments, breathed out his last in the middle

middle of *October*, a Man who at the beginning enterprized great things, and with great Alacrity and Vigour prosecuted his Designs, but fell less and less as he went on, and his last attempts answered not expectation. Those at *Briga* understanding what their Friends at *Adrianople* had done, treated *Anastatius* in the same manner; for they delivered him up bound Hand and Foot, and he perished after the same manner as did his Father, succeeding him in his punishment, though not in his Imperial Dignity. The two Usurpers were thus dispatched, but some Remnants of the Rebellion remained. *Pavium* and *Heraclea* two Maritime Towns of *Thrace*, still held out, not so much out of respect to them as harred to the Emperour, because he refused to restore Images. But ere long *Pavium* was taken, the Walls being overwhelmed by an Earthquake, and *Heraclea* was stormed on the side lying toward the Sea.

33. There yet remained two Castles, *Cabala* and *Saxiana*, whereof the one was held by *Choreas*, the other by *Gazareus*, who thence exercised Robberies and Depredations. The Emperour offered them their pardon, and more than that to make them Masters (such was the Name of the Dignity) but they rejected his offer, which he knowing, corrupted some of the garrison Soldiers, for that going out to rob another time, the Gates were shut against them at their return, and flying into *Syria*, they were there apprehended by some of the Governours, and nailed to Crosses. By this means the whole Rebellion was now extinguish. Upon such as were taken in the War *Michael* no otherwise animadverted, than by setting them first on Asses, and so carrying them about to be seen at the *Circensian* Games, after which they were banished. But, as *Cedrenus* writes, all mischiefs ceased not with the War; but as well *Europe*, as *Asia*, the Head, as the Tail, (so he terms it) were chastized from Heaven, by Slaughters, Fires, Earthquakes, Robberies, Civil Broils, sudden and unexpected destruction of Cities, signs in the Heaven and Air; and the like mischiefs invaded also the Islands, as well as the Continent; all which he ascribes to this, that they would not worship Images. But (to come to the matter) at such time as *Thomas* began to raise Commotions, when the rumour thereof spread abroad, the *Saracens* that inhabited *Spain*, thinking a fit opportunity to be presented them, desired of their Prince, that they might send out a Colony; for that they were too numerous for the Country they inhabited. Their Prince *Apocaphus* by Name (their *Amermunes Cedrenus* rather than they themselves called him) very glad of the opportunity, and concealing his design went with some long ships furnished with them to waste the Eastern Islands which belonged to the Empire; both to gratify the People, and to discover whether there was any fruitfull Isle, into which it would be worth his labour to send a Colony. Sailing away at the beginning of the Spring, and coming to several Islands he found no resistance, all Ships and Garrisons being gone to the assistance of *Thomas*; great booty he got, and so returned, bringing home especially Intelligence concerning the fertility and plainness of *Crete*, as a place abounding with Milk and Honey; for so he term'd it.

34. When therefore Winter was over, and the season permitted, with another Fleet consisting of forty Ships and furnished with Souldiers, he set sail, and arriving at *Crete*, there landed his Men. He incamped upon the Promontory *Charax*, and sent Spies to discover the Country, who returned without having met any to oppose them, when in the mean time, he caused all the Ships to be set on fire. The Army being much affrighted at the sight, and returning to the Camp to know the cause of the misfortune, their Captain told them that they themselves were the cause thereof, who had been earnest for planting a Colony in some fruitfull place: but no fruitfuller, nor fitter every way to plant in did he know than this, now he had both satisfied their desires, and had eased himself of their Importunities. But they objected to him the want of their Wives and Children, to which he answered that they should speedily have captive Women which they might use as Wives, and on them beget Children: and satisfied with this answer they intrenched themselves. *Photinus* the *Protospatharian* and *Prefect* of the East, having speedy notice hereof gave Intelligence also to the Emperour, desiring he might have sufficient Forces to withstand so impending a mischief, who accordingly with great supplies dispatched to him *Damianus* another *Protospatharian*, and they, joining their Powers together, prepared for an expedition. But it happened that coming to engage the *Saracens*, at the very first onset *Damianus* was slain, which so affrighted the whole Army that it ran away, and amongst others *Photinus* to the Emperour as fast as a swift Pinnace could carry him with the News of the Overthrow, who yet rewarded him with the Government of

Z z z

Sicily

And forced to raise the siege upon the arrival of the *Bulgarians* to the Emperour's aid.

In a Battel is driven to *Adrianople*.

But at last *Thomas* is delivered up to the Emperour.

The Inhabitants of *Heraclea* and *Pavium* reduced to obedience.

*Choreas* and *Gazareus* subdued.

And the Civil War finished.

The Eastern Isles wasted by the *Saracens*.

They invade *Crete*.

Thereof *Photinus* adverteth the Emperour. They defeat him and *Damianus*.



And fix at  
Chondace.

*Sicily* instead of that of *Crete*, whereof the unmanly *Agarens* had now deprived him. They could not for some time, agree amongst themselves where to plant, being solicitous for a place of safety, till a certain Monk coming down from the Mountains directed them to *Chondace*, which finding very convenient for their Designs, they there built a City to command the whole Island, and thence they made Excursions, and took all the Towns within the Island in a short space, one only excepted. After this manner became the Isle of *Crete*, subject to the *Saracens*, who straight began to persecute such as professed the Christian Religion.

Michael mar-  
ries a veiled  
Virgin.

35. But, *Michael*, freed from the civil Wars, ascribed the Issue not to the Goodness of Almighty God, but to his own Prudence and Sagacity. His Wife being dead and having a great desire to be married again, he deals with some of the leading men in the Senate, by their complaints to constrain him as it were to take another; nay to threaten him in case he did it not, using this worthy pretext, that their Wives must by no means want a Sovereign Lady and Mistress. To satisfy them therefore he will take a Wife, but not without this Caution neither; that in case she overlive him, they will engage to esteem and honour her as their Empress, and make Emperor one of the Sons he should have by her. After all this stir, he takes out of a Monastery a Virgin called *Euphrosyna*, one that from her Childhood had ever professed the Monastical life, and was reported to be the Daughter of *Constantine*, whose Eyes were put out by his Mother *Irene*. Being married, he began to think of the Isle of *Crete*, and what a disgrace it was, for him to suffer the *Saracens* in it to nest themselves; therefore he sent away *Craterus* the Governour of the *Cibyrots* with seventy Vessels, to which joining all the rest that belonged to the Islands, he made up a considerable Fleet, and therewith landed his men, and very fiercely fell upon them, who with as much resolution received him. From break of the day they fought till noon, without any appearance to which side the Victory inclined, but, towards Evening the *Saracens* were worsted and put to flight, many of them being slain and many taken, and their new City might have easily run the same fortune had day and light sufficed. But the Conquerours were, neither, willing to take too much pains, and not valuing those that had escaped whom they doubted not, but they could easily master when they pleased, they gave themselves to Drunkenness all the Night, as if they had been at home, and not in an Enemies Countrey; not so much as setting any Watch, or taking the least care of their own Security. The *Saracens* now, how weary and wounded soever, perceiving the condition they were in, when they were all drowned in drink and sleep fell in upon them, and cut them all off, hardly one escaping with the News from the Island except *Craterus* himself, who got away in a Merchants ship, but the Captain of the *Saracens* seeking for him, and missing him among the dead sent those after him who took him also napping in the Island *Cos*, and there nailed him to a Cross. This expedition so ill succeeding, one *Oriphas*, a man considerable both for Courage and Skill in military Affairs, raised by the Emperor's order an Army which got the Name of *Tessaracontarius* or *Portieth*, because to every man were assigned so many *Aurei*. Herewith visiting the Isles partly by Ambushes, and partly by open Engagements, he repressed the Insolence of these *Cretean Saracens*.

Craterus and  
all his Soldiers  
slain by  
the Saracens.

36. At this time it happened that one *Euphemius* an Officer in the Army, falling in love with a veiled Virgin in a Monastery, and encouraged by what he knew the Emperor to have done in the like case, took her thence by force and lay with her. Her Brothers hereupon make loud complaints to the Emperor, who gives order to the Governour of *Sicily*, if upon examination he found the matter objected to be true, to cut off his Nose. *Euphemius* having notice of his doom draws into conspiracy his Fellow Officers, and makes so strong a Party, that when the Governour comes to execute his Orders he easily repels him, and flying over to the *Ameras* or Governour of *Africk*, promises him to betray *Sicily* into his Hands, and pay him a large Tribute if he would declare him Emperor of the *Romans*. This the *Ameras* thought was no great matter to do, and therefore furnishes him with Forces, and sends him away with the glorious, but empty Title of Emperor. He accordingly brought the *Saracens* into *Sicily*, but as he went about the Island to persuade the People to own and receive him for Emperor indeed, and coming to *Syracuse* went so near the Walls, that he was drawn about a bow shot off from his Company, as he endeavoured to make his way by a flattering Speech, two of the Citizens being Brothers agree together to take the opportunity and kill him. They made him great Reverence, and both by

Euphemius  
usurps and  
brings the Sa-  
racens into Si-  
cily which  
they seize on.

Cedrenus.  
Zonaras.  
Ex Johanne  
Carpalata.

Michael dies.

Dalmatia re-  
volts from the  
Empire.

Theophilus his  
Son succeeds  
him.

by words and gestures flattered him into a belief of their kindness and fidelity, inasmuch that he to requite their Civility called them to him, and went to salute one of them, who caught him by the Hair of the Head, and so fast held him till the other cut off his Head. But the *Saracens* fell not short of what they designed and he promised, for introduced by him they got possession of the Island, and not only that; but upon *Calabria* and several other parts, by reason of this Vicinity they seized, waiting all where'er they came with Fire and Sword. But though *Cedrenus* and others relate this story of *Euphemius* all together, yet two years seem to have been taken up in transacting the whole Affair, the Death of the Emperor *Michael*, being related just after the Conclusion. He died after he had reigned nine years of a Dysentery, and was buried in *Justinian's* great Chapel. *Dalmatia* also revolted from the Empire in his time, which was very full of Calamities, which credulous People believed was foretold by an Oracle. They also concluded, that the Empire should at length be devolved upon him, from some Circumstances which fell out at the Promotion of *Leo's* Predecessour. As *Leo* being about to pray for happy success put off the Robe he then had on, he gave it to hold to this *Michael*, being then the Master of his Horse, who without any more to do put it on. And when the said *Leo* invested in another Robe, went into the Chapel belonging to the Palace, this *Michael* following him negligently trod on his Train, which it's said *Leo* accounted an ill Omen, and thence guessed that he would in time raise Commotions. From these passages, and what has been said of the Monk, we may see how they were addicted to Prophecies and Ominous conceits in those days.

37. *Michael Balbus* being dead, *Theophilus* his Son now arrived at Man's Estate succeeded him in the Month of *October*, and the seventh Indiction in the sixteenth year of *Ludovicus* Emperor of the West, the second of *Gregory* the Fourth of that Name Bishop of *Rome*. A.D. DCCLXXIX. This *Theophilus* shewed himself a marvellous observer of Justice, and a severe Assertour of the Laws of the Empire, though as his Adversaries, upon account of Religion take upon them to censure him, he was herein hypocritical, pretending this Zeal merely thereby to secure himself from Conspiracies, to cut off all Pretences and Advantages, that any who had a mind to usurp, might catch at; and improve against him. To this purpose he put in Execution such a Design, as could not but to the understanding sort evince his Father to have been both a Traitor and a Tyrant, and himself an Usurper if he came to the Dignity by the way of Succession, and upon his account. He resolved to put to death all those that had any Hand in the Murder of *Leo* and his Father's Advancement, and for that end published an Edict whereby he summoned all such as had had any Favours, Dignities or Preferments conferred on them by him, to the House called *Magnaura*, and from the Five Towers *Pentapyrgium*. When they were all assembled he mildly told them, that his Father had in his Life-time resolved to reward such highly, as had procured his preferment, and done him eminent service, but so far as was being prevented by death, he could not effect what he purposed, he had left him as his Executour to pay that Debt. Therefore he desired them that were his Father's Friends to separate themselves from the rest, into a peculiar place, where they might receive the Reward intended them. Such as had assisted in the Murder of *Leo*, in expectation of some great matter gladly and readily discovered themselves, whom having incalped as Fish in a Net, he commanded the Officer thereto appointed to put the Laws in execution, telling him that Seeing both God and he committed the Power to him, he should give these men their full hire, who had not only defiled their Hands with Man's blood, but had killed the Anointed of the Lord within his Temple. Having said this he dismissed the Assembly, and the Officer going to work took the Malefactors, and punished them as those that had committed Murder. This performed, *Theophilus* sent back his Mother-in-Law, and shut her up in the Monastery, where first she had been professed. And the Engagement wherewith her Husband had bound the Senate in her behalf, could not stand her in any stead.

829.

Joh. Carpa-  
lata, ex Jo-  
h. Cedrenus, Zona-  
ras, alii.

Puts to death  
the Murde-  
rers of Leo his  
Predecessour.

Is a strict ob-  
server of ju-  
stice, and a  
gainst wor-  
shipping of  
Images.

38. Such was *Theophilus* his beginning. He was so exact a Follower of Justice, that he was feared by bad, and admired by all good Men, this only blot our Authors find in his Eiscocheon, that he was against the worshipping of Images, and as severely as any of his Predecessours. Every week he rode to our Ladies Church in *Blacherna*, and heard all Complaints of oppressed People, without any partiality. Riding also about the Markets, he himself would view what was to be sold, and take notice of the Prices of Commodities, wherein he went below



And with diffi-  
culty brought  
off by his Ge-  
neral in the  
next.

Who being  
accused to the  
Emperour flies  
to the Sarac-  
ens.

him wearied and in despair, he intreated him to follow him as he made him way through the throng of the Enemies. But *Theophilus* still loitered, pretending he must not discourage his men by flying, which *Manuel* perceiving came back when he had already passed to him the third time, and drawing his Sword threatened to kill him except he would follow him, (telling him it much more behoved the State that he should die than be taken) by which means he brought him off. For this service he deserved a reward, and the Emperour was not slow to give it, and the thing being so evident, to confess he had been his Deliverer. But as Princes do not care too much to be beholden to their Subjects, he envied him for his Reputation, and there wanted not those who gratified him by accusing the General of Designs to Usurp, so that it was resolved he should loose his sight. This was discovered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cup-bearer to the Emperour, whereupon he fled to the *Saracens*, and upon condition that he should not be constrained to change his Religion, revolted to them and was joyfully received. He was speedily advanced to the highest Honour and Command he was capable of, and with an Army the *Saracens* sent him against their Neighbours called *Cermata*. But he refused to fight with any other than such *Romans* as there were in Captivity, whom gathering into a Body he there-with did very notable Service, and took a Castle called *Chorosan*, striking greater terror into the Besieged, not only by his valour, but the difference of Language and Habit, and an unexpected change of the manner of fighting. But not only was he very acceptable to the *Saracens*, for fighting with Men, but making War also upon Wild Beasts, which did very much at this time infect their Coun-try, and afforded him this opportunity of keeping his Souldiers in Ac-tion.

But is sent for  
to the Empe-  
rour.

And received  
into favour.

43. These things being made known to *Theophilus*, vexed him much, as taxing himself with Ingratitude and high Imprudence, in disobliging so serviceable a man, therefore he resolved to get him Back by any means. At that time Monks being wont to travell and wander up and down in all Places, he employed one of that sort whom he knew fit for his purpose, as least liable to suspicion, sending by him Letters strengthened by a Seal of Gold and a Cross, which gave *Manuel* such satisfac-tion, as concealing the Message he studied how to return, and after some time effected it in this manner. He desired leave of *Ismael* Prince of the *Saracens* to make an Expedition against the *Romans* into *Cappadocia*, to be revenged chiefly on those who had accused him to the Emperour, and easily obtained it, together with the Son of the Prince to accompany him, as having already given sufficient Testimony of his Fidelity. The Governour of *Cappadocia* he prepared before-hand to receive him, and being arrived at the place he desired, and going out from the Army with the Prince his Son and a few Followers as to Hunt, he bid the Young man get him back to the *Saracens*, and let them know his Resolution of returning into his own Country. Getting safe to *Constantinople* he was gladly received by the Emperour in the Church of *Blacherna*, there had conferred on him the Place of *Magister*, and was shortly after Godfather to his Son *Michael*, whom afterwards he adorned with the Imperial Title and Ensigns of Majesty. Af-ter this in the Spring *Theophilus* and the *Saracens* on each side made preparations for War, but coming near together were struck with such mutual fear, that both Armies returned home without having any thing performed. At his return came Ambassadors from *Chagan* the petty Prince of *Chazaria*, desiring leave to build up a Castle called *Marcol* on the Borders, as very convenient for restraining the Incurfions of the *Petzinacæ* toward the River *Tanais*, which they obtained, and one *Petronas* was sent to see the thing performed. *Petronas* when he came back acquainted the Emperour that he could not continue Master of *Cherson*, except he sent thither a Governour of his own, the manner having been to put some of the Natives into the command. The Emperour being satisfied with his Reasons sent him to execute the office, with orders to the Townsmen to put him into posses-sion, which they obeyed.

*Theophilus* en-  
ters Syria wal-  
king the Do-  
minion of the  
*Saracens*.

44. The year following *Theophilus* made an Incurfion into Syria against the *Saracens*, which waisting all in his way he took two Cities, and carrying away the Inhabitants made himself Master also of *Sozopetra* the Native place of the *Amer-mumnes*, though he sent to him and earnestly begged of him that he would spare it. This done the Emperour returned to *Constantinople*, leaving behind him *Theo-philus* to settle some matters relating to the Army, which past, he was to follow after. But the Reverence which the Mercenary *Persians* had for *Theophilus*, be-fore removed they fell into a Mutiny, and laying hold of *Theophobus* at *Sinope*, would

Is required by  
a Visit from  
them.

would needs make him Emperour, though he used all the Proteflations and Iri-treaties he could; but when he could not divert them, he sent private notice of it to *Theophilus* to signifie his Averfeness to the Thing, and as soon as he could made his escape and got to Court, where he was kindly received and enjoyed his former Honours. And for this time no farther trouble happened, the *Persians* being also pardoned, and received to favour, yet it was thought fit that being thirty thousand in Number they should not continue together, but be dispersed by two thousands into several Provinces under their distinct Officers. But the Prince of the *Saracens* or *Amermumnes*, as these Greek Historians call him, was wonder-fully enraged for the destruction of his Native City, and breathing nothing but revenge, hired men out of *Babylonia*, *Phenicia*, *Palestine*, *Celofyria*, and the farther *Africk*, (that lying next *Spain Cedrenus* means) giving Orders to every Souldier to engrave upon his Target the word *Amorium* which being the Birth-place of *Theophilus* he was resolved to destroy. At *Tarfus* all his Forces met; and *Theo-philus* aware of the danger marched to *Dorylaum* with such an Army as he could raise, distant three days journey from *Amorium*. Now there were several that perswaded to decline rather than withstand the fury of the *Saracen* Prince whose Numbers far exceeded his, and to remove the Inhabitants of *Amorium* to some o-ther place. But he thought it would much reflect upon him, and resolving to protect the place, sent thither *Aetius* a Patritian the Captain of the East with a strong Party, which he also committed to the Conduct of *Theodorus Craterus*, (whom *Zonaras* will have to have commanded at *Amorium*) *Theophilus* *Blutarius* and others, men very eminent in their time.

Who rout the  
Emperour's  
Army.

45. The Prince of the *Saracens* lying at *Tarfus*, deliberated with those about him what to doe; for he was of opinion that he should not pass on directly for *Amorium*, but send his Son with part of the Army to make an Attempt upon the Emperour, whom if he should beat he should share in the Victory, and if it hap-pened otherwise, it would be best for him to be quiet. His Son therefore he sent together with *Ameras*, who then commanded *Metylene*; ten thousand *Turks*, all the *Armenian* Forces, and his Commander in chief, and they came and incamped themselves at a place called *Dazymenm*. *Theophilus* with his Army, consisting especially of *Persians* both Eastern and Western, marching to a Town called *An-zin*, resolved before he would engage to view the Numbers of the Enemy, which finding to exceed his, it was to be considered with what Stratagem and advantage they should fall upon them. *Manuel* the Domestick of the Schools, as *Cedrenus* calls him, and *Theophilus* thought it best to be done by Night; but all the rest were for day light, with whom the Emperour agreed. And by day light a most fierce Batrel was fought, wherein first the *Romans* had the better, the *Saracens* turn-ing their backs. But the *Turks* so exceedingly galled the Pursuers with their Ar-rows, that they quite turned the course of the fight, and made those to run and forsake their Emperour, who but now seemed to have the Victory. Yet did the Captains manfully behave themselves, and so did the *Persians*, who compassed him about, and earnestly laboured for his Preservation: yet he had been slain had not Night come on and some Rain fall, which wet the Bowstrings of the *Turks* so as they could not so conveniently use them, and the *Romans* had thereby oppor-tunity to retreat. In the Night *Manuel* who commanded the Watch, observed the *Persians* to entertain Discourse with the *Saracens* in their Language, about betray-ing the Roman Army and returning into their own Country, which revealing with all speed to the Emperour, he advised him by all means, with some choice Followers to provide for his own safety by flight, now while he had time, and not fall into the hands of the *Saracens*. He answered, that this he could hardly doe, especially to leave those to perish whom he had brought into the danger, but *Manuel* replied, that if God would but preserve him, they would look to them-selves, whereupon *Theophilus* took his Advice and fled away to a place called *Chilicommam*. Hither such as we said ran away from the Batrel being fled, it's said they met him, and confessing themselves unworthy of Life, who had so deserted their Emperour, drew their Swords and would have killed themselves, but that he restrained them, by affirming he was preserved by God, and that therefore they should not perish.

46. But the *Saracenan* Prince understanding how matters had prospered under his Son, resolved without delay to fall on *Amorium*, which joyning Forces with him, he did, drawing first a deep Trench about it. The *Turks* plied it with Ar-rows, and the *Saracens* with Batteries, yet the *Romans* within Valiantly defend-ed themselves and it, though the storm continued without Intermission. *Theo-philus*

philus with much ado having escaped at *Dorylaeum* expected the event, whence he resolved to try the temper of the *Saracens* by Messengers sent with rich Presents, and to desire of him to desist. But he being implacably incensed by the Destruction of his *Sozopetra*, upbraided him with Cowardize, and scoffing at the Message, commanded those that brought it to be secured till they might see the Issue. Then did he more vigorously than ever attacke the Town, dividing his Forces into many Parties, so as when one was spent or beaten off, another fresh one might succeed, with which pertinacious course he hoped that the Besieged would be tired out and surrender. Yet the Defendants were so resolute, that the Town was not to be taken but by Treachery, to which one *Badatius* a Townsman was Bribed, who upon some discontent had abjured the Christian Religion. He gave them notice where the Walls might most easily be mounted, and an Assault be made, which so succeeded as the *Saracens* by storm took the Place, and made unspeakable Slaughter of the Garrison and Inhabitants, being enraged at their Resolution, and for the Death of so many eminent Men as on their side had perished in the Siege. And with the Citizens so perished this most Beautifull of Eastern Cities, nothing remaining of it but Rubbish. The Women and Children were led away into Captivity, the Men generally being put to the Sword. But *Callistus*, *Constantinus*, *Theodorus Craterus*, all Patritians, and others who were eminent for their Employments in the Army or the State were taken, and the Prince now in an Insulting manner caused the Ambassadors to take a view of the estate of *Amorium*, and then sent them with an Account thereof to their Master.

47. He sent them back again to desire that such eminent Persons as were taken, being his Kinsmen and Allies, and the rest of the Prisoners might be set at liberty for their Ransome, offering four and twenty Centenaries; but he rejected them and their Message ignominiously, saying he should be unjustly accounted a Fool indeed, if he should accept of but so many Centenaries, when it had cost him no less than a thousand Centenaries in his Preparations. *Theophilus* hereupon as overwhelmed with insupportable Calamity fell into excessive Melancholy, so as to abstain from all sustenance, receiving nothing but some Snow-water, which cast him into a Dysentery. The only Thought or Discourse he would admit, was how to be revenged for *Amorium*. To this end he sent away *Theodosius* a Patritian toward the King of *France*, to desire his Assistance, and to procure him to invade those Parts of *Africa* which belonged to the *Amermunes*; but this Design came to nothing, *Theodosius* Dying upon the way e'er he could deliver his Message. His Melancholy and Disease both encreasing upon this Disappointment, in his Litter he would be carried to *Magnaure*, where calling together the Senate, with the Chief Men of the City, he most sadly lamented the posture of his Affairs, and earnestly moved them, that being mindfull of their kindness to him, they would continue faithfull to his Wife and Son, and secure them from all Treachery. His lamentable Speech they Answered with as lamentable a Cry, and praying for his Life and Health, promised him that in case of unacceptable a thing as his Death should happen, they would stand by his Wife their Lady and Mistress with their Lives and Fortunes to the utmost. After this he lived not long, yielding to the Distempers of his Mind and Body when he had Reigned twelve years, three months and twenty days. His care for his Posterity it seems was so great, that he would not Dye without having *Theophobus* bear him company, whose Enemies took advantage at the Revolt of the *Persians* in the Battel we mentioned, and encreased the Jealousie conceived of him by the Emperour, from their giving to him the Title of Emperour, urging that the Revolt was not without his Devises and Procurement. Having before caused him to be Imprisoned, when he was at the point of Death he commanded his Head to be cut off and brought to him, which touching with his Hand he breathed out these words, together with his Soul: *Henceforth I am neither Theophilus, nor thou Theophobus*. But more reported that *Oriphas* the *Drungarius* of *Bigla* slew him without having received any orders.

48. *Theophilus* being Dead, *Michael* his Son succeeded him, the third of that Name, Surnamed the Drunken: in the second year of *Lotharius*, Emperour of the West; the fiftenth of *Gregory* the Fourth, Bishop of *Rome*; the Fifth Indiction, A.D. DCCCXLII. His Father by his Will left *Manuel* the Magister and Domestick of the Schools, and *Theodistus* the Patritian and *Logorheta Dromi* his Tutors or Governours, but the Regency was committed to *Theodora* his Mother, who by their Directions ordered all Affairs of State. Presently after the

And Race the  
City-*Amorium*.

Which makes  
the Emperour  
melancholy.

After which  
he Dies.

*Michael* his  
Son succeeds.

*Philip* five  
years, &c.  
Imp. Occid.  
committit  
vocem *Cecy-  
mus*, ali.

*Joannet* Co-  
regulata.  
Cedunt.  
Genera-  
Gyren.

A Persecution  
against the  
*Manichees*.

Which causes  
a Rebellion,

And the De-  
struction of  
the East by  
the Inroads of  
the *Saracens*.

*Manuel* one of  
the Emperour's  
Guardians  
leaves the  
Court.

*Theodistus*  
the other,  
Murdered by  
the procure-  
ment of *Bar-  
das*, Uncle to  
the Emperour

Old Emperour's Death, the two Great Ministers lately mentioned went into the *Circus*, where calling the People together they rehearsed to them his last words and Will, insisted upon his Love and good Inclinations to them, and with many fair and alluring words endeavoured to gain their Affections toward his Young Son and Successour, who promised, if need should so require, to shed their Blood in his behalf, and their Promise instantly confirmed by Oath. *Theodora* thus settled in the Government was drawn wholly to matters relating to the Church, binding all her endeavours for the restoring of Images, which for a considerable time by the late Emperours had been forbidden: and she raised a great Persecution against the *Manichees*, which became an occasion of unspeakable Calamities in the East. For those employed in the Inquisition, using no moderation but great cruelty in their Office, Nailed some of those they Condemned to Crosses, and others put to Death by many and unheard-of sorts of punishment. An hundred thousand by this course they made away, and confiscated their Estates, which drove the rest into Desperation and Rebellion, which was began by one *Carbeas* of that Sect, who served *Theodorus Melispius*, Commander of the East, in quality of *Pratomandator*. He understanding that his Father was Crucified, enraged by so ignominious an Affront, fled with five thousand of his Persecution to the *Ameras* of *Mitylene*, and from him to the *Amermunes* himself, by whom being graciously received he presently after invades the *Roman* Territories, and therein builds two Cities, which he called *Argannum* and *Amera*. Then great numbers of the *Manichees* flying to him for shelter, to these two he added another for their Reception, by the Name of *Tephrica*. From these three places joyning with some *Saracen* Officers, they made Inroads without intermission into the Emperour's Dominions, with such success generally as pleased them, only *Alimus* the Governour of *Tarfus* making an Inroad into *Armenia*, was cut off with his Party, and *Amer* the *Ameras* of *Melitena* for some time was diverted by the Revolt of one of his Fellow-officers. But having Conquered his Adversary, and being a Man impatient of Rest, he joynd himself with *Carbeas*, and renewed his Hostilities. Against them at length was sent *Petronas*, Brother to the Emperess, and Domestick of the Schools (which Office he executed, though it properly belonged to his Brother *Bardas*, who otherwise employed in State Affairs could not attend it) who led down an Army of *Thracians* against them, as we shall see hereafter.

49. In the mean time *Michael* the Emperour growing up towards a Man, was mightily inflamed with a desire to Govern by the procurement of this *Bardas* his Uncle, who thereby and by all other ways sought to screw up himself into Power. The great obstacles to his Rise were *Manuel* and *Theodistus*, who being the Emperour's Governours, and constantly attending in Court, were by one means or other first to be removed. It luckily happened for him that there fell some misunderstanding betwixt them, which he so encreased that thereupon *Manuel* quitted the Palace, and retired to his own House. Having thus removed him, he attempted the same upon his Instrument *Theodistus*, whom he more hated, because he had taxed him for having incestuously to doe with his Daughter-in-Law. The Engine he used was the Emperour's School-master, a wicked and intractable Man, whom the Scholar (commendable yet in this, that he was his Master) willing to Prefer to some considerable Office, *Theodistus* had opposed it, telling him such Preferments were to be bestowed according to Merit, and not upon undeserving Persons. The School-master acted by Revenge, and the constant encouragements of *Bardas*, never left whispering into the Ears of the Youth, that all things went ill through the bad management of *Theodistus*, that he had a Design to make a Marriage for the Emperess or one of her Daughters, and put out the Emperour's Eyes; otherwise terrifying him, and telling him he must be quick, and very crafty in providing for his own safety. They having often met and deliberated about this matter, resolved to have *Theodistus* made away, and that after this manner. As he went to *Lansacum* for the Recording of some Transactions, the Emperour following after at some distance should give the sign by these words, *Take him away*. *Theodistus* apprehending the sign, endeavoured to save himself by flight towards the Court in the *Circus*, where the Secretaries then had their Office, but was flopt as he ran, and *Bardas* drawing his Sword threatened to kill any that should make any opposition or defend him. He was then committed to Prison till order should be taken about him, which was not long in taking nor executing; for left the Emperess should in the Inter-

rim attempt any thing, they sent one to dispatch him, with whom he strugled some time, but Died of a wound received in his Belly.

50. He being dead, *Bardas* took upon him the Office of *Caniculus*; but *Theodora* understanding what was done, ran with her hair all about her shoulders up and down the Court, which the filled with her shrieks and cries, cursing her Son and Brother, and wishing to them the like end. *Bardas* could not bear her Reproaches, but resolved that she, as the next obstacle to his Designs, was to be removed. She being an understanding Woman, was aware hereof, and resolved not to put all into blood by making resistance, but to call together the Senate, and give them an Account what Treasure was now in the Palace, both to obviate the extravagant expences of her Son, and to make manifest how careful and frugal she had been, during her administration of Affairs. She told them, that of Gold there was one thousand and ninety Centenaries, and three thousand of Silver, partly gathered together by her Husband, and partly by her self; besides very great Wealth in other kinds, of which she thought fit to let them know, lest her Son should hereafter make them believe that he had left him an empty Purse; and she caused the Officers of the Treasury to be present, who bore witness to what she had said. Having thus delivered her self, she resigned her Power and Government, and departed from Court; of which her Son was not at all displeased. For all this Wealth the foolish Young Prince in a small time consumed. Being above all things delighted in Riding, and Driving of Chariots, he refused not the Office of a Driver himself in the Cirque, and as such as would accompany him and play with him at this or other idle and Rascally Sports, he profusely enriched, bestowing upon each an hundred, eighty, or at least fifty Pounds at the Christening of their Children. Having thus made away all his Mother had left him, when the solemn time came that he was to make Presents, having no other means left him of making Money, he caused to be melted and stamped those famous Trees of Gold, which (as *Glicas* relates) the being made in the late Emperour's time by *Leo* the Philosopher a Bishop, the greatest Scholar of his time, held in the Boughs a number of Golden Birds, which by virtue of an Engine sung melodiously, together with Golden Lions, which roared also by the same Device, besides as many Vultures, and other stuff of the same metal, with other things, for which the Imperial Palace was famous, and gratified the curiosity of Strangers. In the same manner he had dealt with the Imperial Robes, but that Death prevented him, and *Basilus* his Successour recovered them out of the Hands of his Instruments, who found in the House only three Centenaries of Gold, and nine Bags of *Miltarista*, which he produced to the Senate, and deploring the Poverty of the Empire, Commanded them to Consult by what means it might best be supplied.

51. But *Bardas* and his Nephew proceeding in their evil courses, and still jealous of the Emperess, caused *Petronas* her own Brother, when on a time she came to the Church in *Blachernis*, to lay hands on her and her Daughters that accompanied her, to shave them, and make them all Nuns, which Indignity she not long survived. Now the whole Power was in *Bardas* his Hands, whom his Nephew Honoured with the Dignity of *Curopolata*, as a Reward for thus dealing with his Mother. After this he raised an Army, and undertook with him an Expedition against the *Saracens*, and the *Ameras* of *Melitena*, and laid Siege to a City of theirs, situate upon the River *Euphrates*. Herein they contained themselves, as willing to have it believed that they durst not adventure out, and their Design prospered so well, that the Emperour's Army thereupon grew secure, and took no care how they ordered their matters. The *Saracens* then took the advantage when they were at Prayer, and going to Communicate on the Lord's Day, and insluffing out fell upon them, put them easily to the Rout, the Emperour escaping by the swiftness of his Horse. All the Baggage of the Army was taken, and *Charbas* Captain of the *Manichees* so notably behaved himself, that besides many of the Inferiour fort which fell by his Hands, he took no fewer than an hundred of the most eminent Commanders alive, who were all put to Ranfome, only one *Seon* died in Restraint. Two years after, *Amer* with an Army consisting of thirty thousand Men invaded the *Roman* Territories, whom *Michael* opposed with no fewer than five and forty thousand *Thracians* and *Macedonians*; but *Amer* making his Passage through bye-ways, fell upon him unexpectedly, and with as much ease as formerly, put his Army to flight. And he himself had been taken, but that *Manuel* the Domestick of the Schools in good time came in to his Rescue with a strong Party. The rest shifted for themselves, every Man as he could.

52. Two

52. Two years more having passed after this Inagagement, *Amer* marches with another Army of forty thousand Men into the *Roman* Provinces and wastes *Armenia*, with the Maritime Parts; at which time it's reported that he imitated the mad frolick of *Xerxes*, in lashing the Sea, because it stopped his farther pleasant progress. The Emperour upon the News, sent Orders to his Uncle *Petronas*, with all the force he could make to march against him, who then lying at *Ephesus*, and much disturbed upon Receipt of the Letters, consulted one *John* a Monk, who had the opinion of a Prophet, and by him was promised victory against the *Saracens*. Encouraged hereby, he hastes toward the Enemy, whom in an advantageous place he compasses about, and after some vain attempts of getting loose, cuts him off, and his whole Army. The Son of *Amer* being abroad on Foraging, and hearing of the disaster, made with all speed he could toward *Melitena*, but the Officer that commanded the *Charfian* Straits, took him and his Party and presented him to *Petronas*. Now returned *Petronas* to *Constantinople*, carrying along with him this Monk, whom he commended as a wonderful Man to the Emperour and his Brother *Bardas*, and for his good Service was made Domestick of the Schools, *Manuel* being lately dead. *Bardas* being now left without a Competiour, ordered all things as he listed, putting in and out all Officers, and now procured to himself the Dignity of *Cesar*, *Michael* in the mean time, as he was well pleased he should, by his ridiculous Actions making himself despicable in the eyes of all Men. *Bardas* hoping one day to be sole Master of all, that he might by something commend himself to the publick, endeavoured to bring into fashion again Philosophy and other Parts of Learning, which by reason of the ignorance of the later Emperours, had for many years lain buried in oblivion, appointing to each Science it's several School in the Palace of *Magnaaura*. He was frequently present also in the Courts of Justice at the Cirque, and procured the Laws again to flourish, which in these times had been also much neglected.

53. In the mean time, all the Coasts lying upon the *Euxine* Sea, were grievously wasted by a sort of Pirates called *Rossi*, a *Seyrbian* People, fierce and cruel, inhabiting some of the Northern Parts of the Mountain *Taurus*. They brought the City of *Constantinople* also into great danger. About the same time another Fleet of Pirates from *Crete* infested those Parts, lying about *Proconnesus* and the *Cyclades*, and most horrible Earthquakes happened, whereof the greatest on Ascension day, wherewith Walls, Churches, and other Buildings and Works were overturned. Besides Rivers and Fountains failed of their Waters, and many other Prodiges happened in divers places; of all which when the Emperour had notice, he regarded them not, so intent he was upon his Races. One fortith Act of his must not be past over in silence. His Predecessours, that they might have certain notice of the Incurfions of the *Saracens*, and to give warning to the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Countries, that they might not be surprized, caused to be Built as near *Tarfus*, in the Border of theirs and the *Saracenic* Dominions, a strong Fort or Tower called *Lulani*, on a very high Rock, wherein were placed certain Men, who as soon as ever they perceived these People to be about an Invasion, by fire kindled, were to give notice thereof to others that kept their station in another Hill called *Argens*. Those in *Argens* gave a sign in the same manner to others that watched in *Aegialus*, those to others at *Mamas*. From *Mamas* the sign was given to the Cirque, from the Cirque to *Mocillum*, and from *Mocillum* to those that watched in the Mount of *St. Auxentius*, who in the last place gave the sign to the great Palace. By these Beacons were the Emperours, in a moment as it were, certified of the Enemies motion, and the Countrey men had timely warning to secure themselves and goods, in the strong holds adjoining. Now it happened that on a time, near the Church of *St. Mamas*, this *Michael* beginning his Races, the Beacon was set a fire, which exceedingly afflicted him, lest the People should not view well, and consider his Dexterity in Riding. And left by any such fight, the attention of the Spectatours should be diverted for the time to come, he forbade the fires to be made in the places that were near to the City.

54. Another time as he sate in his Chariot, and the Horses were just ready to be let goe, word was brought, that the *Ameras* of *Melitena*, had grievously haras the Province of *Asia*, and being come already as far as *Malagina*, threatened the rest with Desolation, which being told him by the first Notary, in a sorrowfull manner, who also presented him with the Letters of the Domestick of the Schools, matters of Importance as he imagined, he looked upon him with a grim and angry Countenance, asking him how he durst, Villain as he was, disturb him,

*Theodora* the Emperour's Mother gives an account of the Treasure,

Which *Michael* lavishly consumes.

*Theodora* shaven.

An Expedition against the *Saracens*.

But with ill success.

They invade the *Roman* Territories, and rout the Emperours Army.

Wherein the *Saracens* are worsted.

*Bardas* made *Cesar*.

The Maritime Coasts of the Empire infested by Pirates.

The firing of Beacons forbidden by the Emperour.

Who is wholly addicted to Racing and Villany.

busied in so important an Affair, with such trifling matters, especially now only intent upon this, to turn off him that should Encounter him, to the left Hand, which was the wager laid. He would debate himself with all sorts of mean Actions, blaming his Predecessours for insinuating upon State. He had ever in his company a crew of most impure and profligate wretches, whom to abuse all things Sacred, he would cause to put on Copes, and other Vestments wherein Churchmen were wont to Officiate, and thus Habited, to imitate the most Sacred Functions and Holy Mysteries. One *Gryllus* a Rogue, he called Patriarch; others he named Metropolitans, and took to himself the Title of one of the chief Bishops and President of the Colony. With this crew he would meet the Patriarch in Procession, and once sent for his Mother, as to meet *Ignatius*, who then held that Place, and as the good Woman on her knees begged a Blessing, the Villain *Gryllus* appeared, having all the while hid his Beard, and with filthy gestures derided the poor Lady, who with such Anger as upon such an occasion became her, denounced vengeance unto her Son. Such were the manners and company of this dissolute Prince, whom vengeance at last overtook according to his Mother's Prediction, but first all his Governours, and such as should have better principled and advised him, were to receive their Punishment. How *Theocistus* came to his end we have already seen, and *Bardas* his Tragedy is now to follow, which was ushered in by a terrible Dream, and several other presages, as our Authors observe.

55. He had persuaded the Emperour to Arm against the *Saracens* of *Crete*, who infected his Subjects upon all occasions, and were now come in their Expedition into *Thrace*, as far as a place called *Chorus*. There the Servants of *Bardas*, whether out of Design or unadvisedly, for they were in a hurry, pitched their Masters Tent upon an Hill, the Pavilion of the Emperour being placed below in the Plain. This advantage was taken by his Enemies, who ceased not to render *Michael* jealous of him, and to instigate him against him to procure his sudden Destruction. Yet the Interest of *Cæsar* was such at Court, that they had much difficulty to bring about what they desired. For, his Son *Antigonus* bore the Office of Domestick of the Schools, and had the other Officers of the Army much at his Devotion; and *Symbatius* the *Logotheta Dromi*, being his Son-in-Law, was concluded of his Party, although the Emperour himself privately had taken him off, and no Man so much watched an opportunity to destroy him, and to him alone was committed the trust of giving the privy sign when it should be done. Now *Symbatius* making a Relation of what had happened, signed his Face with the Cross, which was the sign agreed of among the Conspirators. Yet were they very slow, being awed by the Relations and Dependents of *Bardas*, there present, though *Michael* fearfull lest the Plot, if not now executed, might be turned upon himself, by one he could trust, sent and animated them all he could. The Fact had not now been committed, but *Basilus* the Emperour's Chamberlain, (who for especial reasons, as we shall see at large, was more concerned than any other to have him made away) stirred up his courage, and exhorting those present to stand to him courageously, resolved upon it. *Bardas* seeing them come upon him with drawn Swords, fell down at the Emperour's feet, and was cut all in pieces, after which they exposed his Genitals ignominiously fixed upon a Pole. So great a Tumult hereupon ensued, that brought the Emperour into extreme danger; and he might have easily miscarried in it, had not *Constantine* the *Drungarius* of *Bigle* come in in good time with a strong Party of Men and quieted those concerned, affirming that *Bardas* was justly put to Death. He being after this sort dispatched, *Michael* cast off all thoughts of the Expedition to *Crete*, and returned to *Constantinople*.

56. Here it's obvious to remark the Custome of Courtiers and great Ministers to raise themselves upon the Ruine of others, and that usually they themselves are served in the like sort; the Interests of times or humours of Princes easily changing, although their hopes so beguile their wits that they do not consider it. *Bardas* had cast down others, as steps to mount to his great Preferment, and more than probable it is, that the Emperour himself must at length have fallen for a greater advantage, had he not been prevented; but now his Removal makes way for another Favourite, who executes at last what he had but designed. This was *Basilus* but lately mentioned, by Birth a *Macedonian*, but as some reported, of *Armenian* Descent, and that from the stock of the *Arscidae*, out of which alone of old time the Kings of the *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Armenians* could be chosen, out of respect to *Arscæ* the First, who recovered the Kingdom to the

*Bardas* Murdered.

*Basilus* put into his Place.

the *Parthians* from those of *Persia*. And long did this Race continue, *Artabanus* and *Clienes* being the two last of the Kings, who being driven from their Inheritance, came in the time of *Leo* the Great to *Constantinople*, and he entertained them honourably, assigning them convenient abode in the City. Afterward the King of *Persia* invited them to return, about which while they were Consulting, *Leo* removed them to *Nice*, a Town in *Macedonia*, whence in process of time, when the *Saracens* had Conquered the *Persian* Kingdom, the *Amermannes* also invited their Posterity to return. This being understood by the Emperour *Heraclius*, who perceived that he recalled them not out of any affection, but that by their means he might the better master the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, he removed them first to *Philippi* a City in *Macedonia*, and thence to *Adrianople*, where they multiplied, yet kept their race unmixed with other People. Sometime after when *Constantine* and his Mother *Irene* reigned, one of them by Name *Mailtes* came to *Constantinople*, where lighting upon *Leo* one of his own stock he contracted such Friendship with him, that coming to *Adrianople* he gave him his Daughter in Marriage. Of this Conjunction was born the Father of *Basilus*, so graceful a Person, that a certain eminent Matron, said to be descended from *Constantine* the Great, married to him her Daughter. This is the Pedigree *Cedrenus* gives us of *Basilus*, but by others generally it's accounted but a fiction, who affirm him born of very ignoble and obscure Parents.

57. It's granted on all Hands, that when *Crumus* the *Bulgarian* took *Adrianople* his Parents were led away Captive, and carried him with them being a young Infant hanging on the Breast. The Successour of *Crumus*, being fore distressed by several Deleats received from the *Romans*, made peace with the Emperour, and by virtue of that Agreement restored all Prisoners formerly taken, amongst whom *Basilus* returned. Many Prodiges are said to have portended to him the Empire. An Eagle, when being a Child he was laid in the Field, as his Parents were at work, covered him with her Wings, and being beaten off once or twice still returned to her former Posture. When he was grown up to be a youth, his Father died, and his Mother being left a poor Widow, and not able to maintain him, he went to *Constantinople* to seek a service, where he got into the Family of one *Theophilizes* (so called from his small stature) who was of kin to the Emperour and to *Bardas*, being recommended it's said by him that kept the Church of *St. Diomedes*, to whom they will have it that the Martyr revealed it that he should be Emperour, and commanded him to take him in as he lay at the Gate for want of a better Lodging. *Theophilizes* being much taken with him, for he was tall, beautiful of Body, and wore long curled Hair, being besides very active, and of a very good wit, made him Gentleman of his Horse, which they in those days and places called *Protostrotor*. The Emperour at this time having an unruly Horse, none could tame him, till at length it was effected by *Basilus*, who when he was got loose rode after, and leaping into the Emperour's saddle made him quiet and tractable, which was accounted another Omen, the Imperial trappings and purple Bridle, Ensigns of Majesty, being considered. For this Service and Contemplation of his Dexterity, he was taken amongst the Officers of the Emperour's Stable, and shortly after *Bardas* having out of Jealousie caused the former to be turned out, was made a *Protostrotor* or Master of the Horse a place both very honourable, and which gave him occasion often to be near and converse with him. So much he grew into favour, that *Bardas* began to cast a jealous Eye upon him; as also the Empress *Theodora* her self, by reason of I wot not what secret marks the espied in his Face, which had been formerly described to her by her Husband, as appropriate to him that should put a Period to his Family.

58. But neither her swooning at the sight of these marks, nor all the Caution she could give her Son could in the least diminish his Reputation with him, who after some time preferred him to be Chamberlain, which so enraged *Bardas*, and augmented his jealousy that he sought his destruction; and this being known to the other, impossible it was that both of them could long subsist. But the expedition towards *Crete* gave *Basilus* the Advantage, who as *Cæsar* stood and talked with the Emperour, lift up his Hand in a threatening manner at his back, which the other by chance looking behind him having espied, fell down at the Feet of *Michael*, where the rest of the Conspirators cut him in pieces, but not till the first stroke was given by *Basilus*. Returning then back with the Emperour to *Constantinople*, he received from him in Marriage *Eudocia* the Daughter of *Jucerus*, a Lady much extolled for her Chastity as well as Beauty, and other Qualifications by



*Basilius made Emperor.*

by *Cedrenus*, but *Zonaras* writes, that she was Concubine to *Michael*, and that she was then believ'd with Child by him of *Leo*, who afterward succeeded *Basilius* as his Son. After this the Emperor made him his Collegue, or Emperor causing him to be Crowned by the Patriarch in the Great Church of *St. Sophia*. For after the Death of *Bardas*, the Administration of Affairs having fallen upon *Michael* alone, his Weakness and Debauchery came to be made more publick than ever, no business being dispatched, but all things going to Ruine, which constrained him as stupid as he was to think, of some one who should bear the Burthen. Being eas'd something in his mind by this he returned to his Drunkenness, his driving of Chariots and other loose Courses rather more than ever, and on a time when he had won the prize entertain'd *Basilius* and *Eudocia* at Supper, being grievously incensed against him for rebuking and admonishing him; for in his mad and drunken fits he would command the Ears of some, the Hands others, and sometimes the Heads to be cut off. But there one *Basilius*, of late Master of his Barge, but whom for his comely Person he had made something familiar with him, standing by the Table fell into a great Harangue, wherein he wonderfully extolled him for his skill, and his management of his late exercise in the Cirque. *Michael* being even drunk and much elevated with Commendation, delivers him his Purple shoes, bids him put them on, and salutes him Emperor; at which when he was abashed and looked upon *Basilius*, the Emperor growing angry, *Basilius* beckoned to him to doe as he was bidden. The shoes being on, *Michael* enraged at *Basilius* told him, that these Ensigns of Empire did much more become *Basilius* than him, and asked him whether as he made him Emperor, by the same Authority he might not create another. To this relation of *Zonaras Cedrenus* and *Glycas* add, that as Emperor and more fit than the other he recommended *Basilius* to the Senate. However, *Basilius* saw plainly there was no way but one, he must either strike or be stricken, and therefore making a Party, as *Michael* was drunk another time in the Palace of *St. Mamas*, being led into his Chamber, when he was fast asleep he made sure the Doors, and then came with his Conspirators who being resisted by those that waited without, a noise was made, and the Emperor therewith awak'd. One going in to him with a drawn Sword, cut off both his Hands as he held them up, and therewith returned to his Companions. Not able to go he stumbled, lay roaring on the ground, till another of them thrust his Sword through his Breast, and so opened his Body that his Entrails came out. To such an end came *Michael* surnamed the Drunken, after he had reigned twenty five years and three Months, whereof fourteen years together with his Mother.

*Conspires with others who murder Michael.*

*Basilius sole Emperor.*

*Furnishes his Treasury.*

*Takes care that Justice be strictly administered.*

*Presents cheating.*

59. *Michael* being dead, *Basilius* became sole Emperor by consent of Nobility and People, in the twelfth year of *Ludovicus* the second Emperor of the West, the tenth of *Nicholas* Bishop of *Rome*, the fifteenth Indiction. *A. D.* 867. The first thing he did was to call together the Senators and Magistrates, and to open the Treasury wherein were onely found as we said before three Centenaries. But to know how these vast Sums of Money had been spent, he procured the Accounts of an old Eunuch belonging to the Revenue, and shewed them to the Magistrates and Senate, by whom it was unanimously resolv'd, that those who had received them for such dishonest or frivolous services should refund to the Treasury, which sentence he so far mitigated as to make them pay half, by which means three Hundred Centenaries of Gold were recovered. By this and other Courses very acceptable and honest he so furnished himself, that he made great largesses to the People. Hereby he got great Reputation and Love, which he augmented by bestowing Offices upon his Persons alone, by taking great care for equal and indifferent distribution of Justice, to which end he appointed upright Judges to whom he assigned convenient Salaries, and dividing them into three Courts which he appointed to sit daily in *Magnaura*, the Cirque and *Chalce* or the *Brazen Gate*, which for this purpose he repaired. To such as were poor and unable to be at the expence, he allowed Money for their suits. As his publick Affairs permitted, he himself would attend these matters, and going down to *Genicum* where he exhibited any complaint, he suspected that some of his Officers hindered such as had recourse to Justice, and therefore he sent certain Officers about the City to make inquiry, if there were any that desired to prefer their Petitions, who returning with this answer that they could find none, he wept for joy, and gave God Thanks. Taking notice that the weights and Measures of the City were stamped only

onely with Figures, which wearing out, or ignorant Persons not understanding them, gave opportunity to many Trade-men to cheat, he caus'd instead of Figures the quantity to be express'd in words at length, that any Countryman might read them, and this at his own charge. To these commendations is added by some, that he altered and new modelled the Civil Laws themselves, of which we shall inquire in another place.

*A Conspiracy against him, but discovered and punished.*

*He settles his Family.*

*He wastes the Country near Tephrica.*

*Enters the Territories of Melitena.*

*Thence to the Manichees destroying all things in his return to Constantinople.*

*The Manichees invade the Emperor's Dominions.*

*But are met.*

60. But though he gave content to the generality, all were not satisfied; for in his first year one *George* and *Symbatius*, both Patritians, made a Conspiracy against him, which being revealed by one of the Party, their Eyes were put out, and the rest being shewn up and down in disgrace were sent into Banishment. The better to obviate all Designs, to gain Diadems to his two Eldest Sons *Constantine* and *Leo*, and in his third year to his third Son *Alexander*. His fourth, *Stephen* by Name, he caus'd to take orders with intention to prefer him to be Patriarch, as some have written, and his four Daughters he made Nuns in the Monastery of *Euphemia* the Martyr. Having settled his Domestick affairs as to him seem'd most prudential, he then resolv'd upon War, and finding the usual Number of Souldiers much diminish'd, by reason that *Michael* had otherwise spent their Pay, he took care for making up the several Companies by new Levies. Then went he against *Tephrica*, the Governour of which was one *Chrysobir* a Man of approved Valour and Skill, who had done much mischief by his Inrodes made into the Roman Territories. Upon notice of the Emperor's approach he shut himself up within the Walls, to which *Basilius* purpos'd to lay Siege, but understanding that the Place was strong and well furnished, he wast'd the Country adjacent, and taking three Neighbouring Castles *Abara*, *Coptus* and *Spatha*, he departed thence with much booty. This expedition so terrified *Taurus*, a City not far distant from *Tephrica*, that it made peace with the Emperor, and *Curterius* an *Armenian*, who held a City called *Locana*, and had done great harm in the Roman borders, gave it up into his Hands. In the mean time, a select Party took in *Zaperra* and *Samejata*, where a great Number of Christian Captives were set at liberty, and then passing over *Euphrates* wast'd the Country, and with many Captives and rich Spoils returned to the Emperor, then lying upon the River *Artzannus*. He incouraged by this Success march'd to *Euphrates*, and laying a Bridge over it besides other Acts of Hostility, took a Castle called *Rapacium*, as a Party he sent to harass the Country, lying betwixt *Arfenes* and *Euphrates*, destroyed five other Forts. Entering the Territories of *Melitena*, he killed and took many of those that made opposition, and at first thought of attacking the City, but finding it very strong, and so furnish'd with Provisions as to hold out a very long Siege, he departed into the Country of the *Manichees*, where destroying all things as he pass'd with Fire and Sword he took four Castles, and then returned to *Constantinople*, which entering at the Golden Gate from the *Hebdomus*, he went in triumph accompanied with the Acclamations of the People to the Church of *St. Sophia*, where having given thanks, the Patriarch, according to the Custome, set a Crown upon his Head. This done having diverted himself a little with his Wife and Children in the Palace, he returned to the Cares of the Commonwealt.

61. The year that followed, the *Manichees*, under Command of *Chrysobir*, again made an Inrode and wast'd the Emperor's Dominions, against whom, according to the Custome, he sent the Domestick of the Schools. He with all the Forces that could be made restrain'd their Incurfions as he could, but not daring to hazard all in a Battel, as the Enemy retir'd, sent two Commanders with Orders to follow him at some convenient distance to watch his motions; if he returned to let him know, but if he went directly home then to return back to the Camp. It happened that those two Officers being upon their Duty, and watching the Enemy as he had late done at the Foot of a certain Hill, their two several Parties they commanded, fell into a sharp Contention about their Valour, and which had most deserv'd for their Service in the Field. The Contention continuing, a cunning Fellow amongst them, told them it was vain to contend in words, seeing that so notable an opportunity present'd it self by their Actions, as to declare their Superiority in Courage. The thing took so well, that their Officers resolv'd to make use of this their present Heat, which would receive much advantage from the convenience of the Place, they being upon the higher Ground. The half of their Men six Hundred and no more, they led down against the *Manichees*, and the other order'd to stand upon the Hill, and by making a great Noise to amuse them with apprehension of greater Numbers. By

Bbb

Night

And taken by Night they made their Onset with such Clamour, as put the Enemies into a great Fright, which hindred him from looking about or consulting, and he fairly be- took himself to his Heels. Then was notice sent to the Domestick of the Schools, and pursuit was made for thirty Miles with great Execution. *Chrysochir* himself was slain, and his Head sent to the Emperor, and with him fell the whole Vi- gour and Strength of the *Manichees*, who from *Tephrica* had done so great mis- chief, and *Cameia* their *Metropolis* our Greek Historians call it, or chief City, was presently after destroyed. About which time also *Basilus* recovered *Lulum* a Cas- tle from the *Saracens*; and *Melous* another Fort yielded it self.

Another Con- spiracy, dis- covered and punished.

*Basilus* in- vades Syria.

62. This good success of *Basilus* abroad was envied at home, another Conspi- racy being at this time hatched against him, by one *Curcius* a Patritian; but one of the Number revealed it; *Curcius* had his Eyes put out, and the rest being ig- nominiously beaten and hoven were banished their Country. Having escaped this danger, in the beginning of the Spring with his eldest Son *Constantine* he made an Invasion into *Syria*, and took *Cesarea* the chief City of *Capadocia*, where he staid some time and trained his men. But thence by several Parties sent abroad, he took in several Places, and either caused the Governours of the *Saracens* to run away or to submit; after which he passed over the Rivers *Onopitiles* and *Sardus*, and came to *Cucusus*, and thence through the Straits of the Mountain *Taurus* to the City *Germanicia*, the Inhabitants whereof, as of other Towns, shutting up themselves he wasted the Country about, and having taken a Fort called *Geron*, with all his might fell upon the City *Adapa*. The Inhabitants most valiantly defending themselves, he asked how they could be so confident, seeing such certain destruction to hang over their Heads, to which an Old Man amongst them an- swered, that their City was not to be taken by him at this time, but by one de- scended from him named *Constantine*, therefore they were nothing terrified by this Attempt he made. He replied, that he had a Son there whose Name was *Constantine*, but the Old Man again affirmed, that he was not the Person, but a- nother of that Name and of his Posterity long after should destroy the Place, which enraged *Basilus* so as he indeavoured by all means possible to prove the Prediction false, but his indeavours would not succeed, and the Frost coming on he was forced to rise up and be gone homewards. In his return he caused many of the Prisoners to be killed because they were too numerous, and by several Hostile Acts struck such terror into *Abdelomeleres* a *Saracen* Governour, that he submit- ted himself to him and became his Associate against his own Nation. Coming to *Cesarea* out of *Mesopotamia*, and from elsewhere he received news of good success of his Forces and Multitudes of Captives, whom he commanded to be put to death as Cumberfome and Dangerous. At *Medaus* he rewarded such as had done worthily in this Expedition, and sending the Army into its Winter Quarters returned to *Constantinople*, where he received a Crown from the Patriarch, as the manner was, and was Carested after the usual sort by the Inhabitants.

Returns with vast Spoils to Constantinople.

The *Saracens* beaten by the Conduct of *Andreas*.

63. By this success of his Arms he quite broke the Power of the *Manichees*, or those of *Tephrica*; but the *Saracens* from *Tarsus* began to renew their Hostilities, and rather more than ever to practise their Robberies and Depredations. Against them one *Andreas* a *Scythian* made very strong opposition, and did so eminent service therein, that the Emperor honoured him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and at length made him Domestick of the Schools. Furnished now with great Strength and Authority, he fought several Battels with the *Ameras* of *Tarsus*, wherein he had ever the better, and in one of them slew him who had by a Blas- phemous Letter challenged him to an Engagement. Yet, as Envy is never want- ing to great Achievements, there were some at Court who maligned and accused him to the Emperor, as having had *Tarsus* it self in his power, which he might easily have taken had he not wanted either Courage or Conduct, or both. They perswaded *Basilus* to take away his Command, which was given to one *Stipeus* one of his Accusers, one who made great Brags, and undertook speedily to put the Emperor into possession of *Tarsus*. And thither indeed he led an Army, but managed his matters without any discretion or foresight, and suffered his men to lie in such disorder, that the *Saracens* issuing out frightened them by certain Noises they made, and easily routing put most of them to the Sword, for by the many Over- throws received from *Andreas* they were reduced to so small a Number, that they durst not venture a Battel but were forc'd to use their Wits. Such was the State of Affairs in the East, how they stood in the Western parts we must now discover ac- cording to the measure of our Intelligence.

Pannonia and Dalmatia walked by the *Saracens*.

But somewhat relieved by the Emperor's Forces.

Siege laid to Euripus, but to the great loss of the *Saracens*.

64. All busines, especially Foreign, being neglected by *Michael*, such Parts of *Italy* as had belonged to the Empire, with the *Roman* Pale in *Sicily*, were falln into the hands of the *Saracens* of *Africk*, and made Tributary to those *Barbarians*. Farther, the *Scythians* (so our Authors call them) inhabiting *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the other adjoining Countries, as the *Chrobatæ*, *Servi*, *Zachlubi*, *Ferbania*, *Canalite*, *Diocletiani* and *Rentani*, having been formerly subject to the Empire, had cast off the Yoke and declared themselves free People, against whom the *Saracens* of *Carthage* watching an opportunity, made War, and creating *Goldan*, *Saba*, and *Calphus* their Generals, with a Fleet of six and thirty Ships took several Cities of *Dalmatia*, as *Butama*, *Rosa*, and the lower *Decatara*, and thus prospering they fell upon *Ragysum* the principal City of the Province. The Inhabitants being almost spent with a long Siege sent to *Constantinople* for Relief, begging they might not be necessitated to fall into the hands of the professed Enemies of Christian Religion, and it well happened for them that by this time *Michael* was dead, and *Basilus* in possession of the Government. He commiserating their condition sent away with all expedition possible a Fleet consisting of an hundred Sail under command of *Nicetas Oryphas* a Patritian and the *Drungarius* of *Naval Affairs*, or *Admiral* of the Empire, a prudent and skillfull Person, whose coming the *Saracens* apprehending, raised their Siege, and failing to *Lombardy* seized on a Castle called *Baris*, whence they graped by degrees all the Country about, and extended their power well nigh as far as *Rome* it self. But the *Chro- batæ*, *Servi*, and the rest of the *Scythian* Nations perceiving how well their Neigh- bours in *Dalmatia* had succeeded in sending to the Emperor for aid, by their Mes- sengers craved that they might return into their former Obedience and Protec- tion of the Empire, to which their Petition *Basilus* willingly assented, their Re- covery bringing no little accession to the good Fortune and Glory of his Reign.

65. But the *Saracens* that from *Ragysum* had invaded *Italy*, making great De- vastations in that Country, *Basilus* considered that his Fleet under Command of *Nicetas* was not sufficient for the Enterprize, and therefore he sent to *Dolick* King of *France* (*Lodovick* the Emperor of the West these Greek Authors mean) and to the Pope of *Rome*, so they word it, to desire their Assistance; moreover, those his Subjects that were lately returned to obedience, he desired not to be wanting to so good a work. Hereby a very great Army was got together, wherewith *Baris* was taken with *Soldan*, and such as fought under his Command, whom the King of *France* led away Prisoner unto *Capua*. Here being kept two years, at length he beguiled the King and got his Liberty (as is more proper to be related in another place) and returning into *Africk*, thence brought a great Force against *Capua* (the Inhabitants of which had set him free) and *Beneventum*. Being thus distress- ed they sent to the King for aid, but by the cunning of *Soldan*, having been brought to revolt from him, he refused to give them any, wishing them destruc- tion, and thereupon they sent to *Basilus*, who on the contrary returned them a very comfortable answer. But it happened that the Messenger at his return, was taken by some of *Soldan's* Army, to whom being brought, he told him, That except going to the Walls, he would deliver to his Friends a quite contrary answer, and put them out of all hope of Relief, he should die, which yet he refused, so great was his love to his Country, and telling them truly what he had in charge from the Emperor, was accordingly cut in pieces; after which, the *Soldan* not daring to abide the coming of the Succours, raised his siege and departed. About this time *Esman* the *Ameras* of *Tarsus*, puffed up with his late Victory, sends an Ar- my aboard thirty great Ships (by the *Saracens* called *Camparia*) against the City *Euripus*. But *Basilus* being aware of such an attempt, had ordered *Orneates* the Governour of *Greece*, to have it very well manned, and furnished with all manner of necessities; which rendered *Esman's* attempts ineffectual, so as instead of taking the Town, he lost many Men, and had several of his Ships burned. Enraged heret, and knowing that Gold was wont to operate much, he caused a great quantity thereof to be set before the Wall, together with an hundred most beautifull Captive Virgins, proposing these as a reward to him that should first mount the works and enter. This being taken notice of by the Defendants, they encouraged one another, and setting open all their Gates, made an universal fall, wherein they killed the *Ameras* and many of his followers, and drove away the rest to their Ships, who few in number, with sufficient ignominy, returned home.

66. But this being over, another storm came from *Crete*, the Lord whereof, *Sael* the Son of *Apocasphe*, sent one *Phorius* a stout and skillful Souldier, with seven and twenty *Compagnies*, called also Gallies, against the *Romans*. Such Islands as lye in the *Aegean* Sea and all the Maritime Coasts they wasted as far as *Proconnesus* and the *Hellepont*. But *Nicetas* the Admiral, met with them at *Cardia*, in the mouth of the *Aegean* Sea, and in a sharp Engagement burnt twenty of their Ships, the rest shifting for themselves by flight. Notwithstanding this great defeat, yet they of *Crete* under command of *Phorius*, again Rigged out a Navy, and therewith much distressed the Western parts of *Peloponnesus*. *Nicetas* going against them, found he should loose much time, and perhaps the expedition if he should Coast round about that *Peninsula*, and therefore with admirable industry and expedition, conveyed his Ships over the *Isthmus* or Neck of Land of *Corinth*, and fell upon the Pirates e'er they heard of his coming, of which he killed and took great Numbers, slew their Commander, sunk, burnt, or took many of their Vessels, and forced the rest to run, and hide themselves amongst the Islands where he hunted them out, and such as he could come by, put them to death, by various and exquisite torments. This course had such effect upon the *Saracens* of these Parts, that it made them more backward afterward to invade the *Roman* Countries, but could not so much operate upon those of *Africk*, who with hopes of better success set forth a Fleet consisting of sixty Ships, of unusual bigness, wherewith they did very much mischief, roving as far as the Island *Cephalonia* and *Zacynthus*. Against them was sent *Nasar*, or (as *Zonaras* calls him *Marbar*) the successour of *Nicetas*, who hasted with a very strong Fleet to *Narbar*, but thence so many of his men ran away, that he durst not venture to engage, his Ships were so unmanned. This he signified to the Emperor, who presently thought of this device. Thirty *Saracens* then Prisoners at *Constantinople*, having their Faces besmeared so as they could not be known, he caused to be led into the Cirque, and there whipped, thence to be sent into *Peloponnesus*, as if they had been the Authors of the Defection, and there to be nailed to Crosses, in the place whence it must be imagined that they fled. This struck such fear into all the Seamen and Souldiers, that it did the work, and they earnestly desired to be led against the Enemy, to which he readily assented, as soon as he had from *Peloponnesus* sufficiently furnished himself, and given order to the Governour to meet and assist him.

67. The *Saracens* were much elevated at this delay of the *Romans*, and as fully secure left their Ships, and were intent upon Rifling and Pillage at Land, when *Nasar* by night, and unexpectedly fell upon their Fleet, and sunk, burnt or took all their Vessels; such as remained he offered to God at the Church of *Metibona*. The Emperor much commending his Conduct, ordered him to proceed in the hunting of these Pirates; whereupon he sailed to *Scily*, where he destroyed such Ships as the *Saracens* had hired, and took many Vessels full fraught with Merchandise, especially with Oil, of which by this means he caused such plenty, that a pound thereof was sold for no more than an *obolus*. From *Scily* he proceeded to the Coasts of *Italy*, where joining with the Emperor's Land Forces, commanded by *Procopius* his *Protovestiarius* or Gentleman of his Wardrobe, and *Leo* a Patritian, the Governour of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, did very commendable Service. For another *African* Fleet was defeated at the Island *Stele*, and most of the Forts in *Calabria* and *Lumbarly*, were taken from the *Saracens*, which done, *Nasar* returned victoriously to *Constantinople*. After his departure, things went not so well in *Italy*, where the two Commanders, *Procopius* and *Leo* falling out, and an Engagement happening with the Enemy, *Leo* was so far transported with Anger and Revenge, as to suffer the other to perish in the Battel for want of help, when he might easily have relieved him, having the better of the *Saracens* in that Wing where he fought. He endeavoured to make amends by his good Service in taking the Castle of *Tarentum*, and sending the Plunder to *Basilus*, but he understanding the manner of *Procopius*'s Death, would not so let it pass, but banished *Leo*, some of whose Servants presently accused him of Treason, and for that were killed by *Bardas*, and *David* his Sons. Fearing punishment, they fled with their Father towards *Syria*, but were overtaken in *Cappadocia* by some of the Emperor sent to pursue them. Refusing to yield, the two Sons were slain in the place. The Father was brought back to *Constantinople*, and Sentenced by the Judges to loose one Eye and one Hand, which being executed, he was banished to *Mejembria*, and there spent his days.

Which caused the *Saracens* to desert from invading the *Roman* Territories in the West.

Those of *Africk* make an invasion.

But are beaten by *Nasar*, General to the Emperor.

Who returns to *Constantinople* in triumph.

Mem. de l'Emp. de Basile, de la guerre de l'Asie, et de la guerre de l'Afrique.

Syracuse besieged and taken by the *Saracens*, through the neglect of *Adrian* the Roman General.

Stephen, another General banished for the like fault.

Cedrenus led to *Basilus* his charge.

68. While the Emperor's Officers were thus employed in the West, the *Saracens* of *Africk* thinking him careless, and unprovided at home, from *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, got Ships together, and made up a considerable Navy, yet resolving to elude out the condition of *Basilus*, before they would attempt any thing, but the Spye returning, acquainted them how he kept many Men in readiness for any occasion, and employed them in Building of Churches and other Works to keep them in Action, which understood they desisted from their Enterprise. They of *Carthage*, had prepared a Fleet to defend themselves, imagining *Basilus* would make War upon them, but when they found no such thing, concluding that he was diverted by some other Enemies, they sailed over to *Sicily*, and besieged *Syracuse*, to assistance whereof, one *Adrian* a Patritian was sent, but he either wanted Wind, or loitered so by the way, that at *Peloponnesus* he heard that the City was taken (the story went as first told by Spirits) which the Infidels destroyed, together with all the Churches. *Adrian* having certain Intelligence by some that had escaped, how he should come too late, and was prevented, returned with the Fleet to *Constantinople*, and took Sanctuary in the Great Church, but was thence taken and sent into Banishment. Much after the same manner miscarried one *Stephen* a *Cappadocian*, who with a select number of *Thracians*, *Macedonians* and *Cappadocians*, was sent into *Lombardy*, but minding nothing but his ease and luxury, he was turned out of Command, and one *Nicephorus* *Plocas* sent in his Room, (a valiant and worthy Person) with a new supply, and a Party of *Manichees*, formerly belonging to *Chrysoschir*. Joining these with the Forces of *Stephen*, he obtained many Victories over the *Saracens*, taking several Towns, as *Amantia*, *Tropæ* and *St. Severina*. These were the Wars managed by *Basilus*, in the several Quarters of the World.

69. Otherwise he most employed himself in the Building or Repairing of Churches, of which *Cedrenus* reckons up a great number, besides other expenses upon the Imperial Palaces, much admiring him for his Prudence and Goodness, whereas *Zonaras* rather taxeth him for his toiling of his Subjects in such works, and inflicts most upon the Churches, built to *St. Michael*, as provoked to so much expense upon them by the flings of his Conscience, to expiate as it were the Murder of the Emperor *Michael*, his Master and Benefactor. Two things besides that there are upon Record against him, which cannot be excused, whereof the one was his being in a manner bewitched by the cheating tricks of a certain Monk called *Theodorus* *Sandabareus*, who after he had lost one Son, had almost procured him to make away the other. His Eldest Son *Constantine* being dead, his thoughts and hopes were fixed upon *Leo* the second Brother, yet so he could not cease from mourning for *Constantine*, and was so fond as to desire he might have his shape, as alive, represented to him. This it's said, this *Sandabareus* being a Conjuror, undertook, causing a *Spectrum* in his shape to meet him on Horseback, which he embraced and killed. However it was, this Monk got very much into his favour, and often deluded him by his cheating tricks, which *Leo* his Son could not but take notice of, often exclaiming against him as a Mountebank and Impostour; The Monk for this bore him a Mortal grudge, resolving to be revenged of him, but concealed his Malice, and carried it fair towards him, the better to bring about his Design. He persuaded him when he went abroad with his Father, to carry a knife along with him, therewith to serve his Father in hunting, if need were, or if any Treason should be committed against him, that he might be in a capacity the better to assist him.

70. The young man not knowing his drift, and thinking it no imprudent advice, the next time he went abroad put a knife into his Boot, which the Monk understanding, and how his device took, then betook himself to the Father, telling him that his Son *Leo* had resolved to kill him, and for that purpose that he might not doubt thereof, came prepared with a knife into the Field. The old man's jealousy is easily kindled, the young man is searched and the knife found, whereupon he is committed to close Prison, in an apartment of the Palace, where his Eyes had been put out at the instigation of the Monk, had not the Patriarch and the Senators made vigorous opposition. But for a long time in Prison he continued, notwithstanding all intercession used in his behalf, so powerful was the suspicion of *Basilus*, till on a solemn day, entertaining some of the Nobility at dinner, there was a Parrat hung up in a Cage, which, in imitation of some one he had heard, lamented the young Prince his condition, saying often, *Alas, my Lord Leo*? This occasion the Senators took to renew their solicitation to the Emperor in behalf of his Son, for whom they undertook to answer, as if the

Bird

Basilus eyes

Bird it self did reprehend them for their neglect, and the good nature of *Basilus* was now so much wrought upon, that he set him at liberty, and restored him to his former place and favour. *Basilus* not long after died, when he had Reigned eighteen years ten months and seven days, by himself, and about one year with *Michael*. About the cause of his death there is some difference; *Cedrenus* writes, that he died of a *Diarrhoea*, but *Zonaras* tells us another story of his going to hunt, and how a certain Deer, more stout than ordinary, making resistance, thrust his horn under his girdle, and lift him up from the ground, bringing him into danger of his Life, which was saved by one of his Followers, who drew his Sword and cut the girdle. He adds, that instead of rewarding the man, he caused his Head to be cut off, as having drawn his Sword against the Emperor. Of this, *Cedrenus* is silent, and so *John Curopalates*, who mentions also the Flux he died of, though *Zonaras* attributes his death to an hurt received from the Deer. Least of all is that story to be believed of him that he should make a vow, that if he could conquer and reduce the *Bulgarians*, he would turn Monk, and having conquered them in effect, performed it, abstaining from all flesh (both of Woman and Beast) ever after, though he still used the Imperial Ensigns. Take it all together, his Government was successful and easy to his People, which we may believe, though we gave no credit to what *Cedrenus* farther hath in his commendation, that when the Senators advised him to fend some Officers down into the Provinces, who should be severe in exacting the publick Revenue, he would not permit any such strict inquisition to be made.

Leo succeeds.

71. *Basilus* being dead, *Leo* the Sixth of that Name, succeeded him in the sixth year of *Charles* the third Emperor of the West, the second of *Stephen* the Sixth Bishop of *Rome*, the fourth Indiction. A.D. DCCCLXXXVI. He succeeded him as his Son, though as to his Birth, *Glycas* bids us observe that the Writers of *Annals* differed amongst themselves. For *Seylitzes* wrote, that the Emperor *Mina* left no Natural Issue, such as are much given to Drink seldom being able to get Children, as he tells us that Men skillful in those matters affirm. But to *Zonaras*, that he was indeed the Son of *Michael*, and in the opinion of the world the Son of *Basilus*. His severity to him so long in restraint, may a little increase the suspicion that he thought him not his own, and yet scarcely would he have left him the Empire, having other Sons, except he did it to make amends for the death of *Michael*. However, as to his Son, he left him very good Instructions, whereof some had Relation to his Faith and to the Church, and others to his universal good behaviour. And as a great means for his Information and Direction of his Life, he charged him to be constant in reading ancient Histories, wherein with little labour he should find what others with great pains had laid together. There be should have a view of the virtues of good, and the vices of bad Men, with the several changes incident to humane Life, the vicissitude of Affairs, and Inconstancy of all worldly things, as also how prone Empire and Sovereignty it self is to Appear decay and perish. In short, he should therein receive the rewards of good Actions, and the punishment of Wickedness, to learn to obtain the one and avoid the other. *Leo*, so far observed these Precepts, as by his Study, at least to obtain so much Theory, that for his extraordinary knowledge he got the Surname of Philosopher. How he observed them as to practice the History of his Actions, will best declare, though by *Curopalates*, and the rest of the Writers, who have taken in a manner all from him, though it be most obscurely and confusedly delivered.

Obtains the Surname of Philosopher.

Animadverts upon Sandabareus.

Removes the Body of Michael the Emperor to Constantinople.

72. The first thing that *Leo* did, was to be revenged of *Sandabareus*, in order to which he removed *Photius* from the Patriarchal See, as one that bore him good will, and had consulted with him for the promotion of a Kinsman of his own to the Empire; *Sandabareus* he caused after Judgment to be ignominiously and grievously Whipped, though a Bishop, and thence Banished to *Athens*, where having his Eyes put out, he was sent into the East, though long after he recalled him; and ordered him maintenance from the New Church; he outlived *Leo*, Dying in the Reign of *Constantine* his Son. While he was intent upon this course of Revenge, he sought to get Reputation, and make amends for his Father's fault by taking up the Body of *Michael* the Emperor out of the Monastery at *Chrysopolis*, and conveying it to *Constantinople*, attended by a number of Priests, Torches and Candles, perfumed with sweet Odours, placed in a Coffin of Cypress wood, and graced with all Rites and Ceremonies suiting the Place and Dignity which he bore. Being at the City received by the Emperor's Brothers, viz. *Alexander* and *Stephen* (whom he had made Patriarch in the room of *Photius*) with Singing and other

Historia Acquisita, Apud Patrum Regnum.

Evocare ut unquam cessi, Regni, ut enim reperies, fce laboris, &amp;c. ad An. 886.

The Saracens make an Inroad into the Empire.

other Solemnities it was intombed in the Church of the Apostles in a Marble Monument. While he thus employed himself, the *Saracens* the Enemies of the Empire were not idle; but took the uppermost City, lying upon the River *Charisius*, making Prisoners all the Inhabitants. And at the same time happened a Fire in the Southern Part of *Constantinople*, which with other Buildings, consumed the Church of *St. Thomas* the Apostle, repaired afterward by the Emperor with very great charge.

A War with the Bulgarians.

The Romans are beaten.

Upon which Leo desires the Turks to invade Bulgaria.

Who Defeat the Bulgarians, and force Simeon to desire Peace of the Emperor.

73. In the second year of *Leo*, the Greek Historians to whom those of *Italy* herein bear no Testimony, tell us, that *Angusus* Son-in-Law of the King of *France*, and Captain or Governour of *Lombardy*, having notice of the Death of *Basilus*, fell off from the *Romans*, and subjected all the Countrey to the obedience of himself. Against him was sent *Constantine*, a Patriarch and Overseer of the Emperor's Table, with the Western Forces, but he received a total Defeat, losing all his Army, and escaping himself with much difficulty. About the same time the Sun suffered so great an Eclipse, that the Stars were seen at Noon, and terrible Thunder and Lightning followed, with the force of which seven Men were killed in the Forum upon the Stairs of *Constantine*. Then was *Saxius* Besieged by the *Saracens*, and the Emperor being exceedingly enamoured of a certain Lady called *Zoe*, gave a new and unheard-of Title to her Father *Zantzas*, of Father to the Emperor, having formerly made him *Magister*, and *Logotheta Dromi*. This *Zoe* was esteemed the most Beautiful Woman of her time, and had been Married to a Patriarch called *Theodorus Guniazirzas*, but he being removed it's said by Poison, *Leo* used her as his Concubine in the lifetime of his Wife *Theophania*. The year that followed happened a Quarrel and War with the *Bulgarians* upon this occasion. There was an Eunuch, *Musius* by Name, belonging to *Zantzas*, who being very intimate with the Chief Merchants of the City, by his Interest with his Master procured the Mart of the *Bulgarians* to be removed from *Constantinople* to *Thessalonica* on a sudden, and these Merchants by whom the Design was contrived to be made Officers and Receivers of the Customs, who imposed grievous and unusual burthens upon those of that Nation, and quitted them out of their Traffick. *Simeon* their Prince, who sought all ways possible of picking a Quarrel with the *Romans*, made complaint hereof to the Emperor, who by the suggestions of *Zantzas*, having his ears stopped to all that could be urged, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, and took Arms against him.

74. *Leo* having Intelligence hereof, prepared also for War, and sent an Army against him, under Command of *Procopius Crenites*, with whom he joyined one *Curtigius* an Armenian. In *Macedonia* the Armies met, but the *Romans* were overthrown, and their Generals slain; such Prisoners as *Simeon* took he cut off their Noses, and so sent them in scorn to *Constantinople*. *Leo* most grievously nettled with this Affront, sent one *Nicetas* a Patriarch to the *Turks* or *Ungri* (*Hungarians*) to persuade them to pass the River, and invade the *Bulgarians*, which they readily undertaking, he resolved also to fall upon them on the other side. His Fleet he committed to the care and Conduct of *Eustathius*, a Patriarch and Drungarius; and his Land Army to *Nicephorus Phocas* a Patriarch, whom after the Death of *Andreas* he had made Domestick of the Schools; yet having a mind still more desirous of Peace, he sent to *Simeon* one *Constantinacius* about that Affair, whom he imagining to be sent only to put a trick upon him, for *Nicephorus* was now at hand, committed to Prison *Simeon*, preparing himself to meet and engage *Nicephorus*: the *Turks* (so they call them) pass the River, and waste all *Bulgaria*; which he understanding, omits his Design of meeting him, and marches directly against them. They readily engaging with him, defeat his Army, he with much ado escaping to *Dorsifolum*, otherwise called *Drifta*. The *Turks* being Conquerours, desired of the Emperor that he would buy of them their *Bulgarian* Prisoners, which he did, sending some on purpose to drive the Bargain. *Simeon* his matters going so ill, desired Peace of the Emperor, to which he being sufficiently inclined, sent one *Leo Chirospaphetes* with sufficient Instructions for concluding of it, and ordered *Phocas*, with *Eustathius* the Drungarius to return Home with the Forces. But now the cunning *Bulgarian* seeing himself freed from great Danger, cast the Ambassador into Prison, and with a great Army suddenly fell upon the *Turks* or *Ungarians* and defeated them, which done, he wasted their Countrey, the Emperor not being in a capacity to send them Relief, by reason of the shortness of the warning. Now puffed up at his success, he writes to the Emperor, that he would not in any case admit of Peace, except first the *Bulgarian* Captives were set at liberty, to which he yielded, receiving

Kaisersheimen Oecumenorum por-significat.

ceiving back his Ambassadour, with whom came one *Theodorus* to receive the Prisoners.

75. The Prisoners returned, and yet *Simon* would not accept of Peace, which enraged *Leo* to that height, that he was resolved with all the Power he could make to chastize, and if possible, utterly to destroy him. This Army he committed to *Catacalon* (a man lately preferred to be Domestick of the Schools, in the room of *Nicephorus Phocas*, whom *Zantzas*, because out of fear of the Emperour, he refused to become his Son-in-law, had procured to be discharged that Office) and *Theodosius* a Patritian, and the *Potrefestarius*, who giving Battle to *Simon*, were defeated by him, with great slaughter of their men, with whom fell also *Theodosius*. This Disaster abroad was followed by an imminent Danger at home from a Conspiracy, while he used the company of *Zoe* the Daughter of *Zantzas* in the Country. She happened to overhear the Conspirators Discourse, and awaking the Emperour, caused him to shift for himself, which he did by returning to his Palace by water. *John* the *Drungarius* of *Bigle*, who then Commanded the Guards, he put out of his Place, for having Watched no better; and it seems he had *Zantzas* himself suspected, for he was sorely displeased with him, we are told, and was at length brought to a Reconciliation by the means and solicitation of *Leo Theodotaces* the *Magister*, and an intimate Friend to them both.

Yet that excellent Lady *Theophano* his Empress being Dead, he Married *Zoe* his Daughter, who was formerly his Concubine, and let the Diademe on her Head, in which the joyed not long, dying after a year and eight months. She being Dead, another Conspiracy was hatched by a Kinsman of her, by Name *Basilius*, the *Pelles*, as *Zonaras* calls him, or *Epeistes* of the Emperour, as *Cedrenus* hath it, who communicated his Design to *Samonas* the Chamberlain, under an Oath of secrecy. But he, though a *Saracen* by Birth, revealed the matter; whereupon *Basilius* was sent into *Macedonia*, as there to celebrate the obsequies of *Zoe*, and at his return subjected to Examination and Tryal, together with his Complices, by which being found Guilty, he was led ignominiously through the City, and Banished to *Athens*. The good service of *Samonas* was so far applauded by the Senate, that they gave him thanks, and judged him fit for the greatest preferment: and the Emperour who had made a Relation of it to the Fathers, so far approved their judgment, that he made him presently *Protospatharius*, and began to use him very familiarly. Now about this time did *Leo* Marry a third Wife, a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, by Name *Eudocia*; but she died not very long after in Childbed, together with her Infant, in which and other of his first Wife *Theophano* he now Built and Dedicated a Church, in which and other Buildings while he employed his Seamen, a Fleet of *Saracens* took *Taurominum* in *Sicily*, with great slaughter of the *Romans*, and made themselves Masters of *Lemnos*, whence they led away a great multitude of Captives.

The *Saracens* make an Invasion.

*Leo* like to be  
Braind.

Another In-  
vasion by the  
*Saracens*.

76. To *Leo* it ordinarily happened that one mischief did not come alone; for at the same time that his Subjects suffered these things in other Parts, he himself escaped narrowly with his Life at *Constantinople*. It was the Custom on *Whit-Sunday* to make a solemn Procession to the Church of *St. Mocius*. He being present thereat, just as he entred the Church, a certain Fellow assaulted him with a great Club, and striking him on the Head had killed him outright, but that a Candlestick hanging in the way kept off part of the Blow; but as it was fetched blood in abundance. *Alexander* his Brother being not at the Solemnity, was suspected by many as guilty of the Contrivance; but the Man, though grievously tortured, accused no Man, and therefore no farther inquisition was made, he having his Hands and Feet chopped off, and so burnt alive in the Cirque. The Emperour no sooner recovered, but being now a Widower, and having himself much dabled in Astrology, as well as hunted after the Opinions of others, who affirmed he should have a Son to succeed him, applied his mind to new loves, and shortly after Married another *Zoe*, called *Carbonophana*, from the place of her Nativity or abode, who lived with him a good space before he set the Diademe on her Head, not till he had brought him a Son, which he called *Constantine*. But his Nuptial Joys were presently allayed by ill News he received from Sea, where now the *Saracens* having taken Encouragement from the Hostility which the *Bulgarians* exercised, tyrannized exceedingly, and under Conduct of one *Leo Attaleus* a Renegade of *Tripolis* did great mischief upon the Coasts, who threatened *Constantinople* it self with speedy Destruction; the Emperour upon the News dispatched away *Eustathius* his *Drungarius* of the Fleet, who finding himself too weak for *Leo*, returned, but with him at his back, for he followed him into the mouth of the *Hellespont*, and proceeded on as far as *Parium*.

77. This

Upon which  
*Leo* sends a  
Land Army  
into the East  
who perform  
great Execu-  
tion.

77. This much disturbed the Emperour, he sent away *Himerius* his Principal Secretary with the Fleet, who found out the Renegade, but finding him superior to him in Numbers and his Men more courageous, he durst not venture upon an Engagement, but suffered the *Saracens* quietly to return and lay Siege to *Thessalonica* which they took, shed much blood and made many Prisoners. A little before it fell out, that one *Rhodophyllus* one of the Bedchamber, travelling upon publick business for *Sicily*, with an Hundred Pounds of Gold fell sick by the way, and for his ease and recovery was forced to take in at *Thessalonica*, where *Leo* the Renegade finding him tortured him to death, to force him to betray this Treasure into his Hands. But indeed the Money he had left by the way, which was taken up by *Simon* one of the Secretaries, who had other occasion to travel on that Road. He perceiving *Leo* resolved to destroy that City, perswaded him to accept of the Money as a Ransome of it, which the Emperour took so well from him, that he rewarded him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and of Principal Secretary. The *Saracens* having left *Thessalonica*, *Himerius* prepared to pursue them, but they failed to the life of *Crete*, and there having left part of their booty, departed home unmolested leaving him idle at *Lemnos*. The Emperour not able to grapple with them at Sea, sent two of the greatest Captains he had by Land into the East, *Eustathius Argyrus*, and *Andronicus Ducas* who so managed their Affairs, that they got many Victories. In the mean time *Gamonas*, who, as we said, had discovered the Treason intended against the Emperour's Person, and for that was with him in great esteem, veiled a *Saracen's* mind under the habit and shew of a Christian and a Roman, and pretending a Journey to his Monastery (of his own founding it seems) endeavoured with much Money and Horle to escape into his own Country, and lest he should be pursued, hamstring'd, the publick Post-Horses in the way. *Leo* sent several after, but at the River *Halys* he was taken and stopt by *Nicephorus Caminas* the *Drungarius*, though he used many Intreaties, and offered a great reward to be let pass. When he saw he could not escape, he then pretended that he was on his way towards the Cross of *Siracha*, there to discharge himself of a Vow he had made, but for all that *Constantinus Ducas* brought him to *Constantinople*. There *Leo* ordered him to be kept in the House of *Bardas Caesar*, and caused *Constantine* to tell another Tale in the Senate, how indeed he was going to the aforesaid Cross to pay his Vow. The next day calling the Senate together, he caused *Constantine* to swear by God and the Emperour's Life, and then asked him the question whether *Samonas* was going into *Syria*. He resolving not to forswear himself, openly protested that he fled toward *Melitena* his own Country. Hereat the Emperour was angry, and having kept *Samonas* for some space in custody, set him afterwards at Liberty, and restored him to his former Dignity and Place. *Zonaras* adds, that he made him a Patritian, and designed him to the Office of Chamberlain.

*Leo* excom-  
municated for  
marrying  
thrice.

78. Not long after, at the Birth of his Son *Constantine* a Comet appeared, casting its Tail toward the East for forty Days. *Zoe* his Wife he now declared Empress, for which the Patriarch excommunicated him, or forbade him as they term it entrance into the Church, so as he was forced to go on the right side to the *Mitatorium*. Hereat grievously offended, he yet earnestly begged of him that he might be restored to Christian Communion, and when all this was to no purpose, resolved to exercise his Authority over the Priest, so as to correct him for his Arrogance, and sent him as a banished Man into a Monastery. In his Room he made Patriarch one *Euthimius Syncellus*, who it seems took off the Ecclesiastical Censure, but whenas by the Advice of his Nobility, he was about to publish an Edict, to make it lawful to marry three or four Wives, he vehemently withstood, and prevented it, so nice and severe was this Age in the Point of Marriage. For, Reader, neither the Practice nor Design of *Leo*, was to have or allow more than one Wife at a time, but successively after the death of the former. Yet must not this be allowed to him, though some of his Wives lived not long with him after Marriage. But the truth is, he led aside by the Humour of the Ecclesiasticks, who all along by a great Fatality had been from the time of *Constantine the Great*, inclined to the Commendation of Celibate and Aversion to Marriage, he made formerly an Edict (a) against the Multiplicity of Marriage, thus que fecundo nubis, privabantur enim nonnulli benedictione secundas nuptias. Vide Aug. serm. 243. Ambros. in Cap. 7. 1. ad Corinth. & in 3. Cap. 1. ad Corinth. Concil. Lateranense sub Alexandro 3. Tit. de secund. nuptiis. c. 1. Gelasius. in locum.

(a) Leonis con-  
stit. q. que sic  
incipit ope-  
rabat noi.

Ccc

nonis,

The *Saracens* again renew their Incurfions, but are beaten by one of the Generals to the Emperour.

nons, of which now he late enough repented. This same year the *Saracens*, fet out a Fleet against the Emperor's Subjects, against whom he sent *Himerius the Logotheta Dromi*, and with him joined *Andronicus Ducas*, the Father of *Constantine* formerly mentioned. *Samonas* bearing implacable hatred to this Family, for his being intercepted by *Constantine* on his way homeward, bribed a familiar Friend of *Andronicus* to write to him, that he should by no means adventure to join in the Enterprize with *Himerius*, who had order from the Emperor to put out his Eyes, assoon as he could have an Advantage to doe it. *Andronicus* believing this story, refused to accompany *Himerius* in the Expedition, who engaged without any Collegue with the Enemy, and gave him a very notable Defeat.

79. *Andronicus* awakened with this his Succes, and sensible of his Errour, out of desperation, seized upon a Castle situate about *Iconium* called *Cabala*, and considered how to revolt. His Enemy now incessantly plied the Emperour with complaints against him, urging his Treachery and Designed rebellion, upbraided him for not having secured him before he escaped his Hands, and importuning him at least to obviate, and lessen this growing Mischief. Overcome with his Suggestions, he sent against *Andronicus*, *Therizus Gregoras*, the Domestick of the Schools, and one allied to him, with a strong Army, which he understanding, and how *Nicolas* the Patriarch, his principal Friend was cast out of the Church, he fled with all he had to the *Saracens*, and was kindly received by the *Amermunes*. This much disturbed *Leo*, when he considered both what a Subject he had lost, and an Enemy he had created to himself, and if possible he resolved to get him back. He wrote Letters to him, wherein he promised both oblivion of what was past, restitution to his former Dignity and Estate, and much more Encouragement, and more kindness than he had ever yet received. But the Messenger, a Captive *Saracen*, was perwaded by *Samonas* not to deliver the Letters to *Andronicus*, but discover the Contents of them to the *Amermunes*, who thereupon cast *Andronicus* and his Followers into Prison, where they endured much and long misery; and of them some abjured their Religion to be rid of their Chains, he himself perished without Redemption. But his Son *Constantine*, with divers of the other Prisoners made his escape, and though pursued sometimes by fighting, and otherwhiles by casting Gold in the way, and thereby diverting the greedy Souldiers, got safe to *Constantinople*, where the Emperour conferred great Gifts upon him, and seated him in the Golden Room. It's said, that as he was departing out at the Gate, *Leo* called him back again, and advised him, that by reason of his Name he should never take the Confidence to aim at the Sovereignty, for he was very well assured by such as could foretell things of this Nature, that *Constantine* his young Son was destined of God to the Empire. But if not content with his former Condition, he should make any Attempt that way, his Head for certain should be cut off, and brought thorough that Gate in its Gore, which the Event confirmed.

80. Much about this time, out of some jealousy he had conceived *Leo* put *Eutathius* the *Magister*, and *Drungarius Bigle* out of his Place, whereupon he retired and died by poison, being much regretted by the Souldiers, both by Sea and Land. For he was an extraordinary Man, who brought the surname of *Argyros* or *Silver* to his Family, either by reason of the Purity of his Life, the beauty of his Body, or the lustre of his valiant Actions, wherein he so far exceeded all others of his time, and during the Reign of *Michael*, that with Slaves and Dependants alone, he kept in awe the *Manichees of Tephrica*, and the *Saracens of Melitena*. *Leo* was not so ferver to him, as indulgent in the other extreme to *Samonas* the *Saracen*, whose Father together with one *Abelaces*, sent from *Melitena* and *Tarsus*, he entertained in the Palace of *Magnaura*, with all Magnificence imaginable. And what was thought not suitable to Men of their Religion, shewed them all the Treasure and Furniture of the great Church. The old Man was so much taken with the splendid condition of his Son, that he would have staid at *Constantinople*, and been partaker of his good Fortune; but *Samonas* would not permit it, desiring him to go into his own Countrey, and persevere in his own Religion, assuring him that he would follow him with the first opportunity. Now on *Whitsunday*, *Leo* cauled his Son *Constantine* to be Crowned by the Hands of *Eutymius* the Patriarch. And the Confidence of *Samonas* was by his immoderate Favour grown to that height, as being jealous of a new Favourite named *Constantine* a *Paphlagonian* by birth, which he himself had given to the Emperess, he both accused her as being too familiar with him, and made a scurrilous Libel

Upon which  
the other re-  
volt to the  
*Saracens*.

Where he dies  
miserably.

## CHAP. I.

The Saracens  
infest the Sea  
Coasts and  
beat the Em-  
perour's Ad-  
miral.

Leo dies.

against the Emperour, who upon Inquisition finding him to be Author of it, caused him to be shaven for a Monk, and made *Constantine* whom at his Suggestions being shaven, he had retaken out of the Monastery, Chamberlain in his stead. About this time the *Saracens* sent out three Hundred Ships under conduct of one *Damianus a Tyrian*, and *Leo of Tripolis*, which committing the usual Hostilities, *Himerius* the Admiral was sent against them, and engaged with them at *Samus*, but was beaten, put to flight, and hardly escaped to *Metlena*. The Emperour not long after was seized with the Colick, and brought to low with it, that he could not make his usual Speech in the time of Lent, but calling together the Senate recommended to their gratitude and care his Wife and Son, telling them he should hardly hold out so long as *Ezfer*. Yet he lived till the Eleventh of *May*, and then dying left the Empire to his Brother *Alexander*, whom with all Earnestness, he desired carefully to educate his Son *Constantine*, to use him as became his Quality, and to leave him his Successour. He reigned two and twenty Years, three Months and four Days.

81. We have brought *Leo* to his end, yet have not done with him, as neither with *Basilius* his Father, and that upon account of a remarkable Alteration made by them in the Laws of the Empire, of which we must necessarily give the Reader an Account. He is then to know, that the Civil Law with so great Care and Industry modelled a-new by *Justinian* was in great danger, not long to survive the Author. For besides that came not into *Italy*, and the Western European Nations for the space of five Hundred years after his death; being suppressed or kept out by the particular Laws and Customs of the Barbarous Nations which had lately possessed these Parts, as the *Goths*, *Lombards*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, and others, in the City and Empire of *Constantinople* it self, either through the neglect or envy of the Emperours, scarcely for forty years did it continue in any considerable Authority. Indeed through the Reigns of *Justin*, *Tiberius* and *Mauricius*, his Books were received both in the Schools and Courts of Justice, and in *Latin* as they were written, and in the same Language was Justice administered, the Decrees of Magistrates and the Resolutions of Judges published, such honour and respect being as yet given to the Tongue of the *Romans*, to the Valour and Conduct of whom so great Dominion was to be ascribed. But *Mauricius* being murdered, *Phocas* and his Successours had little care either for Preservation of the Language or the Laws, and though the Empire was still called the *Roman* Empire, and their Writers are very careful to give the Name of *Romans* all along to the Emperour's Subjects, even so far that if they and the *Italians* be mentioned together, yet by *Romans* they ever mean such as were subject to the Constantinopolitan Empire wherever they lived, yet however, *Latin* grew out of use, the *Greek* Tongue being native to the Place (though exceedingly mixed with *Latin* words) drove the practice of it out by Degrees; Generally in other Countries the Emperours were known by the Name of *Greek* Emperours; and some of them vaunted themselves, as the Successours of *Alexander the Great*.

82. By these means the Books of *Justinian*, written first in *Latin*, because little regarded, yet of some use they were for two hundred years, till the time of *Basilus Macedo*, the Father of *Leo*. For they had been either in the lifetime of *Justinian* himself, or shortly after translated into *Greek*, as the Code and the Pandects by *Thalelaus* an Antecessor, and the Institutions by *Theophilus*, and besides these, many other Books of the Ancient Lawyers, out of which the Pandects had been Composed. Out of these Translations then and the Constitutions of such Emperours as succeeded *Justinian*, was Justice administered, so it was, till the time of *Basilus*, though the knowledge and practice of the Law were both very small, for the Reasons now mentioned, and the continual Irruptions and Desolations made by the *Saracens*, during which like disturbances, Laws are wont to make but little noise. But *Basilus* being a Man of Spirit far above his Birth and Breeding, and having good success against the Infidels, as our Historians write, set upon the work of making and reforming Laws. He was moved by this reason, as they tell us, because he perceived the Civil Laws to be very confused and obfure; therefore he resolved to purge them by abrogating the unprofitable ones, by making shorter such as were tedious, and otherwise, of which Defect Death preventing the accomplishment, it was perfected by *Leo* his Son. Later writers

*Vide Fabrot. in Edit. Basilic. Baldwin.  
in proleg. ad Instit.  
Duckjum de usu & authorit. Juris Civi-  
lis. Lib. 1. cap. 5.*

Ἄλλα καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς νόμος, πολλὰν ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ σύγχυσιν ἔχοντας ἰδὼν, καὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς φόβον ἐπαναστασάτω ἔσπειναι, &c.  
Cedrenus in Basilio.

*Basilius* and  
*Leo* new mo-  
del the Civil  
Law.

C c c 2

ascribe



ascribe to his envy at the glory of *Justinian*, what the other attribute to a kind of necessity, and they impute it to his desire, that his Name with his Books should be obliterated and quite forgotten. Out of what principle soever it was, he with his Sons, *Constantine* and *Leo*, first published an Epitome of *Justinian's* Code, which he called *Procheiron*, and afterward sixty Books called *Basilica*, composed out of the Books of the said Emperour, his thirteen Edicts after the publication of his Novels, with the Novel Constitutions of *Justin* and the following Emperours. These alone had the Force of Laws so long as the Eastern Empire it self lasted, and *Justinian* his Books were quite laid aside, both in the Schools and the Courts of Justice.

83. Now these Books of the *Basilica*, (a) some attribute to *Leo*, and others (b) to *Basilus* himself, to whom *Leo* also ascribes them, and indeed this controversy may easily be decided by what we have lately said from the *Greek* Historians, that *Basilus* began, and *Leo* perfected the work; so that both Father and Son had an

also ascribes them, and indeed this controversy may easily be decided by what we have lately said from the *Greek* Historians, that *Basilus* began, and *Leo* perfected the work; so that both Father and Son had an

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*Πρόχειρον τῶν νόμων βασιλεῶς, quic  
Principum leges continebant, idem quoque  
ἐκνομοῦντας αὐτὸν quia ex 60. libris con-  
stabat.*

(a) *Harmenopol. Lib. 1. Tit. 1.  
Cujac. observat. l. 17. dist.  
(b) Godefred. ad Novell. Lemis. alii.*

*\* Constantinus hic fuit Constantinus  
Leonis filius cognomento Porphyrogenitus  
qui libros Basilicarum reperiuntur fuisse;  
Auctor ἀναγκάσας id est Basilicam re-  
petite praefationis. Non Basilis filius qui  
ante patrem diem suum obierat ut ex Hi-  
storici nostri constat. uerum Godefredus ad  
Lemius Novellas notat; lapsus itaque, est in  
hac parte Duckius nostrat.*

*Cujac. l. 17. Observ. 31. Godefred. ubi  
supra.*

*Ad An. 911  
num. 2.*

## CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

From the Death of Leo the Philosopher, to the Death  
of Constantine Ducas, the twelfth of that Name.  
A. D. MCXVII.

The Space of One Hundred and Fifty Six Years.

Alexander  
Emperour.

**L**EO being dead, his Brother Alexander succeeded him in the second year of *Anastafius* the Second Bishop of Rome, the fourteenth Indiction. A. D. DCCCXLI. About his Age when he came to the Empire, our *Greek*

Historians are strangely overseen, writing that he was now a young man, about twenty years old, whereas they themselves had formerly told us, that in the third year of his Reign, *Basilus* made his third Son *Alexander Caesar*, so that by this time he must have past above forty years, from his very promotion to this Title; and if *Leo* Reigned above twenty five, how could *Alexander* be but twenty at his Death, and be his Brother, the Father being dead above five and twenty years before? He had *Constantine* his Brother's Son his Partner in the Empire, yet within a little time purposed to deprive him of all hopes of Succession, by gelding him, and leave the Dignity to one *Basilizas*, an obscure fellow, but his Companion in his libidinous and extravagant courses. For to such alone he addicted himself; neither thinking nor acting any thing becoming the place he bore, and as hitherto he had lived, so still did he onely intend, a voluptuous life and matters of intemperance, putting small value upon any but such as could accompany and assist him in such like practices. From putting in practice what he intended against his Nephew, he was diverted merely by such as bore good will to the Child for his Father's sake, who still alledged he was young and sickly, and so persuaded him, not thinking of his own Death, that he had time enough farther to consider and resolve. Desirous to be ascertained of his long life, he consulted with such cheaters as pretended skill in those matters, who answered that his Reign should be long, if to a Boar of Brass which stood in the Cirque, he would add Genitals and Teeth which were wanting to it; for that Boar was his Element, as the *Greeks* phrased it, that is, by it he himself was magically signified in opposition to his Brother *Leo*. He giving heed to them, who for his manners compared him to that creature, added those Members to the Boar, as securing his life thereby for a long season. Now elevated by this and other hopes, he banishes *Elimerius* the *Logotheta*, as one who had practised something against him in the days of his Brother. The Ambassadors of *Simeon* Prince of the *Bulgarians*, who were come about the renewing of the League and Friendship formerly made with his Predecessors, he uncivily treated and dismissed, whereupon that Prince to be beforehand with him, and prevent the effects of his Threats, broke the Peace, and made War upon the *Romans*. But following on his course of intemperance, after a great fit of gormandizing and drunkennels, too violently exercising himself at Tennis, he broke some Veins, and died of Bleeding the day following, having so much time and conscience (now in extremity) as to declare *Constantine* his Successour, after a Reign of one year and about a month.

*Ex Cursopala Celerum celeritate erro-  
rem hanc inquisimus,  
Αλεξάνδρῳ δὲ δὲ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν  
τῶν νεωτέρων δὲ, ὅτι τὸ ἐκείνου τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
αὐτοῦ ἀνασφύλιον ἦν, &c.*

His Character.

The Bulgari-  
an make War  
upon the Ro-  
mans.

Alexander  
Dies.

*rum attimo vi alienius hominis fortunam gubernet. Qualis (verbi gratia) in Romano Lacopone, Simeoni Bulgare Statua in xystopho fuit, qua truncata is perit; vide alia exempla apud Hylandrum in Annot. ad hoc locum Cedreni. Hinc autem magi σοφιστικῶς διέτι, qui in rei cereis moris & incantationibus vim quandam ad aliquid prestandum putabant concellare, & σοφιστικῶς peritum magici artibus aliquid moliri.*

Constantine's  
Nephew, a  
Youth, suc-  
ceeds.

A Conspiracy  
against him,

But punished.

Simeon the  
Bulgarian in-  
campus near  
Constantinople.

But accepting  
a Treaty re-  
turns home.

2. To Constantine who was scarcely seven years old, he assigned for Governours, <sup>The subject's</sup> <sup>Trispartus</sup> <sup>Indignus cu</sup> <sup>salutemque</sup> Nicholas the Patriarch, Stephen and John Eladas being Magistri, John a Rector and two others whom from the Dunghill, in a manner, he had raised to Senatorian and Patritian Dignity, being his Companions in his lewd Courses, viz. Basiliscus, we'er now mentioned, and one Gabrielopulus. At this time Constantinus Ducas, Son of Andronicus, the General or Master of the Schools was absent from the City, who notwithstanding the warning formerly laid to be given him by the Empe-  
rour Leo, nourished hopes of arriving one day at that Dignity, and his Power was so great, and his Dependents and Fewds so numerous and Potent, that therein his hopes seemed not at all to flatter him. His Friends were careful to give him timely notice of Alexander's decease, telling him, that the Empire now wanted an Head, and was in extreme danger of being ruined, if he, the onely man alive that was fit to govern it, would not take care of it in its necessity, which to doe he would not want encouragement, both the Senate and People being at his De-  
votion; and it was reported, that the Patriarch himself was in the Conspiracy, not knowing that he was designed one of the Governours, the Testament of Alexander not being yet opened. Constantine having received the Letters, hasted to the City with a select Company of Men, and late at Night getting in at the Gate next the Cattle, went and staid that Night with Gregoras Iherizias his Fa-  
ther-in-Law, whither, upon notice of his Arrival, came to him Nicetas the Secretary with Constantine a Patritian, the Eladican Monk. They before it was light, with Torches and a great Multitude, came to the Gate of the Cirque, and there with lucky Acclamations saluted him Empeurour. But here they found stout resistance from within, and as an ill Omen the Protofrator of Constantine, as he earnestly laboured to get open the Gate, was through some hole in it killed with a Lance. Here then repulled, they went into the Cirque, and by the Brazen Gate passed as far as the Court of Guard, or the place where ordinarily the Watch was kept. In the mean time John Eladas one of the Governours had got together some Sa-  
men and others as he could, and sent them to meet and oppose Ducas, with whom they fought, and many falling on both sides, Gregoras the Son of Ducas was slain together with one Michael his Kinsman, and Curticius an Armenian. He much dis-  
ordered at their death, put Spurs to his Horse and galloped toward the foremost of his men to encourage them; but his Horse fell upon the Pavement, and it hap-  
pening that his own men either running away, or not taking notice of it, one of the other Party fell upon him as he lay at that disadvantage from off his Horse, and cutting off his Head carried it to the Empeurour. By this his end was the Conspiracy and Tumult quashed, after which Gregoras his Father-in-Law and Leo Chærophacila a Patritian took Sanctuary in the Church of St. Sophia, but were thence by the Governours taken, shaven, and thrust into a Monastery. In the like fort was served Constantinus Eladicus, but not till after he was foundly beaten and led as in Triumph through the City. Some were banished, having their Eyes put out, and others were beheaded in the Cirque by Philotheus the Prefect of the City; some were fastened to Posts: But Nicetas and Constantinus Africanus, though much sought for could not be found. The Governours had proceeded and destroyed many other persons of Senatorian Rank though Innocent, if one of the Judges had not taken courage and asked them how they durst doe things of so high a nature in the Minority of their Prince. Yet they farther caused the Wife of Ducas to be shaven and sent home into Paphlagonia. And his Son Stephen to be deprived of his Genitals.

3. While these Disorders were within the City, no less a danger threatened the Government from without. Simeon the Bulgarian disobliged, as we said, by Alexander, had with a great Army invaded the Roman Territories, and was comeeven as far as Constantinople it self, before which he incamped himself from Blackerna, as far as the Golden Gate, with no small hope of becoming Master of it in a short time. But such was the good fortune of the Inhabitants, that though thus fur-  
tized, by their stout opposition and the strength of the Walls, by degrees they de-  
feated his hopes, and he retired to Hebdomus, where he signified he would accept of a Treaty. This Overture was most gladly entertained by the Governours, and Hostages being given and received, Simeon was admitted to dine with the Empe-  
rour in the Palace of Blackerna, and received the Patriarch's Blessing, after which he departed home richly presented, though as Zonaras writes, without any Peace concluded, the Conditions whereof he would not accept, which yet Cedrenus signifies to have been accorded. But, the Governours giving no content, by rea-  
son of their extravagant Actions and Disagreement, were soon after suffered to take

See the Em-  
peurour's Ma-  
jesty recalled  
outs all his  
Governours.

Simeon  
has siege to  
Adrianople.

The Amaras  
of Tyre infests  
the Maritime  
Coasts.

A Peace con-  
cluded with  
the Saracens.

Turning the  
whole force of  
the Empire a-  
gainst the Bul-  
garians.

The Officers  
of the Roman  
Army.

Engaging with  
them are over-  
thrown.

take their ease. The young Empeurour making great lamentation for the mis of his Mother, whom Alexander had put from Court, they were forced, though against their wills, to recall her, and the being returned, quickly got the power into her hands. By the advice and assistance of Constantine one of the Bedchamber, Anastasius, and Constantine Gonggii Brothers, and John Eladas, the put out of the Court the Favourites of Alexander, viz. John the Rector, Gabrielopulus, Basilitzes, and others; and at the motion of Dominicus, whom he preferred to the Command of the Associates, the also removed the Patriarch from the Palace. As for the Magister John Eladas he departed of his own accord out of the Palace by reason of sickness, whereof he died. All the Governours of the young Empeurour being thus put out of Office, Constantine the Bedchamber man, that he might govern alone accused Dominicus, lately mentioned, to the Empeur, as endeavouring to compass the Empire for his Brother, which the believing, created him a Patritian; and when, according to the Custome, he went down to pray, commanded him to stay at home, and put into his place one John Garidas. And he made one Damianus an Eunuch the Drungarius Bigla. Such chopping and changing there was, outing and being outed, as is usual to those, whose narrow Souls (how big soever they look) are taken up with the Vanities and Uncertainties of Courts.

4. But Simeon now again harassed Thrace without any mention made of break-  
ing the Peace; so that he must rather believe Zonaras, who writes, that at his late Entertainment at Constantinople nothing had been concluded. Zoe considering with her Council how to restrain his Depredations, one John Bogas engaged that if he would promote him to the Dignity of a Patritian, he would procure the Par-  
tizance, a neighbouring People to fall into his Territories and divert him, and accordingly he went and obtained a Promise from them, confirmed by the delivery of Hostages. But for the present Simeon besieged Adrianople, which after some time was betrayed to him by one Pancratas an Armenian whom he had corrup-  
ted with Gold, by which Metal the Empeur again shortly after recovered it, sending Basiliscus a Patritian, the Commander of the Canicleus, and Nicetas Eladicus sufficiently furnished for that purpose. Much about the same time did Damianus the Amaras of Tyre, with a Fleet exceedingly well manned, infest the Maritime Parts, and made a violent Attempt upon Strofelus, which he had carried, but that he was snatched away by death to the good fortune of the Town, from which his Forces presently arose and departed. Zoe being thus attacked on several Quar-  
ters, by advice of the Senate, with which the consulted, resolved to make Peace with the Saracens, and employ the whole force of the Empire against the Bulgarians, for restraining the Incurfions of Simeon, and if possible, the absolute destruc-  
tion or Conquest of that Nation. To this purpose John Radenus a Patritian, and Michael Toxaras were sent into the East, and compounded all matters with the Saracens, from whom now being disingangled the gave order to Leo Phocas the Ma-  
gister and Domestick of the Schools to lead the Army against the Bulgarians, ha-  
ving first made amongst the Souldiers the usual distribution of Money called Rogo. A general Muster was made at Diabasis, a place so called from the Passage, being a spacious Plain fit for such a purpose, and thither came the chief Priest or Chap-  
lain of the Palace, whom they termed Protopapa, and with the usual Ceremonies made them all kneel down and swear they would fight it out to the last, which Oath taken they were led against the Enemy.

5. The Army was good, and as well commanded. The Cohort of the Watch-  
ers or Excubitores, as they were called, was led by John Grapsona a Man whose Va-  
lour and Conduct had appeared in many Battels. The Regiment of those, called Hicanati, was commanded by Olibianus Marula, a very eminent Man also; the rest by Romanus and Leo, the Sons of Argyrus and Bardas Phocas. Besides these, was present at the Expedition Melias the Magister with his Armenians, and many of the other Provincial Officers: And Constantinus Africanus the Patritian was joy-  
ned as Councillour with Leo the General or Domestick of the Schools. On the sixth day of August was a fierce Batrel fought at the Cattle Achelus with the Bulgarians, who were beaten, and after great loss put to flight. But the General of the Romans in a great Sweat and fainting by the extraordinary pains he had ta-  
ken, lighting at a Fountain to refresh himself so neglected his Horse, that sen-  
sible he had no Rider he broke loose and ran amongst the Army, where being known by the Souldiers, they concluded that Leo was kill'd, and thereupon all left the Pursuit; and some betook them to their Heels. This was quickly percei-  
ved by Simeon, who did not make his Retreat in a loose or confused manner, but

fo as he could easily face about and pursue the Pursuers, which he did with such execution, the Romans hindering one another, that not onely a great Slaughter was made of the ordinary Souldiers, but very many of the Officers themselves were loft, amongst whom *Constantinus Africanus* and *John Grapson*, &c. now mentioned. All this while *Romanus Lacapenus* the *Drugarius* of Naval Affairs, according to order hovered about the Sea Coasts with the Fleet to relieve *Leo* if need were, and give passage to the *Patzinacæ*, whom *Bogas* had brought to the assistance of the Empire. But he and *Bogas* fell into a difference and thereupon they departed home. As for *Leo* he hardly escaped to *Mesembria*.

6. These are the ordinary Reasons given for this overthrow, though another Report was very current, as that when *Leo* was hot in the Pursuit of the Enemy, News was brought him that *Romanus* the Admiral was returned back to *Constantinople* with a design to make himself Emperor while all the great Ones were absent, which so affected him, who had himself the same ambitious purpose, that he retired into the Camp to know the truth, at which his men were discouraged, as imagining it was out of fear, and so changed the course of the Battel. However it happened, a great loss was received, and after the return of the remainders of the Army to *Constantinople*, the business betwixt *Romanus* and *Bogas* was scanned, the issue of which was, that the former was sentenced by the Judges to loose his Eyes, for not having according to his duty passed over the *Patzinacæ*, and received such as fled from the Battel, which some attributed to carelessness, but others to Malice and Design; and the Sentence had been executed but that *Stephen* the Magister, one of the Emperours Tutours, and *Constantinus Gongyles* a Patritian, men very powerful with the Emperors had not prevailed for the remission of it. Now was *Simeon* the Bulgarian so puffed up with his late success, that again he resolved to attack *Constantinople*, and was on his way, when *Leo* the Domestick, *John* the Commander of the Associates, and *Nicholas* the Son of *Constantinus Ducas* were sent out against him. In a place called *Catasyres* they light upon a Party that was foraging, and defeated it with little trouble. Then a fresh one came on which put the men now wearied and wounded much to it, but they were so resolved and courageous that after a sharp Conflict they had the same success, though not without loss of several worthy men, amongst whom none more eminent than *Nicholas* now mentioned, to whose Valour especially the success of the day was ascribed.

7. So went matters in the Field, and against the Enemy, at home they carried a sadder Aspect, whilst in the Minority of the Emperour several of the Nobility wanted but opportunity and power to divest him of his Dignity, and to reign themselves. Of all others *Leo Phocas* with most confidence hatched and carried on his design, trusting much to the power and interest of *Constantine* the Chamberlain, his Wives Brother, for his private Reputation at Court was very great, besides that Eunuchs in general at this time were much respected. He made himself so sure of his projected greatness, that he would not stick openly to own it, and affirm that the Sovereignty of right belonged to him by descent. This *Theodius* the Emperour's School-master taking strict notice of it left any mischief should thence happen to his Scholar, perswaded him to take *Romanus Lacapenus*, the *Drugarius* of the Fleet to be his Keeper, and if need were his Protectour, who had been a dutifull Servant to his Father, a no less faithfull to him. But *Romanus* often, and with some pertinacy refused to accept of the Charge, till at length seeing the Emperour's Letters written with his own hand and signed, as the manner was, with Purple Letters, he consented, and promised to illustrate as much as in him lay the Designs of the Chamberlain and his Allies. This could not be so much concealed but that it took air, and began to be talked of openly in the Streets, and all places of Resort, but yet *Constantine* was therewith little moved, contemning all Reports out of a vain confidence, that no man durst attempt any thing against him, till going to the Fleet to distribute the *Rogæ*, or pay the Seamen, he was by *Romanus*, who at their first meeting disguised his Purpose, till he got him into the Snare, seized and secured. Great noise hereof being made in the City, and no less than a Revolt expected, *Zoe* called together the Patriarch and some Senatours, and by their Advice sent to *Romanus* to know his meaning, and to require that the Chamberlain should be dismissed; but the Messengers were hindered from delivering their Message by a number of Mariners, who threw Stones and denied them Access. Early in the Morning the went and inquired of her Son and those about him, what their Intentions were, to which, when none else would answer, *Theodore* affirmed this change to have happened by reason of

*Leo*

his ill management of the Army, and *Constantine's* ill administration of matters relating to the Court.

8. Now did the Emperour take the power from his Mother upon himself, and presently sent for to Court the Patriarch and *Stephen* the Master, and thence commanded the day following his Mother to be removed; but she weeping and wailing and clinging close to him, wrought up upon his good nature as to permit her to stay. Then fearing *Leo Phocas*, he removed him from his Office, and made *John* the Magister Domestick of the Schools. Yet did *Phocas* prevail, as a way of recompence, to have his Son *Simeon* and *Theodorus* his Wives Brother made Commanders of the Associates, and then taking an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperour retired to his House. But shortly after hearing that his Kindred were again dismissed from Court, he resolved to see how he could work upon *Romanus*, to whom posting, he laid open his condition, and bewailed the straits to which he was reduced. *Romanus* fearing, it seems, his great Interest and Alliance, was so wrought upon, as secretly to contract Friendship and an Union with him, which was confirmed by Oath, and the designed Inter-Marriage of their Children. After this *Romanus* went to Court to purge himself to the Counsellors of any Conspiracy against the Government, affirming his Design, merely to protect the Emperour from any ambitious attempts of *Phocas*, for which purpose his Resolution was to come to Court, with a sufficient Guard. This the Patriarch would not believe, nor accept his Purgation, whereupon *Theodore* the Schoolmaster importuned him to come up with his Fleet into the Dock of *Bucolon* near to the Palace, which he earnestly refused to do, till vehemently urged by those privy to the Design, who prevailed with him in an Hostile manner to fail up to the place, which happened upon the Feast of the Annunciation. Presently hereupon *Stephen* the Magister departed from Court, and *Nicetas* the Patritian, a great Intimate of *Romanus* went in and thence removed the Patriarch, a great Inmate taken from *Romanus*, with most bitter and heavy Curses that he would never entertain any thought against the Emperour's Dignity or Person, he received him into the Palace, and going along with him to Prayers to the Church in *Pharus*, after Faith given and received on both sides, made him Great Commander of the Associates. Shortly after to sweeten and take off *Phocas*, Letters were written to him, to bid him be of good courage, and continue in his Allegiance, for he should speedily be considered. To this purpose also *Constantine* the Chamberlain was commanded to write to him. And upon receipt of these Letters he kept himself quiet for some time at his own home in *Cappadocia*.

9. But in the fifth Week of Lent the Emperour Married *Helena* the Daughter of *Romanus Lacapenus*, and caused her to be Crowned together with himself by *Nicholas* the Patriarch. To *Romanus* himself he gave the Title and Dignity of his Father, with which no Man ever had been honoured before, as *Glycas* observes, and conferred his former Office upon his Son *Christopher*. These things quite turned the Stomach of *Leo Phocas*, who had almost digested former Misfortunes in dayly expectation of what was promised him. Now by the advice of his Friends, as well as his own Inclinations, he resolved to rise, and for that purpose got to him *Constantine* the Chamberlain, the two Brothers, *Gongylis*, and others, endeavouring to perswade all that he took Arms in behalf of the Emperour *Constantine*. But *Romanus* so bestirred himself, that by Letters conveyed to the Camp signed by the Emperour and sealed with his Seal, he convinced many of his Souldiers of their mistake, of whom several great Officers presently revolted from him. And herewith encouraged, he sent *Simeon* the Overseer of the *Caniculus*, to the Army, who by reading to them another Declaration, whereby he owned *Romanus* for his Father, and declared *Leo* to be a Traytours to him and his Family, wholly brought them all off, and *Leo* shifted for himself by flight to a certain Castle *Atcas*, whence he removed to another, which bore the Name of *Goleon*, as much as to say the Lamentation of *Leo*, which was esteemed an ill Omen; for here he was taken. Upon notice thereof were sent to fetch him up to the City *John Tubaces* and *Leo Pagrelets*, who in the passage pulled out his Eyes by private order from *Romanus*, or of their own Accord without his knowledge, as he affirmed, pretending to take the matter much to heart. Thus was suppressed the Insurrection made by *Leo*, but all danger not thereby removed from the Head of *Romanus*, against whom conspired one *Constantinus Crematenus*, *David Cumulianus*, and *Michael* the Curator *Mangonorum*, (that is, Overseer of the Engines) who armed certain young men to kill him as he went out to hunt. But the Plot was timely discovered, and the Conspiratours having their Eyes put out were in an ignominious manner led about

D d d

the

*Simeon* proceeds towards *Constantinople*

But two of his Parties are met and worsted.

*Leo* designs to assume the Purple.

So doth *Romanus*.

Who seizes upon the Emperour.

*Zoe* the Emperess forced to quit her Government.

*Leo* and *Romanus* conspire together.

*Constantine* Marries the Daughter of *Romanus*. Styling him Father of the Emperour.

Upon which he Rebels.

But is taken and punished.

*Μιχαηλ κρηματωρ των μηχανων εις οπισθον βασιλειου & αλιων εις γεννητοριον του.*

*Zoe the Em-  
press shaven.*

the *Forum*, and among them *Leo Phocas* upon a Mule. *Zoe* also the *Empress* accused of a design against his life was banished to a Monastery. Moreover for attempting something against him were banished the City *Theophylact*, the Patriarch, and even he who had been the Author of his preferment *Theodore* the Schoolmaster, with his Brother *Simeon*, he perceiving, it seems, and repenting that he had gone too far. They were confined to a place called *Opfium*, and thither conveyed by the diligence of *Curtius* the *Drungarius Bigla*, who seizing suddenly on them conveyed them by Boats into the opposite Continent.

*Romanus  
Crowned Em-  
peror by the  
allowance of  
Constantine.  
Christopher  
Emperor.*

10. Now the way being fully cleared by removal of all Competition, on the four and twentieth day of *September*, and the eighth year of the Emperor's Reign, the Title of *Cesar* was conferred on *Romanus*; and in *December* following he was by allowance of *Constantine* Crowned Emperor by the Hands of *Nicholas* the Patriarch. Thus possessed of the Imperial Dignity on *Candlemas* day following he caused to be Crowned his Wife *Theodora*, and in *May* on *Whitsunday* his Son *Christopher*, *Constantine* openly yielding his consent and approving, but inwardly repining and deploring the condition into which he was brought. *Romanus* for the security of his Estate banished several Persons upon suspicion; but could not thereby hinder the effects of envy which his high and sudden Advancement had procured. For another Conspiracy was hatched against him by *Armenius* a Patritian, and one *Paulus Manglabrya*, which yet was discovered, and they lost both their Estates and Eyes. To obviate these Practices and strengthen himself by Alliance he Married his Daughter *Agatha* to *Leo* the Son of *Argyrus*, a man very Noble and of excellent Qualifications both of Body and Mind. But by this time several began to commiserate the condition of *Constantine*, who was thus overpowered by the Usurter, and one *Anastafius*, called *Sacellarius*, framed new Designs to take him off. But this Plot was also discovered, and *Anastafius* for his pains was shaven and made a Monk. Now did *Romanus* publicly command, that he himself having the first, *Constantine* should be only called and esteemed Emperor in the second place, and under this pretence that this was the only means to prevent Conspiracies; thus for uncertain things and a fading Empire, making himself perjured and an Enemy to Almighty God, as our Writers observe. About this time it happening that *Adralestus* the Domestick of the Schools dying, he conferred his place, as a farther means to strengthen his Alliance on *Pothus Argyrus*.

*The Bulgari-  
ans renew  
their Incur-  
sions against the  
Romans.*

11. Now were the *Bulgarians* again very troublesome, making their Inroads as far as *Catalaytes*; and *Pothus*, as his place required, led out an Army against them, with little effect on either side, save that *Michael* one of his Officers being out to scout, did some little hurt to a Party of the Enemy, and received a wound of which he died shortly after. But *Simeon* sent more Forces commanded by *Chagana*, which he died shortly after. *Romanus* hearing of it left they should burn and waste the Suburbs and adjoining Palaces, dispatched away the two *Argyri*, *Leo* and *Pothus*, *John Redtor*, and others to meet and oppose them, who accordingly gave them Battle in the Plain of *Pege*, but *John* the *Redtor* affrighted at their noise and sudden Onset ran away and gave occasion to a Defeat, wherein many were slain. He hardly escaping got to a Pinnacle, which *Alexius* the *Drungarius* of the Navy endeavouring to do, fell down from the side of the Vessel, and was drowned, together with his Protomandator. *Leo* and *Pothus* recovered a Castle in their flight; the rest of the Multitude was either drowned as they endeavour'd to escape, were slain by the Enemies hand, or taken Prisoners: And the *Bulgarians* without any opposition burnt the Palace of *Pege*, and wasted all the Country. The year following being the eleventh of *Constantine*, in the Tenth Indiction, died on the twentieth of *February*, *Theodora* the Wife of *Romanus*, and after her decease *Sophia* the Wife of *Christopher* bore the Title of *Augusta* or *Empress*. Now made the *Bulgarians* another Inroad as far as the Palace of *Theodora*, which they burnt without any resistance. *Romanus* standing now in need of his Officers, made them a great Feast, and by good words, as well as the Entertainment, made them ingage to do their utmost endeavour in defence of their Country, so much disgraced as well as harassed by the so frequent Invasions of that People.

12. The day following, *Salitius* the Leader of the *Excubitores* to make good his word, as soon as it was light set upon the Enemy's Camp, and killed all he found therein, the rest being employed abroad in pillaging the Country. But understanding by some that had escaped of his Enterprize, they returned thither, and overpowered the *Romans* already wearied by the former Fight; *Salitius* having

*A Rebellion  
in Chaldia,  
but suppressed.*

*Simeon lays  
Siege to A-  
drianople.*

*The Saraceni  
invade the Sea  
Coasts, but  
are soundly  
beaten.*

*Simeon un-  
dertakes ano-  
ther Expe-  
dition, pi tchi g  
his Tent near  
Blacherna.*

*Whence an  
Interview and  
Peace ensued.*

*Stephen and  
Constantine,  
Sons of Roma-  
nus Crowned  
Emperours.*

having with his few made opposition a considerable time, and killed many, put purs to his Horse and fled, but being laid fast in passing of a Ditch, was wounded mortally by those that pursued him; and though by the Assistance of his Attendants he was got out of the Ditch, and came to *Blacherna*, yet he died there the night following in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to the great affliction of the Emperor, the Army, and all the People. At this time a Rebellion happened in *Chaldia* (a Region of *Syria*, near to *Iberia*) against the Emperor, which was happily suppressed by the diligence of *Curtius*, Domestick of the Schools, then lying at *Casarea*, who on a sudden and unexpectedly fell upon the Conspirators. In the mean while *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* laid Siege to *Adrianople*, about which he drew a line, and with violence attacked it. The Governour at this time was *Leo* a Patritian, whom for his too unadvised haste and vehemence against the Enemy, they called *Moroleon*, or *Leo* the Fool. But he defended the City very Gallantly, both by opposition made from the Walls, and several successful Salies, till the Inhabitants, pinched with Famine, gave up themselves, Governour and Town into *Simeon's* Hands, who remembering of how many *Bulgarians* *Leo* had been the Destruction, barely caused him to be tortured to Death. Then left he a Garrison in *Adrianople*, which upon its being seized by some *Roman* Forces, delivered it up again into their Hands. At the same time, *Leo* of *Tripolis* with a great Fleet of *Saraceni* invaded the Sea Coasts and Islands. Him *John Radenus* the Patritian and *Drungarius* of the Navy, as he lay at *Lemnus*, suddenly Attacked with such Execution, that scarcely any but himself escaped alive from the place.

13. In the Month of *September*, and the second Indiction, being the seventeenth year from the beginning of the Reign of *Constantine*, *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* Prince, with all the Force he could make, undertook another Expedition against *Constantinople*; having with Fire and Sword wasted *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, he pitched his Camp near to *Blacherna*. Hence he sent to require that the Patriarch and some of the Nobility might be brought to him to Treat, who accordingly, upon the Reception of Hostages, were dispatched to him; but when they were about to Treat, he dismissed them, signifying his desire to come to an Interview with the Emperor himself, whom he knew both to be a Man of Prudence and Veracity. *Romanus* was well enough pleased with the offer, and commanded a place to be prepared not far from the Walls, upon the Sea shore, whither he might conveniently come with his Gally; when in the mean time, *Simeon* not able or willing to restrain his Hostility, sent a Party to burn the Church of our Lady of the Fountain, built by *Justinian*, and all things thereabout, giving thereby vehement occasion to suspect that he was no way inclining to Peace. But on the ninth day of *December*, all things being prepared, they met on the place; first came the Emperor, and expected the other, who made all the shew of Bravery he could by his several Ranks, distinguished by their Gilded and Brazen Targets and Spurs. *Romanus* expostulated with him, that "Being a Christian, he should be so Bloudy, and rejoice in the slaughter of those that Professed the same Religion; and putting him in mind that he must dye, and according to that Faith, give an Account of all his Cruelties to an Higher Judge; offered him what Wealth he would ask, if it was that he sought after, by which and other motives he so wrought upon him, that he promised to conclude the Peace, and so departed richly presented by the Emperor.

14. On *Christmas* Day following, *Romanus* caused his two Sons, *Stephen* and *Constantine* to be Crowned in the Great Church, reserving the other, *Theophylact* by Name, for the Patriarchal Dignity. *John Mysticus* his prime Minister he honoured with Patritian and Proconular Dignity, who shortly after was convicted of aiming at the Imperial Power, and for that was shaven a Monk; his fellow Conspirator, *Camas* the Patritian and *Logobeta Dromi* being soundly beaten, and turned out of his Place, who had had a Design of Marrying his Daughter to *Mysticus*. About the same time most horrible Earthquakes happened in *Thrace*, by which many Churches, Houses and Men were swallowed up: *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* making an Expedition against the *Chrobati*, was in the frays of the Mountains overthrown by them in Battle, and lost all his Army. Now the Story goes, that one *John* an Astronomer came to the Emperor, and desired this man him to send some to cut off the Head of a Pillar which stood over the Arch of *Xerolophus*, toward the West; for by that means *Simeon* should perish instantly, *eleven* *magica esse* that Pillar being fatal to him, or Magically signifying Him; which being done, they talen.

they give out, that in the same instant *Romanus* found that he Died in *Bulgaria*, of a Disease which seized upon his Heart, or Stomach. His Successor was *Peter* his Son by his second Wife, the Sister of *George Sufurbulus* (whom dying, he left Guardian to his Children) for *Michael* his Son, by a former Wife, he had shaven and made a Monk. Now, together with the Death of their Prince, several calamities fell upon the *Bulgarians*. For the Neighbouring Nations, and the *Crociati, Servis, Turks* and others hearing of *Simone's* Death, prepared to make War against them, and they laboured under a great Famine, their Corn being consumed by Locusts. But they feared especially the *Romans*, and therefore to divert them from their own doors, resolved to begin first, and fright them from any such Resolutions by an Invasion.

15. *Peter* then makes an Inroad into *Macedonia*, but understanding that the Emperor was coming against him, by advice of *George* his Uncle, sent a Monk with Letters to him, wherein he offered to make a Peace, and a League also with the *Romans*, for farther strengthening whereof, if he thought fit by a Marriage, he would enter into a stricter Alliance with them. *Romanus* was no whit displeased with the Message, but sent speedily away one *Theodosius* a Monk, and *Constantinus Rhodius* a Clerk of the Court to Treat with them in *Mesembria*. The Treaty so well succeeded, that there returned with the Commissioners to *Constantinople* one *Stephen*, a Man of great esteem in *Bulgaria*, and after them followed *George Sufurbulus*, with others the most eminent of that Country. Coming to Court, they liked exceedingly a Daughter of *Christopher* the Emperor's Son, called *Mary*, a very Beautifull Lady; and ratifying the Treaty of Peace, sent away for *Peter* himself, whom *Nicetas* a Magister and Father-in-Law to *Christopher* met on the way, and Conducted him to *Blacherna*, where *Romanus* himself received him very honourably. The Peace and Articles of Marriage were quickly confirmed, and on the fifth day of *October* the Nuptials solemnized in the Church of our Lady, at the Fountain, by *Stephen* the Patriarch. It happened, that at the third Feast after the Wedding, that *Romanus* entertained *Peter* the Bridegroom, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* the Emperor, and once his Master, of whom we have heard nothing a long time, and his Son *Christopher*. Now by the Arts of *Romanus*, the *Bulgarians* there present being wrought upon, as is probable, made a Disturbance, and exclaimed against it, that *Constantine* should take Place and be preferred before *Christopher* the Father-in-Law of their Prince. To gratify them you must know, the Emperor caused his Son to precede *Constantine*; and all the Ceremony being now over, the new Married Couple departed into *Bulgaria*, being brought on their way as far as *Heldonus* by the Parents of the Bride, and *Theophanes* the *Protovestiarius*, which *Theophanes* had managed the whole Affair.

16. In the mean time, the Master *John Curcuas*, Domestick of the Schools, did such Execution on the *Saracens* of *Syria*, and took so many of their Towns and strong Holds, laying Siege to *Melitena* it self, that *Apothapsus* the *Ameras* of this place, and *Aposlatbus* who Commanded the Souldiers of the Garrison came out to him to Treat, and were sent on that Errand to the Emperor. They gave such satisfaction, that they were received as Friends and Allies of the *Romans*, and engaged to Fight in their aid against their own Countreymen. But not long after they both died, and with them the Peace ceased to be any longer, whereupon the Domestick, assisted by *Melias* a Magister who Commanded the *Armenians*, besieged *Melitena*; after some time took it, and brought all the Country adjoining into the Obedience of the Emperor, who reduced it into the form of a Province or Curatourship, as they term it, and by that means much increased the publick Revenue. Much about this time, *Nicetas* Father-in-Law to *Christopher* was accused to have moved him to depose his Father, for which he was Banished the City, and made a Monk. The Winter following, happened so great a Frost in *December*, as continued for an hundred and twenty days, and this was followed by so great a Plague, as if we should believe our Antours, no such ever happened before, the Living scarcely sufficing to Bury the Dead. However, herein they may Hyperbolize, yet this we have found in our Age, that the greatest Plague which hath happened in this City, was ushered in by an hard Winter, whereby the Pores of Mens Bodies were shut, and Perspiration hindered, the greatest means of Health, by reason of the avoydance of those vapours, and fermentations in the Bodies of those that are accustomed to a milder air; for as for such as constantly live in extremity of cold, nature some other way

Rebellions in Bulgaria.

may discharge her self. About this time, *John* the Brother of *Peter* the *Bulgarian* Prince, with others Conspired against him, and being discovered, his Complices were put to Death, and he beaten and cast into Prison. *Romanus* the Emperor understanding hereof, sent one who, under colour of renewing the League, got him out of Prison, and brought him to *Constantinople*. After this, *Michael* the other Brother of *Peter* Rebelled, and endeavouring to set up for himself, seized on a Castle, and got many to joyn with him. But he presently after died, and then they out of desperation invaded the *Roman* Territories and wasting all before them, proceeded as far as *Macedonia*, *Strymone* and *Greece*, as far as *Nicopolis*, on which they seized, and were not removed out of the Countrey but by much labour and endeavour in after-times. Now fell down a great stone from an Arch in the Forum, called the Arch of the World, and killed fifty Men. A terrible Fire also happened near the Forum of the Blessed Virgin. And *Christopher* the Emperor Died on the fourteenth day of *August*.

Christopher the Emperor Dies.

A Rebellion, but suppressed and punished.

The Turks invade the Roman Pale.

The Roffi, a People of Poland, invade the Coast of the Empire.

17. Some time after this, one *Basilius* a *Macedonian* feigned himself to be *Constantine* *Ducas*, and persuading many to believe him, had done much mischief, but that he was apprehended by a Captain in the Army, and brought to the Emperor, who caused one of his Hands to be cut off, and so let him goe. But as these Cheats if neglected have ever made greater Disturbances, he got a brazen Hand instead of that cut off, and began to tell his tale over again, by which he got together a multitude of credulous People, and seizing on a Castle, thence made Depredations into all the adjoining Countrey; but a Party was sent which easily mastered him, and being taken again, when upon Examination it could not be found that any of the Nobility had been Accessory to his Crime, he was Burnt alive. *Romanus* rid of this Danger, Married his Son *Stephen* to *Ann* the Daughter of *Gabalas*, and upon her Marriage bestowed on her an Imperial Diadem. In *April* following, the *Turks* made an Invasion, and wasted all Westward as far as the City; to whom *Theophanes* the Patriarch and *Protovestiarius* was sent and bought them off, *Romanus* sparing no cost to redeem the Captives; as to give him his due, he omitted nothing during the great Frost and Plague to relieve the Poor, and lessen the publick Calamity. But thinking to establish his Family in the succession to perpetuity, he married his third Son *Constantine* to one *Helena* the Daughter of *Adrian* a Patrician, an *Armenian* originally, and the dying not long after, to *Theophano*, who derived her Pedigree from *Mamas*. Not long after, on the fourteenth of *June*, a Fleet of the *Roffi* (a People by others called *Roxolani*, and by *Tacitus* *Bastarnae*, of the *European Sarmatia*; their Country being now *Ruthenia* and *Russen*, in the Kingdom of *Poland*, West of *Podolia*, their chief City *Leopolis* or *Leunpurg*.) consisting of ten thousand, or as some say, of fifteen thousand Vessels came against the City. Against them was sent with the Navy *Theophanes*, the *Protovestiarius*, the great Man now in Command and Favour, who watching his opportunity, put them to flight, and burnt many of their Ships with that which *Cedrenus* calls Artificial Fire. They that escaped went toward the East, but in their passage *Bardas* the Son of *Phocas* killed a number of them which landed for Provisions, and *Curcuas* the Domestick of the Schools coming suddenly upon many more, made great slaughter of them. This Barbarous People, called *Roffi* or *Ruffi*, coming out of that Countrey, which still bears their Name, had before their Defeat done things which (to use the Expression of *Greek* Writers) exceeded a Tragedy. For of those *Christians* they took, some they nailed to Crosses, some they fastened to the Ground, and others they placed as Marks to Shoot at. But such Priests as they found, they drove nails into their Heads; and they burnt many Churches. Being thus worried, they kept themselves in their ships, and because the *Roman* Fleet attended their motions, thought to slip away; but *Theophanes* was so vigilant, that he fell upon them, and taking or sinking most of their Vessels, very few returned home with the News. Of this Russian Fleet *Leitprandus* makes mention, besides the *Greek* Historians, and says, that the Name of their King or Captain was *Iuger*. He calls them *Northmans*; and so it seems were called all sorts of People Inhabiting the Neighbouring Parts of this Frozen Zone.

But are at length destroyed.

18. *Theophanes* for his good service was made Chamberlain; but *Curcuas* upon jealousy was hurried out of his Place, which he had held two and twenty years, and seven months; a Man exceeding Valiant and Wife, who in a manner had Conquered all *Syria*; and for a complete knowledge of whose Actions, *Cedrenus* refers us to one *Mamuel*, a *Protospatharian*, and a Judge, who had described them in a Volume consisting of Eight Books. And no less prosperous was *Theophilus*

Lib. 5.

philus his Brother, Grandfather to that John who afterward was Emperor, the Governour of Mesopotamia, overpowering the Saracens wherever he came. The Turks after this made another Invasion, but were the second time bought off by Theophanes. To complete these Felicities by a more honourable Alliance, Romanus sends Paschalius, a Protospatharian and Governour of Lombardy, to Hugh the King of France (of Italy our Greek Writers mean) to desire his Daughter in Marriage, for Romanus his Nephew the Son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which was granted, and the Lady Berta by Name, his Daughter by a Concubine, being joint with great Pomp lived with Romanus five years, and then died. But these serene and prosperous Days were succeeded by tempestuous weather, both in the natural and civil Sense. A Violent wind in December did much mischief, and the State and Dignity of Romanus was shortly after not shaken onely, but quite overturned. Conscious, as our Authors believe, of his Wickedness and Perjury, in that he swore to be a Protector onely to Constantine, and never to affect the Sovereignty (though he not onely did this, but placed himself and Sons before the Right owner) he endeavoured to expiate this Guilt by certain good Actions, and to appease Almighty God. Besides other charitable Deeds, he paid the Debts of such as owed money, to the Value of nineteen Centenaries, and caused the Bonds to be burnt in the middle of the Forum: Moreover he paid the Rents of such as hired Houses in the City. "And truly, saith Zonaras, herein he gratified such as were in Debt, but thereby he himself received little or no benefit. For what he gave was not his own, it being publick money, and belonging to the Sovereign Power, of which he had seized by force, and defrauded the Right owner. Enjoying all the Imperial wealth and substance, out of it he spared a small Pittance, just as if a man having killed his Neighbour's Ox, gives the Feet onely to the Poor, and he himself devours the whole Body; or as if one that lies with another Man's Wife, gives some of her Husband's money to those that are in want, to purchase excuse for his Crime.

19. But as Providence (so he farther observes) is usually slow in Revenge to give time and space for Repentance, so it is sure at last to take vengeance of those that will not amend their ways. Romanus was now passing the twenty sixth year of his Usurpation, wherein he had made no reckoning of Constantine the true Heir of the Empire, who all this while had concealed his Indignation as well as he could, but notwithstanding was so careful as to watch a fit opportunity to cast off the Usurper, and recover his former Place and Dignity, having so much Spirit as to be sensible, that nothing was left him but the Name and Habit. He found at length, that the onely means to do his work was to set the Father and Sons at variance. Christopher was already dead, Constantine was a Man too solid and wife for him to deal withall; but Stephen being of the quite contrary disposition was most fit for his purpose, and he got one Basilus Volucer, a very crafty man to inveigle him, and bring about his Design. Basilus having wound himself into his Acquaintance by Degrees infilled into him such thoughts as these: that he was imprudent, a Man of his Age, Strength and Understanding, to suffer all to hang by a rotten Thread, as he termed the old Man's Life, and not rather take the Government upon himself being so admirably qualified for it, for which he might be assured of the assistance of Constantine his Sitters Husband, who could not take it well to be so lessened, and eclipsed as he was by Romanus. With these and the like Flatteries he was so tickled, that he resolved to depose his Father, and having felt a little the Pulse of his Brother Constantine, and found him averse to any such Attempt, to go through it, with the Help of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Marianus the Monk, the Son of Leo Argyrus, who gladly joined in the Enterprize, though he was very much beloved by Romanus. Taking then his opportunity he seized on his Father, on the sixteenth of December, and conveying him into the Island Protia, forced him to be shaven and made a Monk; which done, he with his Brother and Brother-in-Law managed all things. But long could they not live without suspitions and jealousies, and especially Stephen feared the Interest and claim of Porphyrogenitus, and therefore resolved to depose him. This Constantine was aware of, and having the same Design upon him was more quick, and that through the instigation of his Wife especially. Having communicated his purpose to Basilus, we now mentioned, Marianus and others whom he made his own, as the two Brothers dined with him; on the twenty seventh of January he caused them to be secured and conveyed away, viz. Stephen into the Island Panormus, and Constantine into Terebintus, where they were shaven and made Clerks, Stephen was afterwards removed into Proconnesus,

Romanus endeavours to expiate his unjust Usurpation and Dealings with Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Who sets the Father and Sons at variance.

Thereby depose Romanus.

And having Stephen and Constantine.

thence to Rhodes, and at last to Mitylene; and Constantine into Samothracia. Stephen bore his Fortune courageously, and lived many years in Lesbus; but Constantine grew fullen and impatient, and having often endeavoured to escape, in the second year after his deposing killed one of his Keepers, at which the rest were so enraged, that they flew him. As for Romanus their Father he outlived the disgrace some three years.

Becomes sole Emperor.

His management of Affairs.

20. Thus Constantine Porphyrogenitus, having in his thirty third year recovered his former Estate, in his Government answered not the expectation and hope, that had been conceived of him. For he gave himself up to Wine and Sloth, leaving the management of affairs to others, and yet took no care whom he intrusted, promiscuously and without any consideration conferring Offices both military and Civil. He would punish Offenders without any Mercy, though he looked not at home where Helena his Wife, and Basilus made merchandize of all Preferments, by which means base and unworthy Persons got into the greatest Places of Trust and Revenue. Yet is he much commended for restoring the Sciences and Advancement of Learning, which now had lain much neglected. He encouraged also Artificers, and very much increased Trade. Moreover he was very grateful to such as had assisted him in the Recovery of his Power. On Bardas Phocas he conferred the Dignity of Magister, and the Office of Domestick of the Schools of the East; and his Sons he preferred to good Commands in the East, Cappadocia and Seleucia. To Basilus Volucer he gave the Command of the Associates, made Marianus Argyrus his Comes Stabuli, and one Manuel Curties the Drungarius Biglae. But to establish his Power which he had now recovered, in the first Place on Easter-Day he gave a Diademe to his Son Romanus: then caused he to be gelded Romanus the Son of Stephen, as also Basilus begotten by Romanus the Elder on a Slave, and Michael the Son of Christopher to enter into Orders. Now he seemed to himself so fixed as nothing could shake him, all Dangers being removed and prevented, when more ways than one he was in peril to loose all again. For Theophanes the Chamberlain, was plotting how to reduce Romanus out of the Island Protia, and to restore him, many joining with him in the Design: and at the same time several others of great Quality and Interest consulted how they might fetch back Stephen, and re-establish him in the Government. The Plots were timely discovered by some of the Partics, and Theophanes with his Companions were banished. Those that were for Stephen were ignominiously beaten, and loosing both their Estates and Noses were then driven into exile.

A Conspiracy against him, but discovered and punished.

He marries his Son Romanus.

21. The Daughter of Hugh dying as we said after five years, having some time consulted to whom he should marry his Son Romanus, at length he bestowed on him a Maid of very fordid Parentage, her Parents it's said keeping a Victualling-House, but of admirable beauty and a miracle of Nature, and her Name being Anastasia, he changed it into Theophano. As for matters of War, Bardas Phocas was as we said made Domestick of the Schools, but did nothing worthy of his Title himself, but managed all by his Deputies, incurring such hatred of the Souldiers by his extreme covetousness, that in an Engagement he was deserted by them, and had been taken or killed but for the pertinacious Valour of his own Attendants, who brought him off alive, but with a great and deep wound he received in his Forehead. But his two Sons Nicephorus and Leo behaved themselves to Admiration, both in respect of their Valour and Conduct against the Enemy, and the Kindness and Providence for those that were under their Charge. Leo took in Battel one Apolonia a very eminent Man, and Kinsman of Chabdanus the Ameras of Chalepis, who with a great multitude had invaded the Roman Pale, and after a great slaughter of his Men sent him up Prisoner to Constantinople, where the Emperor led him in Triumph, and trode upon his Neck. But Constantine, the third Son of Phocas, Chabdanus took, and carried him away to Chalepe, where he slayed by all means to make him abjure his Religion, and when all would not doe poisoned him, which so enraged his Father, that all the Kinsmen he took of Chabdanus he put to death. This so irritated Chabdanus on the other side, that Paul a Magister surnamed Monomachus, being sent to treat of Peace could doe no good with him; and he with a great Force invaded the Empire, leading with him Nicetas Chalenzenas a Patritian, and several other Persons he had taken Prisoners. But Nicetas betrayed all his Councils to Phocas, who laid an Ambush for him in a very strait place he was to pass, and cut off most of his Men, he himself with a very few escaping. Before his flight, he killed those Prisoners he had in Custody. But Nicetas had corrupted his Keepers, and was got away with all such as belonged to him.

The Saracens make an Invasion into the Empire.



22. *Bardas* to prevent any more Inrodes invaded the Territories of the *Saracens*, where he wasted all in his way, took many strong Holds, and amongst other Places *Adapa* that Noble City as they term it. The Emperor's Success was no way suitable to his undertaking, who, as became him, did constantly regret the great Losses his Subjects ever and anon sustained from those *Agarens* that inhabited *Crete*, to strike therefore a Terror into them, he prepared a strong Army, and rigged a very considerable Fleet to transport it. And had his choice of a Person to conduct them been as good as his Design was laudable, it could not have miscarried. But General of this whole expedition he made one *Constantine Gongylas* a Patritian one of his Bedchamber, a mere Courtier, an effeminate Man not fit at all for a Camp, of which he never had any Experience. He passed over into *Crete*, but there did nothing worthy of the Place he bore; neither took care for fortifying himself by any Works, nor sending out any Scouts to give him notice of the motion of the Enemy. The *Saracens* then perceiving what a careless and silly Enemy they had to deal with, took their opportunity, and falling upon the *Romans* easily defeated them; some they took, others they killed, and made themselves Masters of the Camp, and the worthy General himself had ran the same Fortune as he deserved, had not his Domesticks notably defended him, and conveyed him into the Admiral Gally. Yet was it not out of disdain for this miscarriage or for his misgovernment, that *Romanus* the Son of the Emperor now plotted against his Father's Life. But so it was, that impatient to dominiere himself he could not stay his time, but conspiring with his Wife the Victualler's Daughter, they periwaded *Nicetas*, one of the Attendants at his Table, to give him Poison, instead of a purging Potion he was to take. It either happened by chance or was designed, that as he was about to drink it he stumbled, and spilt the greater part of it, so that what remained did not work the effect they wished, though he fell very sick and hardly escaped. In the Month of *September*, he would needs travel to the Mountain *Olympus*, as was pretended to beg the Prayers of the Monks, for a successful expedition he purposed to undertake into *Syria*, but as was thought to confer with *Theodoros* Bishop of *Cyzicus*, how he might out *Polyeulius* of the Office of Patriarch, which he had obtained after the Death of *Theophylact* Son of *Romanus* the late Emperor. There, either by the farther practice of his Son upon his Body, or otherwise he fell sick, and being brought back to *Constantinople* in his Litter, died on the ninth of *November*, having lived fifty four years and two Months, whereof thirteen he reigned with his Father, Uncle and Mother, and twenty five more (he should have reigned) with *Romanus Lacapenus*, and fifteen after that by himself. *Zonaras* gives him Commendation for his Piety to God, and his Love to Learning which he shewed by many good Deeds, his Writings and Epistles, composed though not according to exact Rules of Oratory, yet so as they wanted not traits of Rhetoric. And there in *Baronius*, \* a Fragment still remaining of an

The Territories of the *Saracens* invaded but with ill Success.

*Constantine* like to be Poisoned.

A Little after dies.

*Romanus* The Boy succeeds.

Why to term.

\* *Ad An. 95.*

23. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* being dead, *Romanus the Boy* (so he was called, not that he was a Boy as to years, but to distinguish him from the Elder *Romanus* his Grandfather) succeeds him in the third Indiction, *A. D. DCCCCLX*. And as to his manners and carriage he might well enough be termed a Boy. For neglecting wholly matters of Government, which he left to the Management of one *Joseph Bring*, as the chief of his Chamber, he himself attended no other weighty Affairs but those of Mirth and Filthiness, his chief Companions being either Whores, or those of the other Sex that could pimp for him and gratine him in such nasty Delights, or tickle his Ears with Ribaldry. One *John* a Clerk, and an Eunuch, whom for his many Villanies *Constantine* had thrust into a Monastery, now he received amongst those of his Bedchamber, the monastical Habit being thrown off, and notwithstanding the earnest Complaints of *Polyeulius* the Patriarch, yet he excused the matter, and kept him with him as long as he lived; indeed after the Emperor's Death he returned to his Monastery, and changed again his Habit though not his Mind. Yet that it should not be said, but that *Romanus* was careful to keep the Succession in his own Family, on *Easter* Day he caused an Imperial

Imperial Crown to be set on the Head of his young Son *Basilius*, and shortly after he had another Son born whom he called *Constantine* after his Grandfather, by which Issue he seemed now so confirmed in what at present he enjoyed, that he needed to take no farther care, especially having to good a Commander as *Nicephorus Phocas* to manage his Wars, whom the late Emperor for his great services, had preferred to be Domestick of the Schools of the East. This *Nicephorus* indeed had done things very extraordinary against the *Saracens*, having at several times engaged and beaten the several *Ameras* of *Tarsus*, *Chalepus* and *Tripolis*, by which having so much testified his Abilities, *Romanus* now made choice of him to go against those of *Crete*. Arriving at the Island with the Fleet, he put such of them to flight as would have hindered his Landing, and then having strongly incamped himself, and his Ships riding safely in Harbour he fell upon the several Towns, and in the space of seven Months took many of them. On the seventh of *March*, he took *Chandace* the most fortified of all others, after which *Curapes* the *Ameras* of the Isle, and *Arceus* who was his Lieutenant, or next to him in Power fell into his Hands. He had now in a manner brought all *Crete* into obedience, for the settlement whereof when some time required, he was suddenly recalled at the Suggestions of *Joseph* because of an old saying, That he that conquered that Island, should become Master of the whole Roman Empire. While he yet staid in *Crete*, his Brother *Leo Phocas* was sent into the East to restrain the *Saracens*, from making Inrodes, which at this time they might be prone to do, on purpose to divert the *Romans* from *Crete*. He engaged with *Chabdannus* at a Place called *Andrassus*, and gave him such an Overthrow, that an innumerable Multitude of the *Agarens* being slain, the rest were brought away Prisoners to *Constantinople* in such Doves, that all the Houses both in City and Countrey were filled with Slaves. *Chabdannus* with a very few hardly escaped. *Leo* was graced with a Triumph, and otherwise honoured and rewarded as were all the rest, that had well deserved in the Expedition.

The Island of *Crete* subdued.

The *Saracens* on all sides beaten by the *Romans*.

A Conspiracy against him, but discovered and punished.

A great Murder among Cattel.

24. But *Romanus* had not passed the second year of his Reign, when a grievous Conspiracy was hatched against him by the Principal of the Nobility. The Head of them was *Basilius Vulcer*, with whom joined *Paschalis* and *Bardas* the Son of *Libis* both Patritians, and *Nicholas Chalcutas*, who resolved to kill the Emperor on the Day appointed to the Horse-races, as he should come down to see the Sport, and proclaim *Basilius* his Successor. E'er the Day came, one *Joanicius* a *Saracen* and Conspirator discovered the Plot, and they were apprehended by *Joseph*, who put them all to Torture except *Basilius*, and on the Day of the Solemnity were led up and down in Derision, then banished and thaven for Monks, yet the Emperor was so merciful, that after some small time he recalled them, but *Basilius* fell distracted and died in *Procōnesus*, so paying for his several Treasons. *Romanus Saronita*, who was Son-in-Law of *Romanus* the Elder, was so frightened with what had happened to him, and the rest, that left his Eminent Condition should bring him into danger, he distributed his Estate to his Children, and giving largely to the Poor went into a Monastery, where he lived a Monk many years in great esteem with the succeeding Emperours. At this time ranged a great Murrain of Cattel, which having begun in the Days of *Romanus Senior*, continued a long time after. The Emperor at the Infatigation of his Wife, now resolved to remove his Mother and Sister from Court, to the Palace of *Antiochus*. The Mother understanding of it, so wrought upon her Son with her Complaints and Curses, that she was permitted to continue; but the Sisters were taken away and made Nuns, though afterwards when there was none left to awe them, they threw off the Habit and fell to Flesh again. But the took their removal so ill, that he shortly after sickened and died on the twentieth of *September*, and was royally interred by her Father.

25. We said e'er while, that *Nicephorus Phocas* was called out of *Crete*, to which we must now add, that it was without any Permission to return to *Constantinople*; for he received Orders to pass with all his Forces into the East, where \* *Chabdannus* \* *Glyca* \* *Arceus* \* after his defeat had recruited himself, and having now got together a considerable Army was expected every day by the Subjects of the Empire, to renew his wonted Hostilities. *Nicephorus* e'er he could do any harm, got up to him as he came into *Syria*, overthrew him in Battle, and drove him farther up into the Countrey, which done he took *Berrheia* all but the Castle, therein much Wealth, many Prisoners, and set at Liberty many Christian Captives. This was good News to those of *Constantinople*, though *Romanus* the Emperor scarcely lived to receive it, dying on the fifteenth Day of *March*, after he had lived twenty four years,

*Berrheia* taken from the *Saracens*. *Romanus* the Emperor dies.

Ecc and

Nicephorus  
saluted  
Emperour by  
the Army.

27. And when the report of his Designment came to *Constantinople*, he was then at his Wits end, the Citizens bearing him no good will, he had born himself to highly, and been difficult for Access. But when he understood that with the Shouts and Acclamations of the Army, he was brought to *Chrysolopolis*, he then considered what other he might set up for Emperor, and avoid the Indignation of the Souldiers. Upon the report of *Phocas* his promotion, his Father *Bardas* had taken Sanctuary in the great Church, but his Brother *Leo*, though narrowly watched yet escaped, and got to him safe. This farther perplexed *Joseph*, who was not of an humour to ingratiate himself with the People, but if he went about it was wont the more to displease and provoke them. And now he could not restrain his Inclination, but as he saw them all flock to the Church, and to be tickled with the Change they apprehended, with haughty and severe words he rebuked them, and threatened to raise Corn to an high rate, than which he could not doe nor say any thing more to irrage the multitude. This was on *Sunday* the ninth of *August*, when

He makes  
War upon  
Saracens of  
Sicily.

29. In the first year of his Reign, *Nicephorus* undertook a War against the *Saracens of Sicily*, because he judged it an Innominate thing to pay Tribute to the People, which how it came first to be granted, we mult discover by fetching matters a little higher. That People having in the Reign of *Basilus Macedo* Conquered *Sicily*, all but *Panormus*, and thence Invaded *Italy*, and all the Islands of the *Mediterranean* as far, as *Peloponessus*, were then repelled and beaten into quiet by *Nicephorus Phocas*, then Domestick of the Schools, and Grandfather to this Emperor, who thereby got exceeding much Honour. From that time *Italy* continued in repose till the Reign of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* and his Mother, when these Barbarians taking advantage, fell upon the Countrey, and the Governours finding themselves unable to grapple with both the Western and Eastern Infidels, especially now that the *Bulgarians* had violated the League, thought fit to conclude a Peace with them of *Sicily*, and the accord was made by *Eustathius*, then Governor of *Calabria*, one of the Emperours Chamber, that a yearly Pension or Tribute, oftwo and twenty Thousand *Aurei* should be paid to the *Saracens*. The Peace concluded, *Iohn Muscalo* a Patrician was preferred to the Government of *Calabria*, a Man so impious that he was killed by the People, who gave up themselves to *Dandulphus* King of *Lombardy*, (here probably is meant *Radulphus* King of *Burgundi* and *Italy* against *Beregricus*) much about the time that *Romanus* the Elder seized on the Government. *Romanus* resolved if need were, to send a Fleet



serve on Land, and if before as Foot, now as Horsemen at their own Charge.

33. War was his only Element, neither could he think or say any thing but what had relation to it. Therein he placed the Measures of good and evil, inasmuch, that he laboured to introduce a Law which should give to them that lost their Lives in Fight, equal Honours and Veneration with the Martyrs, and but for their Lives in Fight, equal Honours and Bishops he had published the Edict, the vigorous opposition of the Patriarch and Bishops he had published the Edict, they contending, that on the other hand the Canon of *Basil* the Great did bar such of the Communion as had killed, though but an Enemy in Battle, for three years. But what did more provoke the Multitude he debased the Coin, causing some of less intrinsic value to be made, which done, all Payments to himself he exacted in that of the greater, and caused all Issues out of the Treasury to be made of the lesser sort. And whereas all Money stamped with the Images of Emperours, if of the same weight and goodness went at the same Rates, he increased the value of his own Coins above those of his Predecessors. This caused extraordinary difficulty and damage in Commerce, which added to the dearth of all Commodities, made very great disturbance. But that which enraged most, was the fortifying of the Court or Palace, because it was told him, that in it he should die. He pulled down very fair Houses of private Persons adjoining to it, and close to it erected a Cittadell, wherein were built Granaries, Store-houses, Ovens, and Bakehouses, filled with all sorts of Provisions. To these publick Grievances there were other particular Accidents, which being ill taken, however designed, farther increased the general hate against him. A great Tumult happening betwixt the Seamen and *Armenians*, wherein many were killed, and *Sisinnius* the Prefect of the City hardly escaped, he to be revenged on the Citizens, whom he concluded to have been Authors of the disorder, was thought to have drawn them into a Snare in this manner. He appointed some Exercises on Horseback, and either to let the People see the manner of fighting or to terrifie them, caused the Riders to draw their Swords and skirmish together, which cast the Multitude into such a fright, that all ran headlong down from the Theatre, over the Precipices and Ditches, and treading one upon another many were pressed to Death, many more hurt, and greater had been the mischief but that they observed him to sit on his seat not at all concerned, which made them change their Opinion of him, and to stop their Flight. But the Relations of such as were killed, not long after, as he returned into the City, reviled him, and cast at him Dirt and Stones, and had not some of the more sober sort become his Guard, he had easily miscarried.

He engages the  
Russians to in-  
vade Bulgaria.

34. In the fourth year of his Reign, the tenth Indiction, in June going to visit the Cities of *Thrace*, when he came to *Great Suda*, he wrote to *Peter* Prince of *Bulgaria*, not to suffer the *Turks*, as they called them, to pass the River *Ister*. This he objected for several Reasons that he could not doe, but especially he insisted on this, that when that People had invaded his Dominions, then the Emperour had refused to give him any assistance: That therefore he was forced by necessity to make a Peace with them, which his Interest would not permit him now to break. To be revenged of him, for this repulse he procured *Spendobstachus* King of the *Russians* the following year to invade *Bulgaria*, where committing all sorts of Hostility, they destroyed many Towns, and returned with much Booty, adding the same part over again the next year after. In the meantime happened a terrible Earthquake in *Paphlagonia*, and elsewhere. And in May following the Corn was so blasted by scorching Winds, that a great Famine followed, at which *Nicephorus* took advantage to fill his own Coffers, and made a Jest of the Calamity of his People, boasting that he had sold his Wheat at a double Rate. Both he and his Brother Rejoiced in the Miseries of the Poor, or their Actions were such, as they could not afford a better Interpretation, and drew some Expressions from the Oppressed, which taxed him with mis-government to his Face. "On a time as he was Mustering his Soldiers, an ancient man with a gray head desired to be lifted amongst them, of whom when he demanded why he that was now old and feeble, would desire to go to the Wars, he told him that he found he was much stronger than when he was young; for now, since he was Emperour, he could carry Corn of that value on his own Back, with which then he was wont to load two Asses. So much was he hated abroad, and at home, and in his own House he was as little beloved. *Theophano* his Wife did now loath him, either because he was no good Womans man, or the was jealous that he designed to geld her Sons, and leave the Empire to his Brother. *Glycas* writes expressly that it was because he lived chafly;

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ly, abstained from her Bed, and was wont to sleep on the ground, being much delighted in taking his rest in that manner. Following her intemperate humour she had cast her affections upon *Zimifces*, whom as a suspected Person, the Emperour had confined to his own House.

A Conspiracy  
against him  
which takes  
effect to his  
Destruction.

35. She procured him to be discharged of his Confinement, and when *Nicephorus* refused to let him come presently to *Constantinople*, he not only got him secretly conveyed thither, but by Night to be drawn up into the Palace in a Basket, with five of his Friends, viz. *Michael*, *Burtzas*, the Patritian, whom *Nicephorus* had disoblinded, *Leo Abalantius*, an Officer in the Army, and one *Atysoptheodorus* (so named from the swarthinels of his Complexion) more intimate with him than all others. Being got in, they went directly to seek the Emperour, and not finding him in his Chamber in the Bed wherein he ordinarily slept, they were going down the way they came, concluding that their Design was discovered. But by a Fellow that belonged to the Womens Apartment, they were brought where he lay asleep on the ground in a Bears skin, as his Custom was, which Skin he much valued because given him by his Uncle *Michael* a Monk. *Zimifces* first gave him a kick with his Foot and awakened him, then as he leaned on his Elbow endeavouring to rise, *Leo Abalantius* with his drawn Sword mortally wounded him in the Head, the Skull being pierced. Then they dragged him before *Zimifces*, who had placed himself in the Emperour's Seat, and used him with all sorts of Indignities, while he only said, *Lord have mercy upon me, and the Mother of God help me*. By this time the Alarm was given to those of the Guard that then watched, and they were hastening to his Relief, which the Conspirators perceiving, dispatched him, and cutting off his Head shewed it to them out of the Window, which sight quieted them; the Tragedy being already over and not to be prevented. Some reported that ten days before his death, by a Writing left in his Chamber, warning was given him to beware of *Zimifces*: Nay, that by a certain Clerk that very Night the Conspiracy was revealed the same way. But some reported, that he imagining the Paper to contain only some Petition, never opened it; others said he did open and read it, but made no reckoning of it, his Fate so vehemently pressing upon him: And there wanted not who affirmed, that he both took notice of the thing, and committed the Inquiry thereof, and the Defence of his own Person to the *Protovestriarius*, and also wrote to his Brother *Leo*, then at his own House, to come to him sufficiently armed and accompanied with all speed; but he being busied at Chels, with which Game he was wonderfully delighted, neglected to open the Letter till it was too late, which perceiving, with his Son *Nicephorus* he took Sanctuary in the Great Church. However to such an end came this Emperour, who by his Example abundantly shewed the truth of that old Saying, *That Magistracy, especially in Sovereign Power, discovers the Disposition of a man*. Formerly he had taxed that Vice in his own Father, to which he himself, when he had most ample opportunity of getting Wealth, was inflamed. In how sad and uncertain a condition those that wore the Diadem in those days perpetually were, and how much of that liberty which the old Roman Legions took of disposing of the Empire according to their own Lust and Ambition, was still usurped, the Reader from more than this one Instance cannot but take notice. *Nicephorus* lived fifty seven years, and thereof Reigned six, with as many Months.

*Zimifces* seized on the  
Empire, making  
*Basilus* and *Constantine* his  
Collegues.

36. The Murder committed, *John Zimifces* seized on the Empire in the twelfth Indiction, A. D. DCCCCLXIX. *Basilus* and *Constantine*, the Sons of *Romanus*, he made his Collegues, he being in the seventh and this in the fifth year of his Age, as *Cedrenus* writes, which could not be, considering how long it was since the death of their Father; so that herein greater credit is to be given to *Parvinius*, who reckons *Basilus* to have been fourteen, and *Constantine* about twelve, at this Alteration. For his prime Minister he made choice of *Basilus* of the Bedchamber, to whom *Nicephorus*, having been advanced in a great measure by his endeavours, had given a new Title of *President*, being a man of great experience, which he gained under *Romanus* his Father, and his Brother-in-Law *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, by his Wars against the *Saracens*, and other Negotiations of greatest Concernment. He as soon as intrusted, to discharge his Duty, first removed all such as he knew to have been addicted to *Nicephorus*, from all Commands both Military and Civil, and substituted others in their Rooms, whom he knew to be faithfull to him in present power. Such as *Nicephorus* had banished, he recalled, and especially the Ecclesiasticks, whom for opposing him in Matters relating to the Church, he had driven from their places. These things premised

for the establishing of his Power, *Zimifces* thought he might take the Ensigns of the Dignity, and to the great Church he went to receive the Diadem from the hands of the Patriarch. But here he was stopped at the Door, *Polyentius* affirming that it was not lawful for him to enter that Place, whose hands still smocked with the Blood they had so lately shed, for which he must make satisfaction before he could be admitted. He received the Reprehension in good part, promising to perform all things that could be reasonably enjoined him; but alleged he had laid no violent hands on the late Emperor, who was slain by *Abalanus* and *Atzypheodorus* by Command of the Emperors. The Patriarch then required that he should be banished from Court into some Island, as also the Murderers of *Nicephorus*, and that the Edict made by him concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs should be rescinded. The Murderers by *Zimifces* his command were presently removed, and *Theophano* banished into *Proconnesus*, whence afterward escaping and betaking herself to the great Church, she was thrust out by *Basilus*, and carried into the Province of *Armenia*, and there close shut up in a Monastery, after many bitter and reproachful Speeches uttered against the present Emperour and against *Basilus*, to whom she had given a Cuff on the Ear, and loaded him with the Names of *Scythian* and *Barbarian*. Her Mother also was removed from the City, and the Edict of *Nicephorus* against the Privileges of Church-men openly produced and torn in pieces.

Basilus Theophano the Emperess.

Zimifces Crowned at Constantinople

37. These things performed, and the Emperour having promised for expiation of his Crime, to give all the Estate he had been Master of when a Private Man to the use of the Poor, he was admitted by *Polyentius* into the Church, and on *Christmas* day was there Crowned by his hands. While there was this changing and shifting at Court, Affairs of the Empire both in the Eastern and Western Parts, were but in a ticklish condition. For the Cities taken from the *Saracens* in *Cilicia*, *Phoenicia* and *Celestria*, were inclining to revolt. And *Nicephorus* his procuring of the *Russians* to invade *Bulgaria*, as it happened, had brought the Territories of the *Romans* into much greater danger. *Zimifces* thought he should provide in some measure for the security of the East, by preferring to the Bishoprick of *Antioch* upon the River *Orontes*, or that near *Daphne*, one *Theodorus* a Monk, a man of very good Desert, who always told him that he should come to be Emperour, but always advised him not to be hasty in his Attempts that way. He had also persuaded him that as soon as he should get the opportunity by his preferment to remove the *Manichees* out of the East, which he performed afterward, causing them to be transported to *Philippopolis*. All this while the *Saracens* intermitted no thoughts nor means for recovery of their Cities, especially of *Antioch*, in which their Reputation was most concerned. By the Agitation of those most principally concerned, a strict League and Alliance was entered into, not only by that People in what parts soever they lived, but by all other Nations, professing their Religion, particularly, as *Cedrenus* reckons them, the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Elamites*, both the sorts of *Arabians*, (inhabiting the Desert and *Happy Arabia*) and *Sabeans*, vast Forces they gathered together, the Command of which was given to those of *Carthage*, as the most experienced in War both by Sea and Land, who transferred it upon *Zochares* a man very fit for the place of General. They laid Siege to that *Antioch* near to *Daphne*, as our Authors call it, to distinguish it from all others of that Name, and omitted nothing proper to take it, by the strength of the place and the Courage of the Besieged held them to it till such time as the Emperour had sent orders to the Governour of *Mesopotamia*, to raise what power he could and relieve them, and dispatched away *Nicholas* an Eunuch most intimate with him to be General of the Expedition. He mustering all the Forces he could possibly get together, though not once to be named with their Multitudes, set upon them, gave them Battle, raised the Siege, forced them to disperse, and betake themselves to their own Countries, such of them as escaped the Slaughter; and confirmed the Cities of these Quarters in their Obedi-

But are reduced to obedience.

38. Thus matters in the East very well succeeded; but in *Bulgaria*, which the *Ross* had overrun, things went not according to expectation; for this People having made themselves Masters of the Country, and got into their hands *Borises* and *Romanus* the two Sons of *Peter*, finding it much more pleasant and fertile than their own, resolved to fix in it, and brake the Covenants they had made with *Nicephorus*. In this their Resolution they were confirmed by one *Calocyrrus*, who engaged that if by their means he could come to be Emperour of the *Romans*, he would freely quit to them *Bulgaria*, make a perpetual League with them, and

Syrie Metropolis Antiochia dei ad opem valde vocat. Daphne erat suburbium ci- citatis umbri- ferat & aqua- rum copiam & mansissimum. Quod enim in Italia Brixia Alexandriam Canopus, id erat in Syria Suburbium, Antiochia Daphne.

He orders his Forces to march Westward.

double the Tribute or Pension, which had been promised them. Puffed up with these his Offers, but especially with present possession, they challenged *Bulgaria* as their own acquired by War, and the Ambassadors of the Emperour, who offered to confirm and make good whatever *Nicephorus* had granted, they rejected with scornful Language and Deportment. *Zimifces* then finding himself obliged by force of Arms to obtain what by good words he could not compass, sent Orders for all his Forces to march Westward, over which he made General, one *Bardas* surnamed *Sclerus* or *Hard* his Wives Brother, resolving in the Spring in Person, to be at the Head of the Army. The *Russians* hearing of these preparations, to prevent him, raised to themselves as many of the lately conquered *Bulgarians* as they thought convenient, and drawing into their Assistance the *Patzinacæ*, and those our Writers call *Turks*, inhabiting the Western Parts of *Pannonia* (the *Hunnes* or *Hungarians*) made up an Army of three Hundred and eight thousand Men, with which passing *Æmus*, they laid waste all *Thrace*, and late down before the Walls of *Adrianople*. *Bardas* could scarcely muster above twelve thousand Men, and therefore so very much over-matched in Numbers, resolved to try if he could be superiour in skill and stratagem. He contained himself within the Walls of that City, and however challenged and provoked by the Enemy would not fight, making a shew of great fear and diffidence. This made them secure, so as they kept no order, observed no rules, were negligent in their watches, as not doubting but with convenience enough to seize upon the Prey.

Who engage with the Barbarians rout them.

39. He watcht his opportunities, and when he saw his time sent out *John Alacensis* a Patritian, with a Party to skirmish with the Enemy, and by little and little retreating to bring them into an Ambush he had conveniently placed for them. The Barbarians were divided into three Bodies, whereof the *Russians* and *Bulgarians* composed one, the other two consisted singly of the several Nations of *Patzinacæ* and *Turks*. It happened, that *John* light upon the *Patzinacæ*, with whom skirmishing and gently retiring till he came to the Place of the Ambush, he then fed as fast as his Horse could carry him, and they breaking all Order, and pursuing fell into the Army of *Bardas*, which compassing them in, cut them all off, or very few escaped. This encouraged him to complete his Victory by falling upon the rest, who though discouraged by what had happened to their Friends, yet made stout resistance, and the success continued doubtful a long time, till a *Scythian* taller and bolder than the rest singled out *Bardas*, as he rode up and down encouraging his Men. He gave him a blow on the Head, but his Helmet was of such tried Metal, that his Sword could not enter, though that of *Bardas* was so much better temper'd, that with one stroke he both clave his Head-piece and Head in sunder. And *Constantine* a Patritian, the Brother of *Bardas*, coming in to his Relief had as good Success. For they write, that grappling with another *Scythian* who assisted his Countryman, and fetching a stroke at his Head as he declined the blow, he cut off the Head of his Horse, and then cut the Throat of the Master as he lay growling on the Ground. These Achievements of the *Roman* General, and his Brother so discouraged the Barbarians, that they would no more abide it, but shifted for themselves as well as they could, but had not Night prevented farther pursuit, none had escaped, most being killed, and the rest in a manner all taken Prisoners, of whom there were very few to be seen, that were not wounded. Yet if we may believe some Writers, of the *Romans* were killed but five and twenty Men. But none escaped without having received the marks of their Valour upon their Skins.

Bardas Phocas seizes upon Cæsarea.

40. Scarcely was this *Scythian* War brought to an end, when one Inteline which threatened more danger if not to the Empire, yet to the Emperour, recalled *Bardas* to Constantinople. *Bardas* Phocas who had been banished into *Amasia* had fled from thence, and having held secret Intelligence with his Kindred and Acquaintance, was up in Arms, having seized on *Cæsarea* the City of *Cappadocia*, where he had got together considerable Forces, and several Eminent men being come to him had assumed the Imperial Title and Ornaments. *Leo Curopalates* his Father had drawn in many, some by Gifts, and others by large Promises, by the means of the Bishop of *Amydas* especially, and had purposed with his Son *Nicephorus*, to steal out of the Island *Lesbus*, whither he had been confined, into *Thrace*. But the Bishop being apprehended and examined revealed all the Plot, and both the Father and Son were condemned to death. This Sentence of the Judges, was by the Emperour mitigated to the loosing of their Eyes. Yet was he so far from merciful, as it's said, he gave order to the Executioners to make them only of blinding them, and to spare their sight, and give out that it was not by his

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Command,

Command, but proceeded merely from their pity towards them. In the mean time *Bardas* the General was come into *Asia*, as far as *Dorylaeus*, having given him in charge from *Zimisces* to shed no more blood than was necessary. By large Offers therefore he first endeavoured to draw *Phocas* and his Complices from what they had undertaken. But finding them so confident, that with scorn and heat they rejected his Proposals, he marched to *Cæsarea*, where he was scarcely arrived, when these Promoters and Followers of the New-made Emperour, upon farther consideration, and weighing of what had been offered, with what their utmost hopes might amount to, found their best Game would be to undoe what they had done, and accordingly one *Diogenes Adralestus* and *Ampeles*, with *Theodorus* and *Nicephorus* the Sons of *Theodulus*, who had been the Authours of the Revolt first came over, whom all the rest followed, so that *Phocas* was left attended only by his own Servants.

But is deter-  
red by those  
that set him  
up.

Flying to the  
Castle *Tyropæum*,  
capitulates.

41. Much discontented at the Falseness of those, who had perswaded him to these ambitious Courses, and, as they say, farther discouraged by a Dream, he fled toward a Castle called *Tyropæum*. The General sent a Party if possible to overtake him, and it reached him as he came to the Foot of the Hill, on which the Castle stood. There one *Constantinus Charon*, bolder and more forward than any of the rest came soonest up with him, and giving him other contumelious Language called him Coward, bidding him stay if he durst, and receive the Reward of his Treasons from his Hands. *Phocas* perceiving who it was, stopped his Horse, and turning towards him, put him in mind how idle a thing it was without consideration of the Instability of Humane Affairs, to insult over a man that was merely oppressed by the Inconstancy of Fortune, and that he ought rather to commiserate the Condition of one, whose Father was *Cyropalates*, Grandfather *Cæsar*, and Uncle an Emperour himself. *Charon* to this returned more outrageous words, calling him Villain, and telling him that he should sooth up Boys with such idle Stories, and not think therewith to delude him; and very fiercely made up to close him. But *Phocas* being aware of him up with a Club, or Poll-axe, which hung concealed, and his Helmet not being strong enough to keep off the blow knocked him on the Head, whom thus having dispatched, he put Spurs to his Horse again, and recovered the Castle, the Pursuers when they came where *Charon* lay dead, were so astonish'd at the sight, that they followed him no farther. But not long it was e'er *Bardas* came up, and by Messages urged him to yield, professing his kindness to him as an Allie (for to *Sophia* the Sister of *Phocas*, was married his Brother *Constantine*) and undertook to procure his Pardon from the Emperour. *Phocas* then receiving from him an Oath, that he should not be rigorously proceeded against, yielded himself. And the Emperour made good what *Bardas* had engaged, being satisfied with his entering into Orders, and Confinement to the Island *Chios*. This danger thus happily over, *Bardas* received Command to return into the West. To which our Writers of the *Byzantine* History mean *Constantinople*, and those Parts of *Europe* still subject to it, as by the East the Provinces of *Asia*.

Is shaven and  
confined to  
the Island  
*Chios*.

*Zimisces* mar-  
ries *Theodora*,  
Sister to his  
Colleague.

Undertakes  
an expedition  
into *Bulgaria*.

42. These things happened at the beginning of the Reign of *Zimisces*, who much about the same time his former Wife being lately dead, married *Theodora* the Sister of *Romanus* the Third, and Daughter of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, as our Greek Historians write, though *Parvinius* whomsoever he follows, makes her the Daughter of *Romanus* by *Theophano*, and the Sister of *Basilus* and *Constantine*, the Colleagues of the present Emperour. In the second year of his Reign, resolving in Person to make War against the *Rossians*, he used all endeavours possible to make his Designs effectual. By his bounty he made his Souldiers chearfull and courageous. He set over them prudent and valiant Officers, took care that no Ammunition or Provisions should be wanting; and not only set all things in good order at Land, but provided as well for the Sea, setting forth a very considerable Fleet under the Command of *Leo*, the *Drungarius* thereof at present, but afterward preferred to be *Protovestarius*. Having finished his Devotions for good Success, and settled all matters at home, in the beginning of Spring he set forward, and in his Journey at *Radesus* met with two Persons, who under shew of an Embasie were sent from the Enemy to spy how matters stood with him, making great complaints of great Injuries offered to the Nation of the *Scythians*. He knowing well enough on what errand they were sent, caused them to take a view of all his Forces, and therewith bid them be gone, and tell their Masters with how great and well disciplin'd an Army he was coming against them. With five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse fit for expedition, he marched away ordering

*Dorylaeus*, gave  
etiam *Dory-  
laeus*, Magna  
Porgie Gi-  
citas, joctis  
herum an-  
nis.

Laying siege  
to *Persehlaba*.

dering the rest to follow under Conduct of *Basilus* the President, and passing over *Hæmus*, laid siege to *Persehlaba* the principal City of *Bulgaria*. This struck a great terror into the People, and *Calocyus* being in the Town without any opposition made, secretly withdrew himself into the Camp of the *Rossians*, who upon sight of him, and hearing the Emperour himself was in the Field, were not a little dismay'd. But *Sphendobhlabus* their General comforted them, as well as he could by words fit for the present exigence, and caused them to remove nearer the City, where they incamped. A Party of Eight thousand, exercising themselves near the City-Walls *Zimisces* fell upon and did great Execution, whom others issuing out to succour in confusion ran the same Fortune, the ways being intercepted at their Retreat, so that multitudes were slain and as many taken, amongst whom *Sphagellus*, the next in Authority to their General. Animated with this Success the *Romans* fell upon the City, and were forced off more by the Darknes of Night, than the Valour of the Defendants.

Which he  
takes by storm  
with *Boris*,  
their King.

43. Early in the Morning appeared *Basilus*, with the rest of the Army to the great Joy of the Emperour, and shewed himself upon an Hill to strike greater Terror into those that kept the Town. Now did *Zimisces* endeavour to perswade them to save themselves by yielding, to which finding them averie, he gave order for the Forces jointly to begirt and attacke the Place. So violent an Onset the *Romans* made, by their showres of Arrows driving the Defendants from the Walls, and then scaling them with their Ladders, encouraged by one of their Fellows who first mounted, and was more pertincious than the rest, that a sufficient Number got in and opened the Gates, and then the Army entering filled all Places with slaughters. The Women and Children were made Prisoners, and *Risjes* King of the *Bulgarians* was taken with his Wife and Children, who in his Royal Robes was brought to the Emperour. He used him very courteously, gave him the Title of King, and set at liberty all the *Bulgarians*, professing himself their Friend, and an Enemy onely of the *Rossi*. But all this while, when he thought his work was done as to *Persehlaba*, Eight thousand of the stoutest *Scythians* had seized upon the Castle, and were first discovered by the Mischiefe they did, making several Sallies and Slaughter of many they surprized. He caused his men to attacke the Place, but they were very faint in the Service, not so much for the Valour of the Defendants, as the natural strength of its Situation, which he perceiving armed himself, and with Sword in his Hand led them on, which fight wrought so much shame upon them, that driving who should put himself forwardst betwixt his Prince and Danger, they broke through all opposition by Fire and Sword, and Master'd the hold; those that resisted, being either killed or driven headlong down the Rocks and Precipices, or intercepted by the Fire and burnt. Thus was this City fully conquered, in the space but of two Days. The Emperour took order for repairing of it, and called it after his own Name *Joannopolis*. He left a strong Garrison in it, and furnished it with all sorts of Provisions. Having therein attended the Devotions of *Easter*-Day, the Day following he departed for *Dorostolus*, which also had the Name of *Dispra*.

Changing the  
Name to *Jo-  
annopolis*.

44. All this while *Sphendobhlabus*, was incamped in expectation of the coming of the *Romans*, till surpriz'd with the News of the taking of the City. He concealed his grief and exhorted his Men to shew themselves the more courageous, the more opposition they met with, and no longer to expect but to march and find out the Enemy. The Emperour in the mean time ranged about, and took and wasted many Towns and Castles, the plunder whereof he gave to the Souldiers for their Incouragement. But having notice of the approach of some *Rossians*, he ordered one *Theodorus of Misheia*, with a select Party of three hundred to go before to view them, and give him an account of their Condition, and if occasion were to skirmish with them till he should come up to the main Body. It proved onely a Party of some seven thousand men, sent out as it seems upon the same errand with which yet he engaged, and they imagining because of his small Number some Stratagem to be in the case, fled again to the adjoining Woods and Mountains, and so took their way for *Dispra*, not far from which, all but such as fell in the engagement and pursuit, joyned themselves with *Sphendobhlabus*, and his Army. There it was now resolved, that twelve Miles from that Town they should incamp, and stay for the coming of the Emperour; being in all three Hundred and thirty thousand Men, and those unanimous, for three Hundred *Bulgarians*, whom they had suspected, they had put to death. The *Romans* animated to a great height by their Victories were presently with them, and then both Armies prepared for a Batel, at the beginning whereof, though the late Victours did



Then meeting did great Execution, yet the Numbers of their Enemies were equivalent to their Alacrity, and thereby encouraged, they made such resistances, that the success was very doubtful. Twelve times Fortune seemed to change her Face the distressed side still reinforcing it self, till at length Night now coming on, the left Wing of the *Rossians* gave more ground, which as they endeavoured to recruit the Emperor in person led on a Reserve, and with Spear in Hand so bestirred himself, that his Example put new life into all his Souldiers, whereby he carried the day. The *Rossians* fled to *Doroſtolus*, very much lessened in their Numbers, and thither followed the Emperor after he had done his Devoirs to St. *George*, on whose Day this Victory was obtained.

Flying to *Doroſtolus*.

Which upon the arrival of his Fleet *Zimifces* begins.

After several skirmishes.

He resolves to starve them out.

Another Rebellion at home.

But suppressed and punished.

45. He fate down before the Town, but would make no attempt upon it, till his Fleet arrived, because the Defendants might easily escape by the River. In the mean time *Sphendofthlabus* commits to safe Custody in Fetters no fewer than twenty thousand *Bulgarians*, lest they should revolt or make any disturbance in the Garrison, and prepared for a Siege. The Fleet being arrived the Emperor buckled himself to his business, and the Enemy making several sallies, he still repelled with good Success. Now the *Rossians* horsed several Companies contrary to their former Custom, and in an Evening when the *Roman* Soldiers were dispersed, at their Supper, made a very brisk Sally out of two several Gates, the one toward the East, where *Peter* the chief Commander of the Camp lay with the *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, and the other to the West, which Post was assigned to *Bardas Sclerus*, with the Eastern Forces. A very sharp Conflict there was, and the Success for some time inclined to neither side, but the *Romans* had the better at last, and killing many, forced the rest back into the City without so much as one of their own Men either killed or hurt as our Authors affirm; only three Horses perished in the Engagement. The Barbarians much discouraged at this repulse, with great Howlings and hideous Cries, bewailed the Death of their Fellows lately slain, and for the greater security of the place, sent for all their Countreymen that lay in the Garrisons round about. *Zimifces* hereupon drew out his Army into the adjoining plain, and offered them Battle, which they refusing he had time to give Audience to Messengers that came from *Constantia*, and other Forts beyond the River *Ister*, to beg pardon and yield themselves, whom he graciously received and sent Garrisons into the Places so given up. But the besieged, though they refused a pitch Battle, yet their Number being increased issued out in the Night at all their Gates at once, and furiously assailed the Besiegers when they little expected it. And at the first, as was to be expected, they had the better, till *Sphagellus* was slain, which so discouraged them, that they remitted much of their former Alacrity. Yet they kept the Field all the Night, and till Noon the next Day, when perceiving that a Party was sent to get betwixt them and home, they then began to shift for themselves, and finding the ways leading to the Town beset, they stragled through the Countrey, and many of them were slain. The Night following *Sphendofthlabus* began to draw a Trench about the Walls, with which having more strongly fortified the Place, he resolved to hold out till the last.

46. But Provisions failing, and all ways by Land being blocked up, he took along with him two thousand Men, and in a dark and rainy Night passed down the River in Boats, and fetched in Corn and other Necessaries, without the least apprehension of the Besiegers, till at his Return he killed many of their Foragers, and the rest escaped with the News, which arrived not till he was got out of danger. At this the Emperor was very much disturbed, and threatened the Officers of the Fleet with death, if any such thing happened for the time to come; for having spent now forty Days to no purpose in Hostility, he was resolved to starve them out, and having taken care for stopping up of all Avenues, took his ease and expected the Event. In the mean time while he fought after new Conquests, what he had formerly possessed was in great danger, for *Leo Caropates*, and his Son *Nicephorus* no-way obliged by his Clemency, who had caused their Eyes to be spared, when they had been sentenced for their former Treasons to loose their sight, again broke out into Rebellion, and having corrupted many Officers in several Places, left the Island, to which they were confined, and by Night came to *Constantinople*, where they imagined they could do great matters, in the Absence of the Emperor. But *Leo the Drungarius* of the Fleet, to whom with *Basilus* the Redour, the care of the Palace and City was committed, timely before they could get their Complices together, sent a Party of Souldiers to secure them, of which having notice they betook themselves to the great Church, but were

were thence drawn out and sent into the Island *Prota*, where the former Judgement was now executed with effect upon them. To return to the Siege, the Defendants were both sorely pinched with Famine, and distressed by Engines of the Enemy, with which among so many stout and young Warriors, some would ever be trying their skill, and attempting something. One *John a Magister* the Son of *Romanus Curcuas* with a Machine he had, did them most mischief, so that they resolved to make a Sally by some of their stoutest men, to break or dislodge it. *Curcuas* to rescue his Engine rushed in amongst them, was knocked down from his Horse and slain, but his Souldiers though they could not save his Life yet preserved the Ram, and drove back the *Rossians* into the Town.

The besieged make an universal Sally.

But retreat with great Loss.

After which they consult.

Refolving to leave the City and try it out by Battle.

47. On the twentieth day of July, they resolved to make an universal Sally, by the Advice of one *Jernor*, a man who for his desert was the second in Reputation amongst them. A fierce contest there happened, till *Anemas* one of the Emperor's Guard singled out *Jernor* and slew him, at which sight in Confusion they retired, and many by reason of the straits of the Ways, were either killed by the Pursuers, or trampled down by their own Fellows, *Sphendofthlabus* himself with difficulty escaping. When the *Romans* came to strip the slain, they found many Women in Mens Clothes had accompanied their Husbands, and fought stoutly. And courageous enough they were of both Sexes and all Conditions, but what prospect of any hope there was to succeed, the most prudent amongst them could not see. For on all sides, were they surrounded with insuperable Difficulties. Of any relief there was no probability, their Friends and Countreymen being so far off. The Neighbouring Nations refused to meddle, being awed by the Power of the Emperor; who by his Fleet and Army being now Master both at Land and Sea, barred them of all Access, while he and his Souldiers abounded, not only with all things necessary but delightful, and was recruited with perpetual Supplies of Men. Great deliberation being had about their matters, some were for flying away by Night, others moved that they should yield, others propounded other ways and Methods, but all concluded that a Period was to be put to this War. But *Sphendofthlabus* affirmed, this was not to be done in any cowardly manner, lest they should be derided by all their Neighbours, and Eternal Infamy should stick to their Nation, and therefore he perswaded them once more to try it with the Besiegers, and prefer a glorious Death before an ignominious Life.

48. Unanimously the next day they quit the City, and make fast the Gates that no hope of retreating thither might any more remain. Such a Fight followed as is usual with a resolved and desperate Enemy. The *Romans* less accustomed to hardship were most distressed by the heat of the Weather, whom their Emperor carefully relieved by bottles of Wine and Water mixed, and then caused them thus refreshed to renew the Fight. The narrowness also of the ways was a great hindrance to them, of which he being sensible, commanded that his Officers should by degrees retire, and when they were come into the open plain, then to fall on again with their former violence. The *Rossians* imagining they fled, made after them with great earnestness, till the *Romans* being arrived at the appointed place, furiously charged them a-fresh. Now the service being hot on both sides, *Theodoros of Misheia* his Horse was killed under him, and a sharp contention followed, while the Enemy endeavoured to kill, and his Friends laboured as hard to preserve him. He clearing himself of his Horse as well as he could, caught one of the *Rossians* fast by the Girdle, and bestirring himself, thrust the Man on this side and that side of him, where he saw the danger was, and used him as a Target to receive the Strokes or Darts that were designed against him, and this he did till he was rescued and brought off. But *Zimifces* seeing the Enemy fight rather more courageously than ever, the success doubtful, and pitying the dangerous condition his Men were in, to prevent greater effusion of blood sent to *Sphendofthlabus*, and challenged him to decide the quarrel by the single Combat of them two. The Barbarian refused it, proudly answering that he understood himself better than did the *Roman* Emperor, who if he was weary of his Life, might find ways enough to be rid of it, while he should mind what he had to do. The Emperor resolving with all his force and dexterity, to drive the Affair in that manner, which alone remained and by this one days action, to finish both this War, and Siege, sent *Bardas Sclerus*, with his Troops to hinder them all Access to the Town, *Romanus* the Patrician, the Son of *Constantine Caesar*, and Grandson of *Romanus* the Elder, together with *Peter*, another great Commander in the Army, he ordered with their forces to give a fresh charge, which was so warmly both given and received, that still the success remained absolutely uncertain: but *Anemas* lately mentioned, Son of the

*Anemas*



and \* *Mityropolis* much money, besides three hundred *Arabian* Horsemen for a supply. This furnished in the beginning of Spring, and farther encouraged by a Dream of a certain Monk, he set forward for *Constantinople*, whither the Report flying disturbed both the Emperours and all men that were not delighted with change, and loved to sit in troubled waters. Orders are dispatched to *Peter* to have the Army in a readines, to Rendezvous at *Cæsarea*, and *Stephen Synellus* the Bishop of *Nicomedia* is sent to *Bardas*, by his Eloquence, if possible, to persuade him to desist. But all he could say not in the least shook the Determination of the Usurper, who to make a short Answer to his long Oration, thrust out his right Foot, and shewing him his Purple shoe, told him, that "He that had once worn that colour abroad, and in the sight of People, could not be easily induced to put it off, and bid him tell those that sent him, that if they would not freely admit him for Emperour, he would endeavour to establish himself as such whether they would or no. This Answer returned, command was sent to *Peter*, that he should not begin the War, but watch and observe *Bardas*, secure the Passages, and make resistance if Attacked. Accordingly he stopped up the ways, and after some bickerings of small Parties, they came to Encamp one against the other. *Bardas* now shewed himself backward to Fight, till some convinced him that he injured himself by delays, which would most certainly bring him into contempt, and cause his Friends to fall off from him.

53. Convinced by this Reason he dislodged, and in the space of three days marched into *Lapara*, called afterwards *Lycandus*, a Part of *Cappadocia*; and *Peter*, lest he should be prevented, followed after, night and day, and thither came up close to him. Yet neither of them had any mind to Fight, but endeavoured by wiles to circumvent each other, in which craft, *Bardas* was superior after this manner. He caused meat to be prepared as if the Army was to take Refreshment, but yet commanded every Man to be ready to Fight. This perceived by the Enemies they also fell to Eating, as concluding that for that day they might take their ease, and there would not be any Engagement. In this posture he fell upon them, and though they flew to their Arms and made stout resistance yet perceiving they should be compassed about by his two Wings, and the Mercenaries he had ordered to fall on their Backs, they ran away, and with the first *Burtas* the Governour of *Antioch*, whether for fear or out of design is uncertain. Many were killed, and *Bardas* took their Baggage wherein was much treasure found. Thence he removed, and took in a City called *Tsamandus*, and by this success got such reputation that many came over to him, and took his part, as *Burtas* is now mentioned, *Andronicus* a Patritian, *Lydius* an Officer in the Army, and the inhabitants of *Attala* laid hands on *Michael Curtices*, the Commander of the Emperour's Fleet, which they carried all to *Bardas*, and from him received orders under his command, to make War against the *Cibyrræotæ*. These things being reported at Court, it was there resolved, that some of the Emperour's Friends should be invested with absolute or imperial power to give, grant and act whatsoever he should think convenient for the suppression of this Usurper. Against him then was created, *Dilator* (as we may Term him) *Leo the Protovestiarius* and one *John* a Patritian a very eloquent and eminent man was sent with him as an assistant or Councillour. Joining with *Peter* at *Cotyacius* a place of *Phrygia* he first essayed secretly by great promises to draw the most considerable Persons from *Bardas*, but all his Art this way was so far from doing any good, that it confirmed them in an Opinion of his weakness and of his Inability to proceed any other way.

54. Finding this project to fail him, by the night time he gave *Bardas* the go-by, and held on his course toward the East, which marvelously perplexed those about the Usurper, both in that they feared their Treasure, and also were solicitous for their Relations, left behind them in those parts. And this consideration so wrought with them, that many departed and fled to *Leo*; *Bardas* his affairs were brought into that posture, that he had just cause to fear that all his Forces would speedily fall away and disperse themselves. There was no way therefore but one; to send *Burtas* and *Romanus Tarontia* a Patritian, two that he could trust to stop the course of *Leo*, by continual Allarms, sudden on-sets and intercepting his Provisions, yet so as to be sure not to venture a set Battle. But they were forced to break their orders. For News was brought that betwixt the two Armies were shortly to pass some *Saracens* who were carrying the Annual Tribute,

Meeting the  
Emperour's  
Army by Sea-  
tege he  
overcomes  
them.

Upon which  
Leo as Dicta-  
tor is appoint-  
ed to sup-  
press him.

*Tribute*, due from the Eastern *Berræa* to *Constantinople*, which would fall as a certain Prize to those that could compass it, and therefore the Soldiers were not to be restrained. It occasion'd an Engagement, wherein *Burtas* was beaten, and many of his Men were slain, especially the *Armenians*, to whom no Quarter would be given, because they first revolted to *Bardas*. He having notice how matters went, hastened with the Body of his Army, and incamped, as conveniently as he could against *Leo*, expecting a fit opportunity to engage. But *Leo* was wary and drew out the time in length, which he was encouraged to do, finding that his strength increased by the daily coming over of some or other to him. And the opinion of the Elder and Wiser about him was, that by delay he should still manage his Matters; but those of the younger and hotter sort were all for fighting, and as we are apt to yield to the worst, he suffered himself to be overruled, and to give Battle. *Bardas* divided his Forces into three Parts, whereof he himself led the middle Battle, to his Brother *Constantine* he assigned the right, and to *Constantine* the Son of *Gabras* the left Wing. They had not long engaged when *Leo's* Soldiers, not able to sustain the violence of his Horse, placed at each Wing, gave ground and occasion to a total Defeat, which immediately followed. *John* the Patritian was killed, and *Peter* the Master of the Camp, with many other persons of great Quality. *Leo*, with several other men of Office and Dignity was taken Prisoner. He was committed to Custody; but the Eyes of *Theodorus* and *Nicetas Hagiozacharite*, two Brothers, at the Head of the Army were digged out, because they had broken their Oaths and fallen off to *Leo*.

But in a Bat-  
tle is also over-  
thrown.

The Seas clear-  
ed of the U-  
surper's force.

But by Land  
he obtains the  
City of Nice.

55. This Victory so exceedingly advanced the Interest of *Bardas*, that the whole Empire seemed now at his Devotion. But *Basilus* the President, was all this while very intent upon his business, and though he neglected no means for increasing the Land Forces, yet his especial care was for setting out a strong Fleet; for *Michael Curtices* the General of *Bardas*, had wasted almost all the Islands, and was shortly expected at *Abydus* in the *Hellepont*, which must needs cause *Constantinople* itself to tremble. Having made all preparations the time would give him leave, he sent out the Navy under Command of *Theodorus Carentenus*, a Patritian, who finding out *Curtices* at *Phocæa*, fought with and defeated him, by which means the Seas were all cleared. Then *Basilus* applying himself wholly to the War by Land, sent away *Manuel Eroticus* to command the City of *Nice*, the *Metropolis* of *Bithynia*, against which in a short time after *Bardas* shewed himself and fell upon it with all violence. But not able to Master it, so vigorous and successful was the resistance which *Manuel* made, he resolved to starve him out, and from his hands forced him to betake himself to his Wits, so much were the Inhabitants pressed with want. He caused the Granaries therefore of the City to be filled with Sand, and Corn to be strowed so thick upon it, that the Sand could not be discovered by the Eye. Then did he shew to some Prisoners he had the said Granaries, and bragged how able he was by that means to hold out; but withall signified, that if he and those with him might have leave honourably to depart, he would quit the place. This was not unwelcome News to *Bardas*, who upon report of the full Granaries, granted them such Conditions as they desired, and so with Bag and Baggage they marched out, and went to *Constantinople*. Thus *Bardas* became Master of *Nice*, but in such a way, and by such means, as he was ashamed to own. However, he put a strong Garrison into the Town, under Command of one *Pegasius*, and then attended his other Affairs.

Which causes  
Bardas Phocas  
to be recalled  
and made Gen-  
eral.

56. *Basilus* the President perceiving his matters now desperate, *Bardas* being shortly expected at *Constantinople*, betook himself to his last refuge in making use of a Person to which Necessity alone could oblige him. This was *Bardas Phocas* whom for this purpose he speedily recalled out of Exile, and judging him the only Person he could oppose to his Nameake, received of him an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperours, and conferring on him the Dignity of a *Magister*, made him Domestick of the Schools, and committed the War to his management. *Phocas* having received Power and Instructions, endeavoured to pass over to *Abydus*; but finding *Romanus* the Son of *Sclerus* to command the *Hellepont*, returned to *Constantinople*, and there light of a Vessel which waited him over to the opposite Shore, whence travelling by Night, he came to *Cæsarea*, and there joining himself with *Eustathius Maleinus* and *Michael Burtas*, who had again turned to the Emperour's side, and gathering what Forces he could together, went on to *Amorium*. *Sclerus* having notice of his Arrival, now concluded, that he was to deal with his Match, not with Eunuchs and Effeminate Persons, and to *Amorium* he

Ggg

marched,

Who is twice  
worsted by  
Sclerus.

marched, where coming to an Engagement, the Forces of *Phocas* being disheartened by the Defeats they had lately received, failed of Courage and of Success, and were driven out of the Field, yet so as the Retreat was very fair and leisurely, *Phocas* himself bringing up the Rere and facing about and charging the Pursuers as he had advantage. He got away to the Castle of *Charfianus*, and there refreshed his men, and received many that came to him upon the Emperour's Account, whom he promoted according to their Qualifications. *Sclerus* was not long behind him, but coming and incamping not far off provoked him to fight, who as readily consenting, they joined Battel again; wherein *Phocas* had the worst, not being able to make his men stand their ground, though with his Poll-axe in his Hand he rode about to the several Ranks, and killed many of the Enemies, discharging all Offices both of an expert Commander and valiant Souldier.

But in the  
third Engage-  
ment obtains  
the Victory.

57. After this Defeat he went into *Theria*, where he desired and obtained a supply from *David* the Prince of that Country, with whom he had contracted a particular Friendship when formerly he commanded *Chaldia*. Joyning these Forces with the remainders of his own, which he had rallied, he marched to *Pancalenia*, a large Plain lying upon the River *Halys*, to seek out his Enemy, who there lay incamped. Another bloody Contention followed, wherein *Phocas* perceiving his men again to give ground resolved to indure no longer the ignominy of being beaten, but eysing *Sclerus*, ran violently at him with purpose to kill or be killed. But *Sclerus* was so aware of him that he fetch'd the first stroke, some say with his Poll-axe, and others with his Sword, which missing him, cut off one of the Ears of his Horse, and his Bridle in sunder. *Phocas* his hand was more steady, who gave the other such a blow upon his Helmet as struck him down upon the Neck of his Horse, which done he galloped up to an Hill and restrained the flight of his Souldiers. *Sclerus* dazzled with the stroke, and fainting, was by his Followers carried to a Fountain to have his wound cleansed, who concluded that *Phocas* and his Cause were both now lost, and therefore were the more careless. Not taking heed to their Master's Horse when they had taken him off, he got loose and with his Main all bloody ran amongst the Souldiers, who thereupon concluding that the Rider their General was slain, instead of pursuing, ran away themselves, and that with such fear and haste, that some tumbled down Precipices, and others took the River and therein were drowned, while *Phocas* to his great amazement beholding what happened and looking upon it as an extraordinary mercy from Heaven, took the Advantage offered him of giving the Chace and obtaining an unexpected Victory. *Sclerus* with a few elcaped and got to *Martyropolis*, whence he sent his Brother *Constantine* to *Chofroes* the Prince of *Babylon*, to desire his Friendship and Assistance. *Chofroes* making delay, and neither granting his Request nor returning a denial, when his Brother came not back with any answer, he himself went thither with all his men. The Emperour *Basilus* being informed by *Phocas* of his late success, and how *Sclerus* was gone to *Babylon*, sent an Ambassadour to *Chofroes* the *Amernumnes*, desiring him to consider, as he was a Prince, of what ill example and consequence it might prove to harbour and protect Rebels, and Letters were written also to *Sclerus* and those about him, offering them free pardon for what was past, if they would return to obedience, and every man to his own Home, which when *Chofroes* understood, not thinking himself fairly dealt with, he committed both the Ambassadour and *Sclerus* to Custody. So strong of his Party as did not accompany *Sclerus* to *Babylon*, seized upon one or two strong Castles in the Province of *Thrace*, whence for some considerable time they made excursions into the neighbouring Territories, and did much mischief, till by *Nicephorus Parsacutinus* a Patritian, upon promise of Indemnity from the Emperour, they were perswaded to desist, and were brought in.

*Sclerus* flying  
to *Babylon*,

Is there com-  
mitted into  
Custody.

The *Bulgari-  
ans* invade the  
Western parts  
of the Empire.

58. Such was the Issue hitherto of the Rebellion of *Bardas Sclerus*; how matters went in the mean time in the Western Parts of the Empire, we must now discover. The *Bulgarians*, notwithstanding all the pains of *Zimisces*, in that Country continued no longer in obedience than he in life. Not long after his Death, resolving to be governed by those of their own blood, they committed the supreme Power to four Brothers, *David*, *Moses*, *Aaron* and *Samuel*, called commonly *Cometopoli*, because they were the Sons of an eminent Count amongst them. For of the Stock of *Peter* none was left whom they could prefer. His two Sons *Borises* and *Romanus*, that were, as we said, brought to *Constantinople*, had thence upon the death of *Zimisces* made their escape back into *Bulgaria*. But *Borises* passing through a Wood in a Roman Habit, was killed by a certain *Bulgarian*, who took him for one of that Nation: *Romanus* indeed was alive, and returned some time

time after to *Constantinople*, but he was an Eunuch, having been gelt by *Joseph*, that eminent Bedchamber man, formerly mentioned. Now of all these four Brothers *David* died presently after. *Moses* in the Siege of a place called *Serra* was killed by a blow given with a Stone, and *Aaron* being suspected to favour the *Romans*, was by *Samuel* murdered with all his Children, one *Blackophylabus* excepted, called also *John*, who was preserved by *Kadomer* (otherwise also named *Romanus*) the Son of *Samuel*. This *Samuel* was a man of a restless disposition, a very good Souldier, and while the Empire was sufficiently intangled with the War against *Sclerus*, plagued all the West with his Incursions, not only *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, with the Parts near to *Thessalonica*, but *Thessaly* also, *Greece*, and *Peloponnesus*, and took many strong Holds, the chief whereof was *Larissa*, the Inhabitants of which with their whole Families he transported into *Bulgaria*, inrolled them amongst his Souldiers, and used them against the *Romans*.

Upon which  
*Basilus* the  
Emperour en-  
ters *Bulgaria*.

59. Matters thus standing with the *Bulgarians*, the Emperour *Basilus*, as soon as the business with *Sclerus* was over, began to reflect upon his own Power, and resolved now he was of years sufficient to undertake the War against them upon his own score, to shew he was in a condition to be out of Pupillage. Without acquainting *Phocas*, though the Domestick of the Schools, or any other of the Captains of the East, he invaded *Bulgaria*, through the Countries, lying near *Rhodope* and the River *Eurus*, leaving *Leo Melissenus* behind him to secure the Straits, whilst he coming about by the difficult Passages and Woods, lying near to *Triaditza*, or as it was in old time called *Sardica*, came into a place known by the Name of *Steponizum*, resolving to lay Siege immediately to *Sardica*, being the more encouraged so to doe because *Samuel* was reported, out of fear, to keep himself in the mountainous Parts of the Country, not daring to come down, but when he saw he had an Advantage by Stratageme or Ambush to effect something considerable. But while he prepared for this Siege, *Stephen* the Domestick of the Schools of the West, for the smallness of his Stature called *Contostephanus*, but a very great Enemy to *Leo Melissenus*, came to him by Night, and with most vehement words perswaded him to set all other Considerations aside, and return with speed to *Constantinople*, because *Melissenus* had a Design to Usurp, and for that purpose was halting toward the City. The Emperour easily frightened with such a Story gave orders for the Army to march, and then *Samuel* seeing his time, fell upon them as a flying Enemy, and put them to flight indeed, taking all their Baggage, and therein the Emperour's Ensigns of Majesty, who with much adoe got through the Straits, and escaped to *Philippopolis*. There he found *Leo* at his Station intending diligently what had been enjoyn'd him, whereupon sensible how they had both been abused, he reviled *Contostephanus* as a Lyar and Authour of so great Infamy as this ridiculous Expedition must needs procure, and *Stephen* demeaning himself very arrogantly, and endeavouring to defend what he had done, he leapt from his Seat, and catching fast hold of him by his Locks and Beard pulled him down to the ground.

But in his re-  
turn looses his  
Baggage, &c.

A great Earth-  
quake.

60. A great Earthquake happened after this in the Month of *October*, and the twelfth year of the Emperour *Basilus*, and *Constantine*, of whom we hear little or nothing, being wholly given up to Idleness and Pleasure, and willingly leaving all to the management of his Brother, who now casting off his former Neglect, took matters into his own Hands, and seriously applied himself to business. By the Earthquake were not only many Churches and private Buildings overturned, but also part of the Globe of the Great Church, which he magnificently repaired with so great expence, that the very Scaffolding stood him in ten Centenaries of Gold. But his late Expedition into *Bulgaria* had that operation upon several of the Nobility, especially *Bardas Phocas*, that thinking themselves exceedingly neglected in that he would not consult with them, and thence taking a measure of what they must expect from him in time to come. Some two Months before the Earthquake in the Month of *October*, meeting at the House of *Eustathius Meleniars*, who had been ignominiously dismissed the Service, at *Charfianum* they proclaimed the said *Phocas* Emperour, giving him a Diadem, and investing him with the other Imperial Ornaments. At the same time word was brought that *Sclerus* (whom *Baronius* strangely makes the same with *Phocas*, writing that *Sclerus Bardas*, surnamed *Phocas*, was this year Proclaimed and Crowned Emperour) was *Rugad ad vos* coming out of *Syria* being delivered out of his Prison at *Babylon* upon this occasion, *Perennes Ori-*

*Bardas Phocas*  
saluted Empe-  
rour.

*Civili; Sclerus Bardas Cognomento Phoca Tyrannus, Imperator acclamatur, ac coronatur. Baron. ad A. D. 987. num. 4.*

The Persians  
bade us to  
call off the  
Yoke of the  
Saracens.

The Nation of the *Persians* being subdued and inflaved by the *Saracens*, endured the Yoke with much Reluctancy and Repining, and the most Noble and Potent of them were watching but for a fit opportunity to shake it off. Of these one *Inargus* more concerned himself than all others, being of a great Family, very Eloquent, and a Complete Souldier, who observing *Chofroes* very imprudently and negligently to manage his Affairs, resolved not to let slip such an Advantage, but drew to revole all the *Achemonides* or *Achemeniades*, a Part of *Persia*, and hired twenty thousand of the Eastern *Turks* (so they term them, as the *Hunni* or *Inargians* the Western) and then openly makes War, killing all the *Saracens* where-  
 over he could light on them. *Chofroes* often in Person, and as often by his Officers engaged with him in Fight, but still came off with loss, which struck such terror into his Souldiers, that they could not endure to hear a *Persian* named. This made him think of his *Romans* now in durance, and to consider, that were not *Sclerus* a man very considerable, as well for skill in War and Courage as other Matters, he could never have waged war with the Emperor, nor brought him to such Straits as he did, nor would so many Noblemen have sided with him, and given him the Title. Communicating his thoughts with his Council, he delivered him out of Prison, and after much Carelessing of him, desired that he would undertake the War against the *Persians*.

Upon which  
Sclerus and the  
Romans in Sy-  
ria are let out  
of Prison.

Who engage  
and defeat the  
*Persians*.

And return  
into the Em-  
pire.

Causing Phocas  
and sending his Son  
to Basilius the  
Emperour.

61. *Sclerus* at first pretended an Averfence, affirming that He and his Fellows being kept so long in Prison, were thereby rendered unfit for Employment of that Nature. But *Chofroes* promising him ample recompence for the Injury that had been done him, with much Treasure and great Force for carrying on the War, he undertook it, yet so as he would not meddle with the *Arabians*, *Saracens* or other Subjects of *Chofroes*, but desired that the Prisons of *Syria* might be opened, and all *Roman* Captives set at Liberty, with whom and no other Army he would doe his work. By this means, getting together about three thousand Men, he caused them by bathing and other ways to recover their former strength, and new clothing and arming them, led them against the *Persians*, whom by a manner of fighting unusual to them, and especially by the Violence and Courage of his Souldiers he totally defeated, so that scarcely remained any to carry away the News, and *Inargus* himself fell in the Crowd. Now the *Romans* enriched with great booty, and many Horses would by no means return to *Chofroes*, but taking the Road that led into the Territories of the Empire, by great Journeys without the Knowledge of the *Saracens*, they escaped thither. Thus some reported. Others affirmed that they went back to *Chofroes*, were courteously received by him, and that dying not long after he gave Order to his Son to conduct them with Honour and Safety, into their own Country. And a third story there was, they getting away without his Knowledge, he sent after them a great Multitude to bring them back, with which they fought, and reducing them to a smaller Number than themselves, such slaughter they made, then without any opposition prosecuted their Journey.

62. However it was, *Sclerus* with his Followers got safe into the Territories of the Empire, where understanding how *Bardas Phocas* had also assumed the Title, he found himself much at a Loss what to doe. To make himself sole Emperour, he was not sufficiently provided, and to join himself either to *Basilius* or the other he esteemed a mean thing, and below him, and should he take the Part of one and make the other his Enemy, it might prove a matter of great danger, therefore he resolved to give words to both, and so ingratiate himself with the one, that he should not disoblige the other. To *Phocas* he sent and offered to suppress *Basilius*, and share the Empire with him, but secretly at the same time he caused his Son *Romanus* to go to the Emperour at *Constantinople*, under pretence of running away and revolting, with this Design, that if *Phocas* got the better, the Father should intercede for and bring off his Son, and if *Basilius* overcame, his Son should make the Father's Peace. *Romanus* was kindly received, preferred to the Dignity of a *Magister*, became a great Favourite and a Counsellor to *Basilius* in his Wars, who had now taken all matters out of the Hands of *Basilius* the President, and fearful that for his so doing, he might as he had done to others practise something against him, had removed him from Court to his own House. There perceiving that he was very unsatisfied, and turbulent, and was hatching some Design for recovery of his Power, he banished him, and seized upon most of his vast Estate both to enrich himself, and hinder him from attempting any new matters. The Monastery lately built by him, he rifled, and seized on all his Curiosities, which so afflicted the old Man, that he pin'd away and died.

*Basilius*

Sclerus and  
Phocas make  
an Agree-  
ment.

But when joy-  
ned Phocas  
trepan him  
and commits  
him to custo-  
dy putting in  
for the whole

But is poi-  
soned by Pro-  
curement of  
*Basilius*.

Who in effect  
is sole Em-  
perour.  
*Constantine*  
Indulging  
himself in ease  
and pleasure.

*Sclerus* is set  
at Liberty.

But by Agree-  
ment with *Ba-  
silius* quits his  
pretensions.

*Basilius* being rid of him, and wanting some to assist and advise him, the more welcome received *Romanus*, knowing him to be both a prudent Man, and an excellent Souldier.

63. In the mean time an Agreement was made between *Sclerus* and *Phocas*, on these terms, that their Designs succeeding, *Sclerus* should for his share have *Antioch*, *Phoenicia*, *Palestine*, *Calogryria*, *Meopotamia* and *Egypt*; and *Phocas* obtain *Constantinople*, with the rest of the Provinces. This was confirmed by oath on both sides, and *Sclerus* joined himself with *Phocas* in *Cappadocia*, for the better carrying on of the War. But *Phocas* watching his Advantage, spoiled him of the Imperial Ensigns, and then committed him to Custody, which done he prevailed with his Souldiers to fight under him, and now seeming to himself to have sufficiently provided for his Interest, sent one *Calocyus Delphinus* a Patrician, with part of his Army to *Chrysopolis*, over against *Constantinople*, on the shore of *Asia*, and with the rest of the Forces he himself removed to *Abydus*, by this means to block up *Constantinople*. *Basilius* by this time had received some Succours from the *Rossians*, to the Prince of whom, *Bladimere*, he had married his Sister *Anne*. With these *Rossians* by Night having waited over, he fell unexpectedly upon *Delphinus*, easily overpowered and took him Prisoner, whom he caused instantly to be nailed to a Post, and having animadverted as he thought fit upon the rest, that he there took, then returned to *Constantinople*. In the mean while *Phocas*, with might and main endeavoured to get into *Abydus*, but the Inhabitants made stout resistance, being encouraged by *Cyriacus* the *Drugarius* of the Fleet, who was sent thither for that purpose. But presently *Constantine* the Emperour passed over, and was soon followed by his Brother *Basilius*, whom *Phocas* with part of his Forces speedily encountered, leaving the rest to continue the Siege of *Abydus*. Before the Armies joined doubtful of the Event, and perceiving *Basilius* to ride up and down, to view the Troops, give directions and animate his Men, he resolved to single him out and kill him, by which Act seeming not at all difficult, their years and experience considered, he should put an end to the Quarrel, and secure the Empire to himself. Accordingly with all his Force he made towards him, but stopped in his Carreire, before he came near to the Emperour. Some reported his Horse threw him: the Emperour *Constantine* gave out that he fell by his Hand, but the general and most received opinion was that making toward an Hill near at hand, finding himself surprized he laid him down and died of Poison, which by procurement of *Basilius*, one *Simeon* a Servant whom he most trusted had given him, although it was also given out, that in his Passage from the Hand of some Enemy he received a mortal wound. At first it was only imagined that he there rested himself, but when he was found to be dead, and the Rumour was thereof spread into the Army, his Men then fled in disorder, and the Emperour's giving the Chace obtained a Victory at a very easie rate. Amongst the Prisoners were *Leo*, and *Theognostus Melissenis*, *Theodosius Mesanyilus* and many others whom *Basilius* led in Triumph, being set upon Asses. Onely *Leo Melissenus* he exempted from this Ignominy, because when the Armies were preparing for Battle, he rebuked with Tears his Brother *Theognostus* for reviling the Emperours, and beat him when he would not cease his contumelious Language.

64. *Basilius* finding himself now Emperour indeed, upon the removal of such a Competitor, with his Fortune quite changed his Humour, scarcely thinking or doing what he had been accustomed to before. Considering what solicitude and pains his place required, he quitted all his former pleasures, left off all his brave apparel, renounced his wonted Intemperance both as to Wine and Women, and applied his mind wholly to the Art and Practice of Government, wherein he left nothing to his Brother but the mere Name and Lustre, assigning him a Guard, but that very small, and not answering the Dignity, which he did not at all take in evil Part, contenting himself with his Freedom and Ease, and prizing his Hunting and Conversation with his Friends, above whatever Domination and troublesome Command could afford. But *Phocas* being dead in the Month of *April*, the second Indiction, and the fourteenth year of *Basilius* and *Constantine*, *Sclerus* was thereupon set at Liberty, by such as kept him in the Castle of *Tyropæum*, and continued in the same mind of assuming the Title as formerly. *Basilius* laboured to take him off, expostulating with him for imbroyleing the Empire, and being the cause of so much Blood-shed contrary to his Christian Profession; and herewith he was so much moved, or rather by consideration of his great Age, and the little means he had to compass his ends, that having received security for his Indemnity, and the Dignity of *Coemperour*, he made an Agreement,

and





ful. But one *Nicolas* for the smallness of his Stature nicknamed *Nicolitraz*, stoutly defended *Servia* against him which yet he took by force, and having therein placed a strong Garrison took *Nicolitraz* along with him to *Constantinople*, and conferred on him the Dignity of a Patritian; but there he did not long continue, making an escape back to *Samuel* with whom he came, and again beleagged that place. The Emperor upon Notice halted thither and easily raising the Siege beat away *Samuel* and *Nicolitraz*, who was taken shortly after, and then committed to close Prison at *Constantinople*. *Basilus* after this went into *Thessaly* where he caused to be repaired those Castles which *Samuel* had dismantled, such as still were held by the *Bulgarians* he recovered, and removing them to a place called *Bolerus* re-inforced them with strong Garrisons, and thence removed to *Bodena* a fort situate on a Craggy Rock through which Water passeth unseen from the adjoining Fenns and then presently appears again. This he took by force, and removing the Defendants (such mercy he used) to *Bolarum*, furnished it with all conveniences, and then went to *Thessalonica*. The Governour, *Drexanus* by name, a very good Souldier, desired leave of him to live at *Thessalonica*, and there he Married a Wife the Daughter of the chief *Pribatarius* of the Church of St. *Demetrius*. After he had born him two Children he endeavoured to run away, but was taken, and at the intercession of his Father-in-Law, pardoned. The second time he committed the same fault, and found the same indulgence. But after the birth of two Children more relapsing into the same Crime the Emperor would extend no farther mercy to him, but being again surprized he was there fastned alive to a Pole.

The Arabians infesting *Celofyria* and *Africk* are suppressed.

*Bidyna* taken by storm.

*Samuel's* Army routed by *Basilus*.

Who returns to *Constantinople*.

*Basilus* his management of affairs.

70. In the mean time the *Numarita* and the *Ataphita* Arabians grievously infested both *Celofyria* and *Africk* with their Depredations. To restrain them the Emperor made *Nicephorus Uranus* Governour of *Antioch*. One *David Arianita* a Patritian being ordered to succeed him in his command at *Thessalonica*, as *Nicephorus Xiphias* succeeded *Theodorocranus* in the Government of *Philippopolis*, who reigned it for Age: *Uranus* shortly after his arrival at *Antioch* in three Battels defeated *Cifrinias* the Captain of the Arabians, and forcing him to live quietly, procured Peace and Rest to those parts. The year that followed being the fifteenth Indiction, the twenty seventh of the two Brothers, *Basilus* laid Siege to *Bidyna*, which City he took by storm after a Siege of eight Months, and then returning toward *Constantinople*, took or Demolished many forts of the *Bulgarians* in his way. Being come as far as the City *Scopia*, he perceived that *Samuel* lay with his Army in great carelessness and disorder beyond the River *Axius*, called afterward *Bardarius*, to the depth whereof lately increased by Rains he trusted. But the Emperor having discovered a Ford passed over, and falling upon him so unexpectedly, struck such Terror into his Men that they all ran as fast as their Legs could carry them, not one shewing his Face to the Enemy. His Camp and Pavilion was taken, and the City *Scopia* was delivered up to him by *Romanus Simeon* the Governour, the Son of *Peter* and Brother of *Borises*, who for a reward was made a Patritian and Governour of *Abydus*. Thence *Basilus* proceeded to a place called *Pericus* which one *Cracas* so stoutly defended, that finding it too strong for him to Maffer at present, by *Philippopolis* he returned to *Constantinople*. "Here he made "a Law for the payment of *Allalangum*, as it was called, which was this. When "any by reason of their Poverty could not pay the usual Tribute, the Sum was "made up by their Neighbours that had wealth enough to do it. This seems "the same with the *Epikole* of which we formerly spoke in the life of *Justinian*; so that *Basilus* rather renewed than made a Law for the Payment of this duty. As formerly \* at other times this payment was opposed especially by the Ecclesiastics, so now also the Patriarch *Sergius*, and many other Prelates and Religious Men laboured to dissuade this Emperor from it. But in vain.

71. For by this time grown insolent upon so many Victories, he was become very lofty in his Conversation, and desired rather to be feared than to be beloved by his Subjects. Neither was he more indulgent to the Souldiers, than others in Civil employment, contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, who esteemed it their greatest Interest to gain the affections of Military men. Of Learned men he made no Account, neither did he at all value Learning it self, but accounted it a thing formal, vain and useless, as ignorant and effeminate Princes are wont to do: for which reason he made no distinction of Men, but preferred to be Secretaries and other Employments, Persons of no Education nor Ability, and he was served accordingly, their Actions being as much derided and scorned as their Persons. His Treasury he kept full, but the Doors thereof fast locked. Of Gold Coin

The Depredations of the Arabians. Quia sibi velis ista Pribrarius noster non constet, finis aliquid non nulli putant nostri temporis Predecessoribus.

Αλλανγγον.

\* Vide Allalangum in Procopii de Anathem. Historiam in voce Emisad.

Χρονολογία.

Coin alone he was reported to have two Hundred thousand Talents in his Cofers; besides of those of other Metals, Summs not to be counted, and vast quantities of Pearls and Gemms, none of which he ever used or wore but when he gave Audience to Ambassadors, or on high Festivals. In the management of his Wars he was of various humour, as the several Diversities of Accidents wrought upon him, in time of Peace and Rest more earnest, and vehement than ordinary. He endeavoured to conceal his Passion; but ease Provocation would discover it to the Cost and Pain of Delinquents, against whom he was severe, resolute, and inexorable after Sentence passed. This was his natural Temper and Disposition throughout the Course of his Reign, which was both long and full of Action, as we shall farther see.

And Character.

The Church of our Saviour's Sepulchre at Jerusalem destroyed.

A hard Winter and dreadful Earthquake.

The Lombards revolt from the Romans.

Another expedition into Bulgaria.

Obtaining a Victory.

72. In the thirty fifth year thereof and the eighth Indiction, *Azizius* the Prince of *Egypt* for very slight Causes, and not worthy the mentioning as our *Greek* Writers relate, breaking the League betwixt the *Romans* and himself, destroyed the sumptuous and beautiful Church of our Saviour's Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, together with the Monasteries, the Monks whereof he caused to be driven away. Another Historian will have this done by the Prince of *Babylon*, induced thereto by *Glaber*. The cunning and malicious Insinuations of the *Jews*, who from *Orleans* in *France*, sent Letters to him written in *Hebrew* Characters, whereby they persuaded him that by reason of the vast Confluence of Christians to *Jerusalem*, he was in danger of losing his Principality. Another calls this Prince *Homer*, Prince of the *Gail Tyrin*. *Saracens*, and these *Latine* Historians fix this Action at the seventh Indiction, the preceding year, moreover adding what greater Massacres were made of the *Jews*, in all Places upon discovery of the Treachery, with other matters thereon depending more proper for to be related with Ecclesiastical matters. A very hard Winter followed, wherein all Waters were frozen up, the Sea as well as Rivers and Fenns, and in *January* happened a most dreadful Earthquake (the stopping of the pores of the Earth, producing the same Effects of disturbance in it, as the Retention of fuliginous Vapours doth in the Body of Man) which continued by Fits till the Ninth of *March* on which Day it caused to tumble down the Cupoles of the Church of the Forty Saints, and of the Church of All Saints at *Constantinople*, besides much mischief done both there and in the Provinces. This was thought to preface those motions which presently followed in *Italy*, where by the persuasions of one *Meles* a powerful man in those Parts, the *Lombards* took Arms against the *Romans*. The Emperor sent to reduce and quiet them, *Basilus Argyrus*, and *Contoleo*, the one Governour of *Samus*, and the other of *Ciphallevia*; but *Meles* gave them a very notable defeat, killed many of their Men, and the rest forced to an ignominious flight. Thus the *Lombards* revolted from the *Romans*, as *Meles* our Authors word it, by which you must understand, as they ever do those that had relation to New *Rome*, or rather those that were Emperours and Subjects of that *Roman* Empire which still remained unaltered, and unconquered in those Parts, although *Rome* it self the first Seat thereof, with most of the Provinces about it had run a quite contrary Fortune through several Hands; which quite altering the Property, our *Greek* Writers contend, that the Western Empire fell with *Augustulus*, and what after happened could not make a sufficient Title, neither for an Empire nor Emperour.

73. Notwithstanding these things *Basilus*, every year made an Inroad into *Bulgaria*, wasting all the Country as he passed. *Samuel* had received so many Defeats, that he durst not venture any more to fight; but endeavoured by Bulwarks and Trenches to intercept his way in the straits of *Cimba Longus* and *Cleidius*, where he also placed a strong Guard. And this Guard having the Advantage of the Ditch, and the height of the ground, so effectually made resistance, that the Emperor despaired of breaking through, till *Nicephorus Xiphias* the Governour of *Philippopolis*, found out the means which in such like cases had ever succeeded. He advised him to remit none of his Intention and Earnestness in his endeavour to force the Passage, while in the mean time he would with a convenient Party get over the Hill, that lay to the South called *Balathista*, and come upon the Back of the Enemy, whom he could thereby quickly constrain to quit his Post. This, with much difficulty having passed over to high and steep an Hill, he effected on the ninth Day of *July* in the twelfth Indiction, so that putting the *Bulgarians* to flight, *Basilus* had easy entrance, and gave the Chace. Many were killed and many taken. *Samuel* himself hardly escaped by the great Valour and Conduct of his Son, who made as fair a Retreat as the Condition they were in would permit, and after many facings about

Hhh and

Basilus puts out the Eyes of 1500, sending them to Samuel, who thereupon dies.

Gabriel strangles him.

But is killed by John.

Basilus purchases his Victory.

At length comes to Thessalonica.

Another invasion into Bulgaria.

Taking several of the Noblemen of the Country.

Upon which they pretend to submit to the Emperor.

and renewed skirmishes, horsed his Father and carried him off into the Castle of *Philapos*. Of all the Prisoners to the Number, it's said, of fifteen thousand the Emperor caused the Eyes to be put out, and to every Hundred assigned a man that had one Eye left, under conduct of which Leaders he sent them away to *Samuel*, who beholding such a Spectacle coming to him in such Rank and Order was not able to bear up against so great a Calamity, but instantly fell down in a swoon. Those that were by with Spirits, and other things at hand, did what they could to recover him, and he came to himself again, and asked for some cold Water. Which having drunk, he fell into a *Cardiognia*, or Pain and Faintness at his Stomach, and died of it two Days after.

74. *Gabriel* who was also surnamed *Romanus* his Son, by a Captive Woman of *Larissa*, succeeded him, one superiour to him in strength of Body, but in that of mind far inferior. When he had not reigned all-out a year, he was as he went out to hunt, killed by *John Bladisthlabus* the Son of *Aaron*, whose Life he had once preserved. But before this happened, one *Nestoritzas* was sent by *Samuel*, with a considerable Force into *Thessalonica*, in the Government of which City, one *Theophylact Botanata* had succeeded *David Arianita*. This *Theophylact* with his Son *Michael*, sallied out against him, put him to flight, and having got much Plunder in his Camp, then went to the Emperor as he lay in the Straits. Having passed the Straits and followed the Chace after *Samuel*, as far as he thought convenient, *Basilus* took in a Castle called *Matzucius*, and then passed on toward *Strumpitza*, from which place desirous to have a way cleared to *Thessalonica*, he put *Theophylact* upon that task, to clear the Hills of Fortresses, and open the ways through the Woods, and he undertook the work with all Alacrity, and prosecuted it with diligence, but was intrapped and compassed by the Enemy, in a place where there was neither means of escaping, nor good opportunity to fight, and cut off with most of his Men. The Emperor much troubled at the News durst not proceed but retreated, and in his way had a very strong Castle called *Melenicus*, through the powerful Oratory of *Sergius* an Eunuch, whom he employed to the Garrison Souldiers, delivered up into his Hands. Having kindly entertained those that gave it up, and therein put a strong Party of his own Men, he removed to *Molynopolis*, where on the four and twentieth Day of *October*, he heard of *Samuel's* death. Thence marching to *Thessalonica*, he moved into *Pelagonia* without doing any harm to the Country, save that he burnt *Bureliana* the Palace of *Gabriel*, and took in the Castles of *Prilaps* and *Steypeus*. Then passed he the River *Izerna*, with Boats and Bladders as he could and came to *Budena*, whence on the Ninth day of *January*, he arrived at *Thessalonica*.

75. At the beginning of Spring he again invaded *Bulgaria*, where having recovered the Castle of *Budena* which had revolted, he caused two Castles to be built in the middle of the Straits, one by the Name of *Cardia*, and another by that of *St. Elias*, and returned to *Thessalonica*. As he here lay, one *Romanus Cheirotmetus* brought him Letters from *Gabriel*, wherein he promised to turn his Subject and Vassal; but he giving no credit to them, sent *Xiphias* and *Constantine Diogenes* at present the Governour of *Thessalonica*, with an Army into the Country of the *Moglenians*, which having waited and laid Siege to the City, he himself came up with the rest of the Forces, and by a Ditch caused the River to be drained from the Walls, the Foundations whereof when he had undermined the Inhabitants with Lamentations and Prayers, gave up what they could not keep. Therein were taken *Domitianus Caucasus*, the principal Councillour of *Gabriel*, with *Elitzes* the chief Man of the Country, besides many other Noblemen, and a multitude of the inferior fort of Souldiers, of which such as were fit for service he transported to *Aspracania*, and caused to be burnt a Neighbouring Castle called *Natia*. On the fifth day after came *Cheirotmetus*, bringing with him some of the Servants of *John Bladisthlabus*, the Son of *Aaron*, with Letters to the Emperor, wherein he signified that he had taken away the Life of *Gabriel*, and that the Kingdom of *Bulgaria*, now was reverted to him who should own himself his Subject and Vassal. *Basilus* returned him an Answer in Golden Characters, after which within a little time *Cheirotmetus* returned and brought with him not onely Letters from *John*, but from the *Bulgarians* who owned themselves the Emperor's Subjects. And to him came *Caucanus*, the Brother of *Domitian Caucasus* lately mentioned, and was honourably entertained.

Another Expedition into Bulgaria.

The Region of Chazaria subdued.

Upper Media put into the Emperor's Hands.

Bulgaria once more invaded by the Emperor.

76. But for all this the Emperor being assured, that *John* dealt deceitfully with him, and was practising matters quite contrary to his Engagements returned into *Bulgaria*, and waiting the Countrey of *Oftrobus*, *Gofens* and *Pelagonia*, put out the Eyes of as many of the Inhabitants as he took. He proceeded to *Adchris*, the Seat of the *Bulgarian* Princes, which having taken and settled all things there, he resolved to go to *Dyrrachium*, where matters very much required his Presence. So long as *Trymalia*, and the nearer Parts of *Servia* continued under the Government of *Bladimere* the Son-in-Law of *Samuel*, all things were there in repose, for he was a man very just, and a great lover of Peace and Vertue, but he being (through the Treachery of *David* the Archbishop) perfidiously murdered by his Command, after *Gabriel's* Death all were in great confusion and disorder, *John* sometimes by his Officers, and otherwhiles in his own Person falling upon the City. The Emperor purposed to visit them again, but for this time was prevented of his Journey upon this unpleasing occasion. He had left behind him a strong Party to harass all the Parts of *Pelagonia*, all which the *Bulgarians* having drawn into an Ambush, cut them off with their Commanders, being headed by *Ibatzes* a man of great Nobility, and as great Valour amongst them. *Basilus* much concerned for this ignominious loss, returns into *Pelagonia* in pursuit of this *Ibatzes*, and from *Thessalonica* proceeds to *Molynopolis*. He sends *David Arianita*, with a sufficient Power to attack *Strumpitza*, who in room of it takes another Castle called *Termitza*. Another Party he dispatches away under command of *Xiphias*, to take in the several Forts of *Triaditza*, and all those in the plain he took together with a Fort which they called *Boion*.

77. In *January* the Emperor returned to *Constantinople*, and thence sent a Fleet into *Chazaria* commanded by *Mongus* the Son of *Andronicus Ducas* the *Lydian*, who by the assistance of *Sphengus* the Brother of *Bladimer*, who married *Basilus* his Sister, subdued that Region, having taken *Tzulus* the Prince thereof in the first Conflict. At the same time *Senacherrimus* the Prince of the upper *Media* (afterward called *Aspracania*) not able to resist the *Saracens* who pressed sorely upon him, gave up himself, his Family and Countrey into the Emperor's Hands. Hereupon for a reward he was made a Patritian, and in lieu of his quitted Dominion received the Cities of *Sebastea*, *Larissa* and *Abara*, with other large Revenues. Of *Aspracania* was made Governour, *Basilus Argyrus* the Patritian, who for his ill administration or bad success was not long after put out of Command, and *Nicephorus Comnenus* was sent his Successour, who partly by force and partly by persuasion brought the Countrey to submit. But all other Designs, Expeditions and Accessions seemed to the Emperor of no value, so long as *Bulgaria* remained unconquered, which having invaded so often in his own Person, he was much concerned in honour to have the work perfected, and for that purpose could give himself but little rest. This same year being the fourteenth Indiction, he marched again into *Triaditza*, where he laid siege to the Castle of *Pernicus*, which he lay before and violently attacked for eighty days together, but those within as earnestly and pertinaciously making resistance after much loss of his men, he was forced to rise, and departed to *Molynopolis*. Here having wintred and refreshed his Army, in Spring again he breaks into *Bulgaria*, where he takes a Castle and gets great booty out of *Pelagonia*, but having in vain attacked the City of *Castoria*, he retreats. That which moved him so to doe, was the Intelligence he had receiv'd, that *Cracas* was joined with *John* having a vast Army, and that being assisted by the *Patzinaces*, they were resolved to make an Inroad into the Territories of the Empire. Disturbed at this report he retired, but in his way took and burnt the Castle of *Bosgrada*, relieved *Berac*, and having demolished several other Forts, then made an Halt, having now received more welcome News, how that the designed Expedition of *John* and *Cracas* was come to nothing, the *Patzinace* refusing to join with them.

78. However proceeding in his Return, after this little Pause he took by storm the Castle *Setana*, where had been laid up much Corn, which being removed he commanded Fire to be set to the Place. Now hearing that *John* was not far off, he sent against him the *Coborts of the Schools* (so they termed them) of the East, and of the *Thessalonicians* under Command of *Constantine Diogenes*, who was either not so wary, or had not so good intelligence as the Emperor. For, *John* had placed an Ambush for them, which *Basilus* understanding and solicitous for his men rode on fast before, bidding all such as were Souldiers to follow him, which being perceived by those that *John* had sent out, they fled in great fear to their Camp, making much Noise with these words *Bezeite Tjasar*, by which we suppose

suppose was meant *Ronne*, here's *Cæsar*, (as most Nations Termed him) or the Em-  
perour. *John* and all his Army thus putting themselves to the Rout, *Diogenes* and  
his Men pursued them, did great Execution, and took the Horles and Baggage of  
*John* with one of his Kinmen, which done the Emperour returned to *Bodena* and so  
home to *Constantinople* on the ninth of *January*, the fifteenth Indiction, and the  
two and fortieth year of his Reign. *John* being by his retreat eased much of his  
fears, in confidence of his good fortune goes against *Dyrrachium*, where ingaging in  
fight he is slain, uncertain by whom, after he had borne the Title of Prince or King  
of the *Bulgarians* two years and five Months. The Emperour was no sooner certi-  
fied of his death by the Governour of that City but rather flew than went to *Bul-  
garia* in hope that the long looked for Prey would now fall into his Hands. And  
so far good fortune complied with his Wishes, that when he was come on his way  
no farther than *Constantinople* the Brother and Son of the famous *Cracras*, so often  
mentioned, there met him to give up *Pernicus* and five and thirty Castles more,  
whom he courteously received, and having admitted *Cracras* to the Dignity of a  
Patritian, then held on his way to *Molynopolis*. Thither came Ambassadors both  
from *Pelagoma*, *Morbifidus* and *Lipenius* to give up other Cities; and when he  
had reached *Serræ* there *Cracras* himself met him with the Deputies of those that  
yielded up the five and thirty Castles, and were kindly entertained. And hither  
came also *Dragomuzus* to surrender *Strumpitza*, and was also made a Patritian, be-  
cause he brought along with him *John* the Governour of *Chaldia*, who being taken  
Prisoner by *Samuel* had continued in Prison two and twenty years.

79. When the Emperour drew near to *Strumpitza*, *David* the Archbishop of *Bul-  
garia* met him with Letters from *Mary* the Widow of *John* which hinted that on  
certain conditions she was willing to quit all pretences to *Bulgaria*. Here also  
met him *Bogdanus* the Lord of the Castles that stood farther within the Countrey,  
who also received the Dignity of a Patritian having formerly held with the Em-  
perour, and killed for this purpose his own Father-in-Law. He proceeded now as  
far as *Scopia*, in which leaving a strong Garrison, he returned by the Castles of  
*Steipenes* and *Proscanus* being every where welcom'd with the Prayers and well-wish-  
es of his new Subjects. Then he went to *Achris* where he was received with the  
lucky Acclamations of the People. This *Achris* was situate upon a high Hill  
near to a vast Lake out of which the River *Drinus* issuing toward the North, after  
no long space turneth Westward and entrench *Ionium* (by which the Historians  
seems to mean the Countrey lying upon the Adriatick Sea) near the Castle *Mis-  
fus*. The Emperour now seized on the Treasure of the *Bulgarian* Princes which  
was very great, as besides other things several Rich Crowns adorned with Pearl,  
and an hundred Centenaries of Gold which he bestowed as a Donative upon his  
Souldiers. Returning to his Camp he there received the Widow of *John* *Bladi-  
slabius* with three Sons and six Daughters: and she brought along with her a  
Bastard Son of *Samuel*, and two Daughters of *Radomere* besides six Sons one of  
which had his Eyes put out by *John* at such time as he slew *Radomere* with his  
Wife and his Son-in-Law. She had other three Sons by *John*; but they were  
fled into the Hill *Timorus*, one of the Tops of the *Ceraunick* Mountains, where  
much pressed with difficulties by reason that the Emperour had given order to be-  
set the Mountain they sent to him to yield, and within a while came to him as  
he lay at *Diabolis* in his Journey from the Lake *Prespa*, where on a Tribunal  
erected for this purpose he kindly received them, and comforting them with most  
gentle words honoured *Programus*, who seems to have been the Eldest, with the  
Dignity of *Magister*, and the rest with that of Patritians. And hither was brought,  
whom it most concerned him to see, *Ibazes* deprived of his sight; how and by  
whom, it's not an unpleasant Story to relate.

80. *Bladislabus* being dead, and his Wife and Children with all the Nobility  
having yielded themselves and Countrey into the Emperour's hands, he alone re-  
fused to comply with the time and present posture of Affairs, and seized upon a  
Mountain most difficult of access. (Some called it *Brochotus*, others *Pronista*)  
where was a neat Castle of the *Bulgarian* Princes, with Gardens and other things of  
solace and divertisement. This in no little measure perplexed the Emperour,  
who had sufficient cause, by reason of the Man's Qualifications, to suspect the  
consequence of this unexpected Usurpation. "He omitted his Journey as he had  
intended, and turning Southward, spent some time in soliciting him by Letters  
to consider what he did, and not to expose himself to certain destruction by enter-  
prizing so impossible a thing on his own Head without any advice or assistance,  
to which he answered ambiguously, drawing out the time in length and in ex-  
pectation,

*John*, Prince  
of the *Bulga-  
rians* routed.

Is afterward  
slain,

And the Count-  
rey delivered  
up to *Basilus*  
the Emperour

Who receives  
his new Sub-  
jects with-  
great kindness.

*Ibazar* is only  
standing out.

"petition, he held *Basilus* against his will five and fifty days at *Diabolis*. The  
care and anxiety the Emperour was in being taken notice of by *Eustathius*  
*Daphnomelisa* Patritian, whom he had lately preferred to the Government of  
*Achris*, he resolved upon a strange course, to rid him of this trouble, which he  
communicated to none but two of his Servants whom he could trust, and he  
knew would stand by him in any undertaking. The Feast of the Assumption  
of our Lady was solemnly observed by *Ibazes*, and to it were invited as well  
strangers as Neighbours, and so it though not invited *Daphnomelisa* would go, and  
being discovered by the Sentinels, he openly declared who he was, and sent to  
let *Ibazes* know that he was come to be merry with him. He wondered to hear  
that one should come of his own accord, and put himself into an Enemies  
Hands, but he had them bring him in and very kindly entertained him. Morn-  
ing Prayer being over, and all others gone to their Appartments, he went to him  
and desired that they two might discourse in some convenient and secret place, for  
he had a matter of great importance, and which was for his own good to Commu-  
nicate to him.

81. *Ibazes* suspecting nothing but that he would join with him in his Rebellion,  
led him into an Orchard very thick beset with Trees, so that they could scarcely  
be seen or heard, whither being come *Eustathius* being strong and nimble,  
and watching an advantage struck up his Heels, set his Knee upon his Breast, stop-  
ped his Mouth, and called his two Men who watched their motions constantly for  
this purpose. They thrusting their Cloths into his Mouth, forced both his Eyes out of  
his Head, which done they let him goe, and all three with their drawn Swords,  
got up into one of the highest Chambers in the House, expecting what instantly  
followed. For as soon as the fact was divulged, a great multitude came running to-  
gether, some with Swords, some with Spears, others with Bows, not a few with Stones,  
some with Wood, others with Fire, and others with other Combustible matter,  
Crying out cut their Throats, Burn them, Tear them Limb from Limb, Stone  
them, let no Body spare the Villains. *Eustathius* seeing and hearing this could  
have small hope to escape their fury, yet advised his Men not to let fall their  
Courage, nor by any means to resign themselves into their hands who would  
most certainly tear them in pieces in this Rage. "Putting his Head out of a Win-  
dow by the motion of his hand he procured silence, and then told them that  
for his part there had not been the least enmity or grudge betwixt *Ibazes* and  
him, the one being a *Bulgarian* and the other a *Roman*, as they should judge,  
being born not in *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, neighbouring Countries, but in *Asia* the  
less at a very great distance from *Bulgaria*. Therefore all that were wise-  
amongst them, must needs conclude that it must needs be some extraordinary  
thing that had put him upon such an enterprize, and that nothing but Necessi-  
ty it self could have engaged him in so dangerous an Attempt. He told them  
that what was done, was done by the Command of the Emperour, who had  
only made use therein of his hands; and therefore if they were resolved to kill  
him, kill him they might, he was in their power, yet resolved with his Ser-  
vants to sell his life at as dear a rate as he could, and fight it out to the last  
Breath. If they killed them, as it was no Mattery being so many to so few,  
they should not be unhappy in their death leaving behind them so powerfull  
an Avenger, against whom as it seemed they were resolved to struggle as long as  
possibly they could. This Speech especially the dread they had of the Emperour  
therein mentioned produced such an Alteration in their minds, that they all  
shrunk away by degrees, and the wifer sort wished him Prosperity, and promised  
obedience. *Eustathius*, then without any opposition carried away *Ibazes* to the  
Emperour. He rewarded this notable service with the Government of *Dyrrachium*  
and all the movable goods of *Ibazes*, who was committed unto Custody.

82. At the same time *Nicolitus* who had been so often taken and so often dis-  
missed, having lurked in the Mountains, and been forsaken of well-nigh all his Men  
(who were frighted by a Company, sent on purpose to hunt him out) of his own  
accord came to the Camp, and declared it was with Resolution to yield himself  
to the Emperour, who would not see him but gave order that he should be kept  
Prisoner at *Thessalonica*. *Basilus* having all things according to his Wish in those  
Parts, and given leave to as many *Romans* as he had found in Captivity either here  
to remain or to follow him, removed to *Castoria*. Here were brought to his pre-  
sence two Daughters of *Samuel*; which beholding *Mary*, the Widow of *John*, to  
stand by him, presently flew in her Face, and had made an end of her, if the Em-  
perour himself had not interposed, and by good words mitigated their wrath, pro-  
mising

But is reduced  
by the valour  
and cunning  
of *Eustathius*  
*Daphnomelisa*.

*Basilus* ha-  
ving visited  
most places of  
*Bulgaria*,

missing them also to provide well for them. On *Mary* he conferred the Honour of *Zofre*, and sent her with her Sons to *Constantinople*. Then by the Industry of *Xiphias*, did he demolish all the Castles in *Servia* and *Sofcus*, and came to the Castle of *Stages*, where *Elamagus* Prince of the *Belegradi* presented himself to him in a servile Habit with his assistants. Thence proceeding towards *Athens*, in his passage thorough *Zetunium*, he beheld with Admiration the Bones of those *Bulgarians*, that were slain in the Defeat given to *Samuel* by *Nicephorus*, and much more the Wall called *Scelos* built on *Thermopylae*, at a Place called *Rupena* to restrain the *Bulgarians*. Arriving at *Athens*, he gave Thanks to our Lady for his good Success, and offered very largely in the Church. And thence returned to *Constantinople*, which he entered in Triumph through the great Doors of the Golden Gate, with a Golden crested Crown called *Tapbus* (from the pride, faith *Zonaras*, of those that wore this kind) *Mary* with the Daughters of *Samuel*, and the rest of the *Bulgarians* going before him. With the Shouts and Acclamations of the People he went to the Great Church, and there having given thanks to Almighty God, went and reposed himself in the Palace. This Conquest of *Bulgaria* happened in the second Indiction, the forty fourth year of *Basilus* and *Constantine*. A. D. 1019.

83. After his Return *Sergius* the Patriarch was very earnest with him, to make good what he had promised in case of this Conquest, that he would remit the *Allengum*, but could not prevail. His mind was wholly bent upon Covetousness and Dominion, to gratify which immediately after his Success in *Bulgaria*, the Neighbouring Nation of the *Chorbari*, by the Hands of their two Princes, Brothers, gave up themselves. There only remained *Sermo* the Lord of *Sermium*, who refused to row by this great stream, and therefore speedily made shipwreck of his life and all. *Constantine Diogenes* Governour of the Neighbouring Province, sent to him to desire Conference, and if he feared any deceit or Ambush, he desired that each should come only with three Servants in his Company to the Rivers side that ran by them. *Sermo* agreed and met him, but when he expected a Discourse, *Diogenes* prevented it by thrusting a Dagger into his side, which he had hid in his Coat, and instantly slew him, which his Servants seeing fled as fast as they could, lest they should be serv'd in the same manner. Then gathering together such Forces as he commanded, he went to *Sermium*, which partly by threats and partly by promises he brought the Widow to surrender, which done she was sent away and married to one of the Principal Citizens of *Constantinople*; and *Diogenes* was made Governour of the newly (however) gained Territory for his pains. In the mean time, to make himself acceptable by something how little soever, *Basilus* supplies the City abundantly with water, by cleansing and repairing the Aqueduct of *Valentinian*. But his thoughts were quickly diverted from Employments of this Nature by a message brought, that *George* the Prince of the *Abasgians* had broken the League betwixt them, and invaded in hostile manner the adjacent Territories of the Empire. He presently marched against him with a complete Army, leaving behind him *Xiphias* and *Nicephorus* the Son of *Bardas Phocas* both Patriarchs.

84. Now whether they took it ill that they were left behind, or for other more tempting reasons, they got together a power of men, and broke out into Rebellion. This much disordered the Army, and the Emperor more out of fear that they should be beset with the Rebels on one side, and on the other by the *Abasgians*, with whom it was reported, that they held secret Intelligence. *Basilus* in this strait wrote Letters both to *Xiphias* and *Phocas*, but gave order to the messenger so to deliver them, that the one should not know of any the other received. However upon the receipt of them, *Phocas* was so free as to reade his to *Xiphias*, who denying that he received any, on a certain day sent for the other to speak with him, and when he came, having before hand laid his snares, took away his Life. Which the Emperor having understood, sent against *Xiphias* *Theophylact*, the Son of *Damianus Delassenus* who took him Prisoner, and sent him to *Constantinople*, to *John* the Prothonotary who shaved him, and made him a Monk in the Island of *Antigonis*. In this manner, *Basilus* freed from all danger of this Rebellion gave battle to the *Abasgians*, but with no Success at first; but in a second Conflict which happened on the eleventh of September, and the sixth Indiction, *Liparites* their General fell, and with him, the greatest part of their Army. *George* fled into the more distant Mountains of *Iberia*, whence shortly after he sent and made his Peace, submitting to what Terms the Emperor pleased to impose, and gave up for an Hostage his Son *Pancratius*, whom *Basilus* honoured with the Dignity of *Magister*, and so departed home. 85. There

He animadverts upon the Accomplices of the Arch-rebels.

85. There did he animadvert upon the Accomplices of *Phocas* and *Xiphias*, by confiscating their Estates, and condemning them to Prison; none he put to death but *Pherfa* a Patritian, who had first of all sided with the Rebels, had killed four Officers of the Neighbouring Princes, and beheaded one of the Emperor's Eunuchs with his own Hands. There was also one of the Emperor's Chamber cast to the Lions, for attempting to poison him for the sake of *Xiphias*. A little before this, *Anne* the Sister of *Basilus*, and a Widow of *Bladimer* the *Rossian* Prince died, after whose decease *Chrysechir* a kinsman of her Husbands, put Eight hundred men on board, and with them came to *Constantinople*, pretending he would serve the Emperor. But he requiring that he should lay down his Arms, and then to ask what he pleased, he refused to do it, and passing over the *Propontis* went to *Abydos*, where he defeated easily him that lay there for defence of the Coasts, and then went to *Lemnos*, where he and all his Men were cut off deceitfully by the Fleet of the *Cibyrraota*, *David* of *Achris* the Governour of *Samus*, and *Nicephorus Cabasla* the Commander at *Thessalonica*. After this *Basilus* prepared for an Expedition into *Sicily*, and for that purpose sent before *Orestes* one of his most faithful Eunuchs, with great Forces. But he was prevented by his Destiny from following, dying in the Month of December, and the Ninth Indiction, after he had lived Seventy six *Cedrens*, Seventy two years faith *Zonaras*, and born the Title of Emperor as many, but reigned alone in effect, though his Brother also had the Name the space of fifty. He left his Brother his Successour, and desired him to see him buried in the Church of St. *John* the Evangelist and Divine at the *Hebdomus*, who therein fulfilled his will.

Preparing for an expedition into Sicily Basilus dies.

Constantine X sole Emperor.

His Management of Affairs.

86. *Constantine* the Tenth of that Name, came to the management of the Empire in the Ninth Indiction, A. D. 1026, and therein did little or no good to it, but much mischief. Being a man of most depraved manners, he neither acted, nor thought any thing worthy of his Place and Dignity. His Delight was in running Races, jesting with loose and silly drolling Persons, and drinking whole Nights together, and thus was willing to spend his time, while his Brother (who was content it should be so) attended Affairs of State, and increased both the Reputation and Bounds of the Empire. In chusing of his Officers (the great Tryal and Indication of a Prince) he had only respect to those of his own humour, such virtuous Persons as himself, drunken Slaves and the most profligate Wretches, no Man either for his Birth, Abilities or Education, being at all considered. *Nicholas*, the chief Man of his Chamberlains, he made Domestick of the Schools, and of his Bedchamber. *Nicephorus* the next after him *Protogelastrius*, and *Simeon* who was in the third Place his *Drungarius Bigla*. One *Eustathius* far inferior to these, he created Captain of the Associates. To one *Spondyles* he gave the Government of *Antioch*, and that of *Iberia* to one *Nicetas*, both Persons very infamous. These Ministers under such a Prince undid all, bringing all things into disorder, and almost ruined the Empire, which since the time of *Romanus*, had so exceedingly flourished under *Nicephorus Zimisces* and *Basilus*. And not only did he prefer unworthy, and scandalous Persons, but every man eminent for any worth or goodness, as much as in him lay, he laboured to disgrace and undoe, especially the most Noble or Illustrious Persons. He pulled out the Eyes of *Constantine* a Patritian, Son of the *Magister Michael Burtzas*, having born him malice, for discovering his naughty Courses to his Brother. And other most excellent Persons he blinded, as we shall see; for as he began so he proceeded, the same Causes ever producing the same effects, when not hindered by Incapacity of the Subjects, or the Intervention of more powerful Accidents.

87. At this time *Nicephorus Commanus* governed *Aspracania* (*Baspracania* or *Basprania* as it is variously written) a Man very wise, and as valiant as any of his time, with such Success, that he forced all his Neighbours to live quietly about him. But after some time finding his Soldiers begin to fail in their Courage against the *Saracens*, by all the means he could use, he endeavoured to resuscitate in them their wonted Courage, and upbraiding them much with the Alteration, procured them not only to promise but to take a formal Oath, that they would not forsake, but stand by him to the last extremity against the Enemy. This being reported at *Constantinople*, *Constantine* and his effeminate Ministers, incompetent Judges of matters relating to War or Fortitude, put him presently out of command, and being sent for up to the City he was condemned of Treason, or a designed Usurpation, and had his Eyes put out, to the regret of all good men: and in the same fort he dealt with *Bardas* a Patritian, descended from *Bardas Phocas*

Condemning and putting out the Eyes of several Romans.

Returns in Triumph to Constantinople.

The Chorbari give up themselves.

Sermium taken.

The Abasgians breaking the League, Basilus marches against them.

A Rebellion at ved. home but suppressed and punished.

The Abasgians forced to submit.

*Ilocas* the *Magister*, whom he procured some of his Creatures to accuse of a Conspiracy against his Person. About the same time, *George* the Governour of *Naupactus*, for his Jolly commonly call'd *Morogourgius*, by his perpetual Exactions and other Injuries to oppress'd the Townsmen, that they broke out into a publick Rage against him, kill'd him and rifled his Houfe, for which Deed the Emperour not onely us'd great Cruelty in punishing the Authours of the Riot, but caus'd the Eyes of the Bishop of the Place to be put out. There happened a Quarrel, and this was followed by a Combat betwixt *Basilus* a Patritian, the Son of *Romanus Sclerus*, and *Prufanus* the Bulgarian a *Magister*, and Captain of the *Bucellarii*, which judging to be a Crime no less than Treason, he banish'd them both. Being told that *Basilus* endeavour'd to escape, he commanded his Eyes to be put out; and *Basilus* when he expected the like measure, he most mercifully discharged. But he pull'd out the Eyes of *Romanus Curcuas*, who had married *Prufanus* his Sister, of *Bogdanus*, *Gleba* and *Gudeles*, and to give himself some diversion by variety, cut out the Tongue of one *Zacharias* (possibly out of his wit to make him like the Priest of that Name, who was struck dumb) pretending that they all had designs against him.

88. But to leave this odious subject, let us see if we can find any other thing of publick Consequence, and worthy the mentioning, in his Reign. In his first year the *Patzinace* broke into *Bulgaria*, and there did much mischief, killing many of the People with several Officers and their Companies. Against them he created *Diogenes* the Governour of *Sirmium*, General of *Bulgaria*, who falling on them as they straggled, after much slaughter forced them to return beyond the *Ister*. During his whole Reign there was a great Drought, which dried up both Fountains and Rivers. His Brother *Basilus*, how hard and difficult soever in the case of the *Allelengum*, yet herein was wont to gratifie the poorer sort, that he did not exact Payments just when they were due, but bore with them till they could better doe it, so that at his death, the Tribute of two years was behind. But *Constantine* notwithstanding the Drought, not onely when he came to the Government exacted all the Arrears, but forced the Payment also of three years to come, which not onely undid the Poor but much distressed the Rich, and those that were not wont formerly to complain. And now did a Fleet of *Saracens* infect the Islands *Cyclades*, which was happily defeated and dissipated by *George Theodorocranus*, the Governour of *Samus*, and *Peribos*, who commanded *Chius*, twelve Ships being taken. On the Ninth day of *November* in the twelfth Indiction, the Emperour fell suddenly sick, and being given over by Physicians, then thought upon a Successour. A messenger was sent to fetch *Constantine Delassenus*, living then in *Armenia*, whom he design'd to create *Cesar*, and marry him to one of his Daughters. But *Simcon* so wrought out of his Love to *Romanus Argyrius*, that he altered his purpose, and another was sent to bid *Delassenus* stay where he was. *Romanus* then was brought to Court, and leave given to chuse whether he would loose his Eyes or part with his Wife, and marrying the Daughter of the Emperour be declared *Cesar*. He paused at it, but his Wife fearing what might happen to him, voluntarily shaved her self and renounced the secular Life for the saving of his Eyes, and procuring him the Empire. *Constantine* had by *Helena* the Daughter of *Alynius*, an Eminent Patritian, three Daughters; of which *Endocia* the Eldest being disfigured by the Plague was turned Nun, and *Theodora* the youngest refused to marry *Romanus*, either because they were too near a Kin as she pretended, or for that his lawfull Wife was yet living: but *Zoe* the second was very well content to accept him for her Husband, and the matter of Kindred being dissembled, and dispensed with by the Patriarch and Ecclesiastics, to her he was joyned in Marriage, and declared Emperour. The third day after the Wedding, *Constantine* died, when he had lived Seventy years and upward, and Reigned three wanting one Month.

89. *Romanus* the Fourth of that Name, beyond all his expectation, together with *Zoe*, took Possession of the Empire in the twelfth Indiction, A.D. 1028. and at his beginning was very acceptable to his Subjects, though he had not come after such a Predecessour. For he not onely took away the *Allelengum*, so much complained of, which *Cedrenus* tells us (I know not what ground there is to believe him) *Constantine* would have done, had he not by death been prevented, but he increased the Salaries wont to be paid out of the publick Treasury to those of the Quire of *St. Sophia*, discharged out of Prison such as were guilty of slighter Faults, and not onely paid the publick Debts, but those of private Men, and redeemed the Captives out of *Patzinacia*. He did many good things relating

relating to the Church not here to be discours'd of, relieved many that were in great poverty, or otherwise distressed, for the health of his Father-in-Law's Soul they tell us expended a great Sum of Money, and made reparation to such as he had injured either in way of Honour or Fortune. *Romanus Sclerus* who had Married his Sister and had lost his Eyes by Command of *Constantine*, he promoted to the Dignity of a *Magister*, and recalled out of Banishment *Nicephorus Xiphias*, who was turned Monk: And now as reconciled again, God gave convenient Rain, and abundance of all fruits followed, especially of Oil. But these Acts of mercy *Romanus* mixed with others of severity, which being accompanied with Justice and publick safety, did not eclipse but more set off the other. *Prufanus* the Bulgarian for conspiring with *Theodora* the Sister of the Emperess, and affecting the Sovereignty was deprived of his sight, and his Mother *Zostica* expelled the City. *Constantine Diogenes* who had Married the Emperour's Brother's Daughter, and was Governour of *Sirmium* being removed to the Command of *Thessalonica*, was accused by *Orestes*, one that had served *Basilus*, of a purpose to rebel, and for that was sent to govern the *Thracians*, where his Crime being clearly discovered, he was brought bound to *Constantinople*, and cast into the Tower, and his Complices six or seven men of eminency were beaten, and then carried in disgrace through the City into Banishment. *Theodora* was also banished from Court to *Pentrium*.

90. On the last day of *October* a Comet appeared, seeming to move from West to East, and on the same day the *Roman* Interest suffered much damage, under Command of *Michael Spondyles* the Governour of *Antioch*. Great Rains also fell and continued to fall till *March*, which caus'd mighty Floods every where, by which, and the rottenness of Grass, much Cattel perished, and because that the Seed corrupted in the ground, great scarcity happened the following year. The Emperour to redeem much loss and disgrace, by this time suffered in *Syria*, resolv'd upon an Expedition to *Berrea*, sending before his Sisters Husband *Constantine Carentenus* a Patritian, with a flying Company, to discover the Passages, and infect the Enemy, but not to hazard a Battel till his Arrival. While he prepares for his Journey it happens, that *George* the Prince of *Abasgia* dies, whose Widow sends away her Ambassadors to desire he would renew the League made formerly with her Husband, and assign a Wife to her Son *Pancratius*, to which he willingly assenting, both renewed the League, and sent *Helena* his Brother *Basilus* his Daughter into *Abasgia* to be Married to *Pancratius*, whom he honoured with the Title of *Eupalates*. Now *Romanus* hastens his Preparation for *Syria*, the state of which Countrey we must declare before we bring him thither by fetching matters a little higher. The Reader is to remember, that the Emperour *Nicephorus* very much enlarged the Bounds of the Empire, in *Syria* and *Phenicia*, where he recovered most of the Cities, and that *Zimices* following on what was begun, extended its Dominion as far as *Damascus*. *Basilus* after them, being at first employed in Civil Broils, and afterward wholly taken up with the Bulgarian War, neglected the Eastern Parts, which gave the *Saracens* opportunity to lay their Heads together and consult, yet they openly attempted nothing during his Reign. But under the dissolute Government of his Brother *Constantine*, they neglected not their Advantage, the most potent Cities of the East now calling off the *Roman* Yoke, and asserting their liberty, and the *Saracens* openly set upon many places, took them, and put the Garrison Souldiers to the Sword. Above all, the Governour of *Berrea* (or *Chalep* as they call'd it) plaid his Franks, by his frequent Incursions sorely distressing *Antioch*, and the adjoining *Roman* Pale. *Spondyles* the Governour of *Antioch*, endeavour'd to restrain him but came off with loss and disgrace. And he suffer'd himself to be overreached by one *Ajaraptus* an Arabian a Prisoner in that City. This man perceiving his fickle humour vaunted of great matters he both could and would perform for the Emperour against the *Saracens*, if he were but set at Liberty; and particularly shew'd him a Platt of ground, on which if a Fort were but built and committed to his keeping, he doubted not but to doe wonderfull things. *Spondyles* not onely believed what he said, but set him at Liberty, built a Fort in the place, and therein putting a thousand men, gave him the Command of it, who now being where he would, entertained Intelligence with the *Amerus* of *Tripolis*, and with *Tubere* the Prince of *Egypt* his General, who sent a Body of men, which he having received into the Castle, they put all the Garrison to the Sword, and then received it from his Hands. After this the *Saracens* ranged up and down without controll. *Romanus* removed *Spondyles*, and put his Brother-in-Law *Constantine Carentenus*, lately said to be sent thither.

The Patzinace invading Bulgaria, are forced to return beyond the Ister.

A Great Drought.

The Saracens infecting the Islands Cyclades are defeated.

Zoe Constantine's Daughter married to Romanus.

Constantine dies.

Romanus and Zoe succeed.

His kindness and justice at first.

He resolves upon an Expedition into Syria.

The League with the Abasgians renewed.

thitherward with an Army, into his place, resolving to follow in Person and prosecute the War.

The Saracens  
of Berraa of-  
fer Peace,  
which is re-  
fused by the  
Emperour.

Who marches  
on with his  
Army.

Which is con-  
fused with  
Thrift.

And endea-  
vouring to  
reach Antioch  
is shamefully  
beaten.

But the Bag-  
gage is re-  
taken by one  
George, who  
for a Reward  
is made Cap-  
tain of the  
lower Media.

Theodistylus  
with an Army  
to take the  
Castle Menicus.

91. He was scarcely got on his way as far as *Philomilium*, when Messengers were sent to him from *Berraa* with Presents, to ask pardon for what was past, to promise him to return to their former obedience, and pay all the Tribute that was due. There were several excellent Warriors now with him in the Army, who earnestly advised him to hearken to them, and accept their Submission, and that for very weighty Reasons, alledging, that in the Summer time Water was much wanting in *Syria*, that the *Saracens* were accustomed to them, and could very well endure both Heat and Thirst, but the *Roman* Souldiers could not, especially being burthened with their heavy Armour. But *Romanus*, what his Predecessor had done in the like kind, was so tickled with a fancy of the great honour he should obtain, that he would not listen to them, but held on in his Expedition, and entering *Syria*, incamped before a Castle called *Azaezium*, two days journey distant from *Berraa*. Now intent upon his business, he sent out *Leo Chorophactes* a Patritian, Captain of the *Excubitores*, to scout about, to watch the motions of the Enemy, and find out some fitter place whereon to fix; but he fell into the Ambush laid for him in the Plain, and his Party was all defeated. Incouraged herewith, the *Saracens* hindered his men from foraging, and knowing well enough their greatest want, from fetching in any Water, which caused them out of mere necessity, and for vehement thirst, to straggle up and down, though with manifest danger of their lives, which usually they lost before they returned. To restrain and chastize their boldness *Constantine Delassenus* was sent with a convenient Power of men; but very silly and cowardly managed the business, and ran back in great terror to the Camp, which struck all the rest of the Army with such Consideration, that now no mention was made of any Battle, but every man considered how he might save one. And a Council of War being called, it was resolved, that the next day they should dislodge and march to *Antioch*.

92. Accordingly when the day came, being the tenth of *August*, in the thirteenth Indiction, and the second year of *Romanus*, all the Gates of the Camp were opened, and they set forward for *Antioch*, most of them being sick of the Gripes, and vexed with a violent Thirst. They were no sooner come into a place convenient, but the *Arabians* set upon them, against whom they never turned Head, nor made any resistance, but the grofs of the Army running away most shamefully, some were taken, others killed, and more destroyed by being born down and trodden on by their Fellows, yet one Eunuch of the Emperours is said very stoutly to have demeaned himself in fetching off both his Servants and Waggons which had been taken, and as for the Emperour himself he escaped, but that with great difficulty, by the Courage of his Guards, to *Antioch*, as he had designed. At the same time was one *George Maniaces* Governour of a Province in these Parts, called *Telucha*. To him came about eight hundred of the *Saracens*, after this flight of the Emperour and his Army, told him the Emperour was taken, his Army utterly defeated, and used what Rhetorick they were able, to persuade him like a wife man to quit that Town, which he was not able to hold, if not, by Break of day he would be surrounded and miserably destroyed. He seemed to take their Advice in good part, and sent them out a great quantity of Meat and Drink praying them therewith to refresh themselves that Night, and promising in the Morning to come forth and deliver up *Telucha* and whatever was the Emperour's into their hands. They gave credit to his words, and setting their hearts at rest, made use of what he had sent them to excess, which being his Design, at Midnight he issued out and killed them all Drunk and asleep as they lay. Two hundred and eighty Camels he took loaded with the rich Plunder of the late Encounter, and causing the Ears and Noses of the slain to be cut off, he went and presented them to the Emperour, who then in his Retreat was come as far as to the House of *Phocas* in *Cappadocia*. He for a Reward made *George* Captain of the Lower *Media*. When he left *Syria* he made *Simon* the Servant of *Constantine* his Father-in-Law Demelick of the Schools, and the Command of *Antioch* he gave to *Nicetas* a *Misheia*, giving it in charge to these two, that by all means they should reduce the Castle *Menicus*, which *Musaraph* had built. They attempted what he had enjoined them, but *Musaraph* breaking out upon them by Night, forced them to be gone, and burnt their Engines. This *Romanus* took in so evil part, that he created General with full power one *Theodistylus* the *Protospatharian*, one of his most trusty Servants, and the Captain of the Associates, having raised him a great Army of *Romans* and other Nations together, gave him instructions to join with

with *Pinzarah* the *Ameras* of *Tripolis*, who had lately revolted from the *Amermunes* of *Egypt*, and fled to his protection, and to take in the Castle *Menicus*, which most of all did discontent him.

Which he per-  
forms.

An Army sent  
into Italy which  
miscarries.

Romanus much  
altered for the  
worse.

93. One *Tusber* a *Turk*, the General of *Egypt*, did much distress *Pinzarah*, till hearing of the coming of *Theodistylus* he then returned home. And *Musaraph* durst not truit to his new Castle, but deserted it, and flying to the Mountains about *Tripolis*, was there found out and slain. The Castle was by his Brother's Son delivered up to *Theodistylus* with another called *Argyrolaphrum* seated on a craggy Mountain, which done he returned back to *Constantinople*. At the same time one of his Brethren, a *Protospatharian*, *Orestes*, sent formerly by *Basilus* into *Sicily*, having no skill in matters of that Nature, for which he was sent, managed them with very ill success. His Army he suffered to be Idle and Luxurious, and when their Intemperance had cast most of them into Diseases of their Bowels, then did the *Saracens* (who had watched but for a convenient opportunity) set upon them and made great slaughter of them, to repair which loss the Emperour raised a great Army out of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and sent it into *Italy*, the greatest part of which also miscarried, through the unskillfulness of the General. This same year in the fifteenth Indiction to make his Estate more secure, he caused *Prusianus* to be shaven for a Monk, and removed his Mother out of the Monastery where she was into *Thrace*, and *Constantine Diogenes* being taken out of the Town, he also constrained to take the Religious Tonfure and Habit. A great Alteration indeed was now observed, if not in the Humour yet in the Actions of *Romanus*, which were changed much for the worse after his return out of *Syria*. To repair his Disgrace there sustained, instead of an Emperour, to use the Expressions of *Zonaras*, he turn'd an Exactour and bitter Inquisitor, requiring old and out-worn Debts of the Fathers from the Children, which the length of time, it was expected, had utterly buried in Oblivion, upon which account many were driven from their Inheritances, and from having good Estates were forced to beg their Bread. Yet did he not bring any of this Money thus gotten into the Treasury, but this and much more taken out of the publick Revenue he consumed; building a stately Monastery and a Church to the Honour of our Lady, thus chopping and changing, pulling down and building up again. To Monks also he was very profuse, assigning them whole Provinces and Cities, and these the most fat and fertile of all the Empire, which was not suitable to that sort of life which these men ought to lead, but more fit for Delicate, Effeminate, and Voluptuous Persons, as *Zonaras* observes.

The League  
renewed with  
the *Ameras* of  
*Chalepe*.

A Conspiracy  
discovered.

The *Roman*  
Pale inhibited  
by the *Arabi-  
ans*, *Parzina-  
ces*, and *Sara-  
cens*, which  
last came short  
home.

94. In the fifteenth Indiction and the Month of *September*, came *Amer* the Son of the *Ameras* or Governour of *Chalepe*, with great Presents to renew the Peace for that place, with promise to pay the accustomed Tribute; which Accord to ascertain and ratify, was sent *Theophylact* an *Athenian* and *Protospatharian*, who renewed the League with that People. *Zoe* the Empress now went suddenly into *Petrium*, and there shaven her Sister *Theodora*, and made her a Nun; there being no other way, as it was said, to put an end to her Plots and Discontents. *Romanus* Married his Brothers Daughter to the *Regulus* of *Armenia*, with a great Portion, and prepared for another Expedition into *Syria*. As he was on his way at *Meseneidia*, *Theophanes* the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, discovered a Plot to the Emperess of *Constantine Diogenes* and *Theodora* her Sister, to fly into *Illyricum* and there to Usurp the Imperial Dignity, to which two Bishops were privy, the Metropolitan of *Dyrrachium* and the Bishop of *Peritheorium*. Hereupon both *Diogenes* and the Bishops were suddenly apprehended. *Diogenes* when in the Palace of *Blachernae* he was examined, threw himself down headlong from the Wall, rather than he would discover his Friends, and was cast out unburied amongst such as laid violent hands on themselves: The Bishops were sent away to the Emperour, and by him were dismissed. On the eight and twentieth of *July*, being *Friday*, a blazing Star was seen to traverse the Heavens from South to North so big and shining, that it illustrated all the horizon. And a little after came News, that the *Arabians* had made an Inroad into *Mesopotamia* as far as *Melitene*, that the *Parzinaces* had passed *Isher* and invaded *Myfia*, and the *Saracens*, (*Arabians* they are also called, these Names being used promiscuously, had wasted all the Coasts of *Illyricum* with Fire and Sword, and were got as far as *Coryra*. The Issue of these Disturbances was, that the two former sorts of these Enemies having done what they came for, returned home unhurt, but the *Saracens* were sorely beaten by the Inhabitants of *Ragufium*, and *Nicephorus* the Son of *Carantenus* then Governour of *Nauplium*, and



and having lost the greater part of their Ships, as they returned, perished by Shipwreck in the Sicilian Sea.

A great Famine and Plague.

A terrible Earthquake.

The Saracens of Africa infect the Islands but are beaten.

Egypt invaded by the Romans who return with great Booty.

Hercules near Babylon taken by them.

Another Victory over the Saracens.

A terrible Earthquake and Famine which causeth Romanus to be very merciful and kind to his Subjects.

95. This very year so great a Famine and a Plague both raged through Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Armenia and Honorias that the Inhabitants left their dwellings and sought out other Habitations, whom the Emperor meeting as he returned from Mesanadia composed them to go Home again furnishing them with Money and other necessaries; and they were much relieved by Michael the Bishop of Ancyra who omitted nothing in his power for their support. On the thirteenth of August happened a terrible Earthquake. On February the twenty eighth in the same year another Comet appeared passing from the North toward the South with a Noise and cracking, and was seen till the fifteenth of March, having as it were a Bow above it, in which Month also another Earthquake fell out. At the same time the Saracens of Africa with a Thousand Vessels and an infinite Number of Seamen and Souldiers aboard them fell upon the Islands. With part of which Nicephorus Carantenus engaged, defeated them and sent five hundred bound in Fetters to the Emperor. This same year George Maniaces the Protospatharian, who commanded the Coasts upon Euphrates, by corrupting Salamines a Turk the Governour of Edessa the City of Osroena, got it into his Hands, from which he sent a yearly Tribute of fifty pounds to Constantinople. So prosperous were the Affairs of Romanus abroad, whilst at Home Basilus Dursus his Sisters Husband who had been deprived of his sight by Constantine now Plotted against his Life, though since his coming to the Government he had conferred on him the Dignity of Magister, and otherwise been very kind to him; for which he and his Wife were expelled the City. Not long after the Emperor encouraged by the Revolt of the Amers of Tripolis whom he sent with a considerable Army into Syria, gave order to Tecneas a Protospatharian to make War upon Egypt with his Fleet and invade the parts about Alexandria which he did with such success that he sunk and burnt many Vessels and returned laden with very great Booty. In all other Quarters the Arms or fortune of Romanus was as prosperous though in one particular accompanied with a disaster. One Alimus a Saracen, Governour of a Fort called Percris near Babylon, delivered the place up to the Emperor, but sent his Son to him expecting he should besides other gifts be sent back dignified by the Title of a Patritian. But it so happened By reason of the Indisposition of the Emperor that the young Man coming to Constantinople was wholly neglected, and no notice taken of him, which so enraged him that he returned to his Father and persuaded him, if possible to recover the Fort into his own Hands. This, by entering into a confederacy with the Neighbouring Persians, and through the carelessness of Nicolas Chryselius a Bulgarian to whom the Custody of it had been committed, he easily did, and put to the Sword six Thousand Roman Souldiers that then lay in Garrison. Now Alimus thought himself sufficiently revenged, when shortly after Nicetas Pegonites a Patritian being sent into these Parts with an Army of Romans and Rossians lays Siege to the Place, and with such earnestness and constancy enforces it, that he carries it by strength, and therein kills both Alimus and his Son. The News hereof was the more welcome at Court because there it met with an address made by Alda the Widow of George sometime Regulus of the Abasgians, whereby she delivered up a very strong Castle call'd Anacuphe, for which Romanus invested her Son Demetrius with the Dignity of a Magister. And much about the same time Carantenus got another Victory over the Saracens six hundred of whom he sent bound to the Emperor.

96. But the joy conceived for all this good success was not long after allayed by the Terror of an Earthquake which on the seventeenth day of February sorely afflicted the Cities of Syria. And so great a famine followed throughout the East, by reason of multitudes of Locusts which devoured all the Fruits of the Earth, especially in Cappadocia, Armenia and Paphlagonia that many of the inhabitants were forced to sell their Children and to seek out new Habitations, of whom multitudes came into Thrace. The Emperor distributed three Nomismas to every man, and commanded them to return home, which by this time they might the better do because a vehement Wind had driven most of the Locusts into the Hellespont, the shores of which were all covered with them. Now in a manner he wholly employed himself in Works of mercy and compassion towards his People. Such Hospitals as had been erected for Poor and diseased People about Constantinople

Romanus made away by his Wife Zoë.

Constantinople and had been demolished by Earthquakes or other ways he reedified for the same uses. He repaired the Aqueducts by which Water was brought into the City; his Wife sent him to another World in such cares and employments being busied, after this manner. When he first arrived at the imperial Dignity, as Menrickled with Honour are wont to do, he flattered himself with hopes of many years, though he had then arrived at sixty, and of Children therein to succeed him, though his Wife was nothing less than fifty. So desirous he was of having a Son, that at the first he very earnestly used all endeavours that way, omitting no Ointments nor other means to render himself lusty and her fit for conception. He caused her to wear certain Gems about her as made to believe them very efficacious for fecundity, the refusing nothing of this Nature but further using Charms and Incantments; though all proved ineffectual: which he perceiving, afterwards scarcely ever cohabited with her, or ever made her a kind Visit, being both by Nature and Age in himself little Prone to carnal Imbracements. Some years the bore this humour though with much Regrets, but at length her lust and hatred of him arose to such violence as to practise against his Life, being exasperated by a violent passion he had conceived for another Person. Romanus had about him a certain Eunuch called John who had served him while he was yet a private Man, and after his coming to the Empire had been preferred to great Employments. This John had four Brothers; Michael, Nicetas, Constantine and George, whereof the two later were Eunuchs as well as himself: Nicetas was a stripling; but Michael was come to Man's Estate, and a most beautiful Person. Both of them dealt in Silver and Adulterated the Coin, as the other three had formerly used a Circulatory or rambling kind of Trade.

97. John by degrees procured for his Brothers access to the Emperor who preferred them all, and in particular made Michael Oversee of the Pantheon, and took him into his Bedchamber. With him Zoë the Empress fell most desperately in love, and her lust being more and more inflamed by the daily sight of him, though the extremely hated John, yet could she not forbear to talk with him, and in her discourse still seek occasion to ask questions and speak of his Brother. John being a crafty Man perceived by the great delight he took in talking of him, how matters stood, and giving him notice thereof charged him that if he applied her self any way familiarly to him, not to be slow and bashful but entertain her with all the Careless that Lovers are wont to do, to the very last point, which instructions he so observed that from looks they proceeded to dalliance, and lay frequently together. As Courtiers are quick to fly, and the Women especially curious to pry and enquire into love matters, their entertainments how private soever could not be concealed, but from the Court to the City became the discourse of all, and in every place; the good old Emperor being the only Man that was ignorant of it. At length from his Sister Pulcheria, and some others he received hints, which he only made use of so far as to ask Michael the question, whether there was any such matter, and, when he denied it, to make him swear, which he having done, he thought he would not forswear himself, and thence concluded it a Calumny. Now for this perjury Michael was reported struck with a dreadful disease, being at certain times seized with a Frenzy, a trembling and staring with his Eyes, which Romanus beholding pitied the Man and was the more confirmed in his incredulity, concluding his Wife could take no pleasure in the conversation of so miserable a Creature, who was not capable either of loving or being beloved. Others said that he knew very well what course of Life he led, but knowing her to be a most lascivious and insatiable Woman winked at what she practised with Michael, left being hindered from his imbracements she should prostitute her self to more. However it was, she resolved to be rid of him, that what she now enjoyed by stealth and in fear she might openly and securely own, and for that purpose is said to have given him a slow working Poison which by degrees made an end of him. The Symptoms were a face much swollen, and discoloured, short and quick Respiration, and the falling off of all his Hair, signs pregnant enough and of a violent suspicion. Yet he continued Languishing till the fifteenth day of April, on which having according to the Custom made the Roges, or paid Penions to the Senators, he went into a Bath and there by some thereto appointed to make more speedy work of it was stifled by holding his Head a sufficient time under Water, which done he was pulled thence and laid upon his Bed. He was speechless now but not quite dead, and the Rumour being spread that he was dying his Wife ran for haste amongst the rest and made great Lamentation for her dear Husband, who calling out of his Mouth some black matter

Who falls in love with Michael.

Being very close together.

Yet suspected by Romanus.

Who in a short time after is Poisoned by them.

matter presently departed the World, after he had Reigned five years and six Months in the second Indiction. A. D. 1034. In his Youth he applied himself to learning, and was well seen in Greek Authours and the knowledge of the Civil Laws, although he boasted himself much more knowing than he was.

98. The same Night when the office of Christ's Passion was Sung, or the Service belonging to Good Friday, *Alexius* the Patriarch was sent for to Court, as it were by Command of *Romanus*, whither being come he found the Emperour Dead, and *Zoe* in the Golden Room Royally furnished for so worthy an occasion, produced *Michael*, and required him to Marry them together. The Patriarch amazed at the suddenness of the thing, was very backward, till *John* and the Bribed him by a present of fifty pounds to himself, and as much to his Clergy; by which overcome, he solemnized the Marriage. *Zoe* having thus introduced *Michael* the *Paplagonian* (as for distinction he is styled from his Countrey) both into her Bed and Throne, therein purposed to use him but as a Drudge and Servant, and resolving to Govern her self, took into the Court such Eunuchs as had served her Father. But he was much deceived through the industry and craft of *John* her Husband's Brother, who sufficiently understanding her, and mindfull of *Romanus* his Fate, turn'd out all these Eunuchs, and removing from her all her most trusty Women, put into their places his own Friends and Acquaintance, by which and other means he so hamper'd her, that to her great grief she could neither do nor act any thing, not so much as go into the Bath without his knowledge and permission. Having thus secured all in the Palace, he wrote Letters into all Provinces which signified the Death of *Romanus*, and how by his Will and Determination *Michael* had succeeded in the Empire and Marriage of *Zoe*. All Men seemed to be sufficiently pleased with the change, and wished prosperity to them, except *Constantine Delassenus* the Patritian, who took it in most high disdain that so obscure and ignoble a Fellow should be so preferred before Persons of most high Rank and Quality, of which at this time there were very many. *John* was much disturbed to hear how much he concerned himself, and resolved to draw him to their Party if possible, employing one *Ergodotes* an Eunuch, a Man very able to insinuate any thing, to him for this purpose, who offering him Oath for his Security, and requiring one from him for his Loyal deportment, was to bring him to the Emperour, where things should be concluded and made up betwixt them, to their mutual satisfaction. In the mean time he made the Senate his own by promoting all the chiefest of them and the leading men to places of Dignity and Revenue. And amongst the multitude as any be perceived to be in Capacity to do mischief by preferences he took off, and obliging such as were fit to do service, made all the People satisfied and at his Devotion.

99. But all this notwithstanding our Writers observe, that such things happened at the very first beginning as manifestly shewed these devices how ever yet prosperous to have much displeased Almighty God. For on Easter day fell such a terrible storm of Hail that it brake down Trees, Houses and Churches in great numbers, and so destroyed the standing Corn that a great scarcity thereupon followed. And on the Lord's day following appeared so great a Comet that with the light it cast it obscured all the Stars, and some imagined the Sun was returning, though it was but the third hour of the night. And the Emperour was in a grievous manner tormented with his distemper, which would not be overcome by any either spiritual or temporal means that could be used: some affirming he was possessed, and those that judged most favourably accounting it no better than a Frenzy or Lunatick Disease. *Delassenus* was not so easily to be brought off by *Ergodotes* as they imagined, requiring greater caution than his bare Oath for his security, which given he signified by a Messenger of his own that he should not refuse to come to Constantinople. To him then was sent one *Constantine Phagitzes* an Eunuch, the Emperour's Countreyman, and confident with the word said to belong to the Cross of Christ, the Linen Cloath that had his Image upon it and the Epistle which they believed he wrote to *Angarus*, with the Picture of the Blessed Virgin; by the Religious Opinion of which he was induced to accept of the Faith given him, and went with *Delassenus* to the Court, where being honourably received, and dignified with the Title of Proconful, he was richly presented and ordered to live at his ease in his own House near at hand. Now we are told a strange Story, how the Locusts which by the Wind were cast upon the Shore of the *Hellepont*, revived and did great mischief to the adjacent Countries, especially in the Province of *Thrace* for three years, which ended, they perished about *Pergamus*.

100. But,

100. But, *Michael* bearing only the name, his Brother *John* exercised all the power of an Emperour, by virtue whereof he made his other Brother *Nicetas* Governour of *Antioch*. *Nicetas* going thither to enter upon his Charge the Townsmen refused to admit him, fearful that he would with severity punish them for having lately in a Tumult killed one *Salibis* who with too much rigour had gathered the publick Revenue. At length upon promise of pardon and oblivion they opened their Gates and received him, but when he had got possession without any regard to his promise he caused about an hundred Persons to be beheaded and fastened upon Poles, and sent eleven of the principal Citizens all of great Nobility (of whom *Elpidius* a Patritian was the chief) bound to *Constantinople*, having confiscated their Estates: and he wrote to his Brother *John* that the Gates had been shut against him not because of the Murder of *Salibis* but out of their Inclinations to *Delassenus*. He being formerly in suspicion, Credit was easily given to this suggestion and being brought before the Emperour on the third day of August, in the second indiction, he was condemned to Banishment in the Island *Prota*, against which breach of Faith *Constantinus Ducas* his Son-in-Law proclaiming and protesting, was for his Pains cast Prisoner into a Tower. The Estates of three very eminent and rich Men in *Asia* the less were upon this pretence seized and assigned over to *Constantine* the Emperour's Brother. And *Simeon* the *Protoprothartarius* one of *Constantine* the Emperour's Ministers for disapproving these proceedings as injurious and Breaches of Faith was expelled both from Court and City, and made a Monk at *Olympus* in a Monastery of his own founding. This same year for forty days together the Eastern parts were terrified with an Earthquake by which many Men perished at *Jerusalem*, besides the ruine of Houses and Churches. In the Indiction following and the Month of September a Pillar of Fire appeared towards the East with its Head inclining Southward. And at the same time the *Saracens* took *Myra* and those of *Berrea* cast out the Governour whom the Emperour had sent to them: *Pancratius* the *Abasgian* to revenge the cause of *Romanus* his Wives Uncle broke the League and recovered such Castles and Forts as had formerly been in the hands of the Emperours: moreover the *Pazinacæ* having passed *Ister* wasted all *Myssa* as far as *Thessalonica*; and the *Saracens* of *Africk* by their Fleets, not a little indamaged the Islands *Cyclades*.

101. These matters were of very great consequence, but seemed nothing to *John* the Governour of *Orphans*, as he is styled, who ruled all, in comparison of the dangers which at home threatened them from *Delassenus*, whom imagining he would never securely enough keep, from the Island he removed him to a Tower, and that kept with a very strong Guard: and *George Maniaces* he removed from *Edessa*, and made him Governour of the upper *Media* or *Alpracania*, to prevent the growth of interest by favour and intelligence, sending to succeed him one *Leo Lependrenus*. *Nicetas* shortly after dying in his Government of *Antioch*, he would intrust none with it but *Constantine* the other Brother, and now did he promote to the place of *Protoprothartarius* him that only remained of the rest, for *Simeon* as we said had taken upon him the monastick course of Life. To make the Government of *Constantine* more acceptable to those of *Antioch*, their fellow Citizens were released out of Prison, and the Emperour farther to establish the interest of his Family or rather to gratifie the solicitude of his Brother, who seeing him so sickly was afraid if he died both he and his Family should be destroyed by the Emperour, promoted *Michael* the Son of his Sister *Mary* to the Dignity of *Cæsar*. He attended now little but matters of Devotion bewailing to his last hour the Murder of *Romanus*, for which he thought to appease Almighty God by good Works and Liberality to the Poor, the building of Monasteries and other things which that Age esteemed the most valuable. But as our writers observe they profited him nothing. Indeed had he made Resignation of his ill gotten Empire which occasioned his Sin, had he put the Adulterers away which had provoked him, and in a private condition deplored his Crimes, they might have been Testimonies of his Repentance. But he still used the Company of *Zoe* and thought of parting with his Soul as much as the Empire. Out of ill gotten goods he made a shew of Liberality and yet vainly imagined he thereby expiated his former faults, and purchased pardon by the purses of other Men, the publick Revenue.

102. This same year in the Month of May did the *Saracens* of *Africk* and *Sicily* infest the *Cyclades* and the maritime Coasts of *Thrace* which their Incursions, but the Governours so attended their motions that most of them came short home, five hundred being sent alive to the Emperour and were fastened upon Poles all

An Earthquake in the East and a Pillar of Fire seen in the Air at which time the Roman Territories on all sides are infested.

Michael promoted to the Dignity of Cæsar by the Emperour being very Sickly.

The Saracens of Africk and Sicily infesting the Cyclades are forced to make Peace.

A terrible storm of Hail.

A vast Comet appears.

The Locusts revived.

all along the Coast from *Atamytium* to *Sirobelus*. This so humbled the *Ameras* of *Sicily*, that he easily admitted of Peace which *John* offered him by one *George Probatius*, who was sent Ambassador for this purpose. The *Ameras* whose Name was *Apolaphar Muehmet*, was honoured with the Title of *Magister*, and being attached by his Brother *Apocapfus*, sent to the Emperor for assistance, according to the Conditions of the League made betwixt them. To repress *Apocapfus* therefore *George Maniaces* was sent into *Lombardy*, together with *Stephen* a Patritian the Husband of the Emperor's Sister, and Commander of the Fleet, and *Constantine Chages*, who governed the *Cibyrea*, gave the *Saracens* a notable defeat at Sea. In Winter happened a mighty Frost, which encouraged the *Patzinacæ* to pass the River *Ister*, and to harass *Mysia* and *Thrace*, as far as to *Macedonia*, and in Summer following vast quantities of Locusts did much damage to the fruits of these Countries. No fewer times than thrice in one year, did that People make Inroads into the Territories of the Empire, where they destroyed all things in their way, and tortured all Persons to death they took without any respect had to Sex or Age, amongst whom were five Officers of Eminence. But it fell out well for the Empire, that much about the same time, *Nesiphilabus* and *Hierophilabus*, two Princes of the *Rossians* died; and *Servius*, which after the Death of *Romanus* had cast off the Yoke, was now again in the third year of *Michael* recover'd to it. And the publick satisfaction for these things was no whit lessened by what happened in *Egypt*, the *Amernumnes* whereof being dead, his Wife embracing Christian Religion, together with her Son offered to make a Peace with the *Romans*, with whole desires *Michael* so far complied as to grant a Truce for thirty years.

The Parz-nice harass Mysia and Thrace.

A Truce for thirty years betwixt Egypt and the Romans.

Three several Earthquakes. The Saracens of Mesopotamia lay Siege to Edessa, which is relieved. A Drought.

103. The year following happened three several Earthquakes, whereof one was very terrible. The *Saracens* of *Mesopotamia*, uniting themselves laid siege to *Edessa*, which could not possibly have escaped their Hands, but that *Constantine* the Emperor's Brother, sent timely Succours from *Antioch*, for which Care and Industry he was rewarded with the Office of Domestick of the Schools of the East. The Summer was so dry, that no Rain fell for six Months together, for removal of which Judgment, Processions and Supplications were made, but nothing fell from Heaven but a great storm of Hail which did great mischief to Trees, and damage to the Tiles of Houses. A great scarcity hereupon following at *Constantinople*, *John* procured Corn out of *Peloponnesus* and *Greece*, much to the Relief of the Citizens. In the mean while the two *Saracen* Brothers in *Sicily*, whom we lately mentioned, making War upon each other, *Apocapfus* who seemed to decline, craved assistance of the *Ameras* of *Africk*, who jointly they defeated *Apolaphar*, *Maniaces* not yet being arrived with his Auxiliaries. *Apolaphar* hereupon betook himself to *Leo Opus* the Governour of *Lombardy*, who with such force as the shortness of the time would give him leave to raise, passed over into *Sicily*, where he grappled with the *Ameras* of *Africk*, and repressed him, but the two Brothers beginning to look towards an Agreement, lest strangers should deprive them of what they struggled for, and to plot against the *Romans*, he returned into *Italy*, and gave Scope to the *Ameras* to renew his Hostilities, which he did with all freedom, much to the loss of the Islanders. In the following year on the second of *November*, another Earthquake happened which lasted till *January*. And a great Famine followed throughout *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and all these Quarters as far as *Thebais*, whereat the Bishop of *Thebais* taking advantage, and refusing to pay to his Clerks, both what he solicited and what he was able to discharge, was caught, notwithstanding all his cunning by the Emperor. Being convict of Perjury (in swearing he had but thirty Pounds, though he was found to have three and thirty Centenaries of Gold in ready money) all this Wealth was seized to the use of his Creditors and the Poor, and he was turned out of his Bishoprick, of the Revenues whereof so much only was assigned him, as was convenient for his maintenance.

Another Earthquake. And a Famine in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thebais.

104. Now did *Pancratius* Prince of *Abasgia*, make War upon *Jasfas* Prince of the upper *Iberia*, whom the Emperor being obliged to succour, *John* sent against the Aggressor his Brother *Constantine*, Domestick of the Schools with all the Forces belonging to the East, yet supported by a promise, that *Delassenus* should with him be sent as Counsellour and Assistant, which being not performed (so great a Jealousy was had of the Man) his Courage and Conduct failed him, and he returned home without having any thing performed. At this time *Zoe* the Empress endeavoured to poison *John*, which was discovered, and he putting

nothing sufficiently the Conspirators had a nearer regard both to her, and his own preservation, we must not forget (though our Authors seem to have done it all this while) that *George Maniaces* arriving in *Sicily*, to answer the request of the *Ameras* of that Island, the two Brothers made Peace betwixt themselves, and jointly made War against him, procuring out of *Africk* a great Power of Men for this purpose. Against these *Africans* he had such success, that a Brook is reported to have received a Tincture from their Blood, and animated if not strengthened by this Success, he presently brought under thirteen Towns, and by Degrees conquered the whole Island. At the same time in the East matters were in a different posture, where *Edessa* escaped narrowly of being taken by the *Saracens*, in this manner. *Parasbatzes* an *Iberian* was Governour there; to whom came twelve Men of the Principal of their Nation with five hundred Horse, and as many Camels carrying Boxes on their Backs, wherein were belted no fewer than twelve thousand of armed Men. The pretence was that the Camels bore Presents sent to the Emperor, but the Design was to get the armed Men into the Castle, and so to make sure of the Sentinels, as to master both it and the City. *Parasbatzes* the Governour kindly entertained the twelve Persons at a Feast, yet would not admit the Horsemen or Camels into the City, which refusal proved so fortunate, that the Conspiracy was discovered by an *Armenian* Beggar, who overheard one of those in the Boxes, discoursing and asking his Fellow where they were. The Governour secretly admonished by him to look to himself, left his Guests at their Feast, and with a sufficient Number of Men going out of the Town, pulled the *Saracens* out of their Nests, and killed them in the Place. This done he returned to his Company, the last course of whose entertainment was of the same sort; for he killed them all, except one of the chief, whom having deprived of Hands, Ears and Nose, in that Condition he sent him to make relation of their Success to his Countrymen.

Edessa like to be taken by the Saracens, but the Design is discovered and they are cut off.

105. In the mean time *John* who managed all things, was so in love with his Power and Domination, that his Jealousie and Fear to loose it, gave him but little quiet and contentment. His fear of *Delassenus* was grown to so great a suspicion, that he not only broke his promise with his Brother, in sending him his Assistant against the *Abasgian*, lest he improve any advantage put into his Hands; but thinking him too dangerous in the private Condition, as he was, resolved to deprive him of all Helpers and Abettors, and for that purpose sent into Banishment his two Brothers, and all his other Relations, being very desirous to rid himself of his whole Family. He was very cunning in his Contrivances, and not wanting to exercise his Wits for the hoarding up of Treasure, the usual Humour of Men of his Condition. No means he omitted, how indirect and unjust soever to accomplish this end. He raised the publick Revenue by greater Impositions upon Land, and other Courses unworthy as our Authors tell us to be related. In the mean time his Brother the Emperor, was vexed more than ever with his Disease, which notwithstanding all his Alms and Acts of Charity increased, and was more exasperated by accession of a Dropsie. At the same time his People were disturbed by almost continual Earthquakes, by one of which *Smirna* was made a miserable spectacle, and in some provinces the Quinzy raged so much, that the living scarcely sufficed to bury the Dead. In *Sicily*, the War renewed by the *Ameras* of *Carthage* against *Maniaces*, who watching his opportunity fell upon him with such violence and execution, that few of his Men escaped with their Lives, and he himself got away in a little boat into *Africk*. *Maniaces* to prevent his flight, in case he should be defeated, had before the engagement given order to *Stephen* the Commander of the Fleet, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor, to hover about the Coasts and intercept him; but through his Carelessness he escaped. This so far enraged *Maniaces*, and transported him, that as soon as he saw him he reviled him, and to severe words added so fowre blows, which he gave him on the Head with a Cudgel. This *Stephen* received with so great Indignation, that to be revenged he wrote to *John*, and accused him of plotting against the Emperor, to which his jealous Pate so far gave credit, that he ordered him to be sent Prisoner to *Constantinople*, where he was cast into close Prison, together with *Basilius Theodoranus* a Patritian. The command of *Sicily* was given to *Stephen*, jointly with *Basilius Pedradites* an Eunuch, who so ordered their matters, that in a short space by their Rapacity, and negligence they brought all to nothing. It was *Maniaces* his course when he took any considerable Place, there to build a Fort to keep the People in obedience. Now the People perceiving the Careless humour of the two new Commanders, and provoked by their Exactions, privily

The War renewed in Sicily, which is wholly over-run by the Ameras of Carthage Messana excepted.

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procured some Men to be sent over from *Carthage*, and falling upon these Forts, took them all with all the considerable Towns in the Island, *Messana* excepted, which was held by *Catacalo Ambulius* a *Protopatharian*, and Captain of the *Armenian* Legion, with three hundred Horse and five hundred Foot. To *Messana* now they lay siege, all that are capable of bearing Arms, being forced into the Field; *Stephen* and *Pedates* being fled into *Lombardy*.

To which the  
Saracens lay-  
ing siege are  
by a sudden  
Sally cut off.

106. For three days together *Catacalo* shut himself close up, and thereby caused the *Saracens* to believe him fearfull, and to despair of any way escaping the danger. They as fully secure and judging no otherwise, than that they had him as sure as a Bird in a Net, neglected all Discipline, stragling up and down, making merry, and giving up themselves to all Jollity and Drunkenness. On the fourth day which was *Whitsunday*, he having finished his Devotions, took the advantage offered him, and about Dinner time made a brisk Sally upon them, wherein first making to the Tent of *Apolaphar* their Commander, he killed him as he was drunk, and then made vast Slaughter of the ordinary sort, so as all the Country was overpread with dead Bodies, so unexpected was the Onset: And incredible Wealth the Souldiers got in the rising of the Camp. To leave all *Sicily* now in the Hands of the *Saracens*, *Messana* excepted, and to return into the East, we find *Michael* the Emperour at *Thessalonica*, fixed at the Tomb of *Demetrius* the Martyr, by whose means he hoped to be freed from his Disease, and thence would he not stir without absolute necessity compelled him, neglecting all Affairs of State which were cast upon the Shoulders of *John* his Brother. And never did man manage them more to the disquiet and discontent of the Subject, whom he oppressed by all ways and Methods he could, with whose cruel Actions other sad Accidents joining, made them very miserable. For Earthquakes and violent Storms of Wind and Rain sorely distressed them, yet with this little comfort, that together with the Comets which frequently appeared, they seemed to predict the impending Fate of the Tyrants. Their Sister *Mary* the Mother of *Cesar* as sensible of what was coming, having in a Journey to *Ephesus* observed several Acts of Injustice and Oppression, thereof certified *John*, and was earnest with him to prevent such things for the time to come, for which she was much derided, he calling her Fool, telling her she talk'd like a Woman, and understood not what belonged to Government. But while he thus pleased himself in his Craft of governing, a thing fell out which much disturbed both his Brother and him. To defray his Expences at *Thessalonica*, *John* put ten Centenaries of Gold aboard a Vessel, which by a Tempest was split upon the Coast of *Ilyricum*, and *Stephen Boissblabus* Prince of *Serbia* (or *Servia*) who had lately made his escape from *Constantinople*, and turning out thence *Theophilus Eroticus*, had made himself Master of that Countrey, seized the Money to his own use.

The Bulgarians revolt  
chasing De-  
leanus for King.

107. The Emperour when he understood that he had his Money, sent and made demand of it, threatening to recover it by force if fair words would not prevail, *Stephen* slighted the Threats, whereupon to make them good, *George Probatas* an Eunuch was sent with an Army, but by his Indiscretion and want of Conduct the Design miscarried, and having lost well nigh all his men in Straits and impassable places, he himself escaped with great difficulty. In the very same year the *Bulgarians* revolted upon this occasion. One *Petrus Deleanus* a *Bulgarian*, the Servant of a Citizen of *Constantinople* running away from his Master, in all places as far as *Morabus* and *Belegrade* (Castles of *Pannonia*, faith our Authour, beyond *Ister*, and bordering upon the Territories of the *Turks*) gave out that he was the natural Son of *Romanus* and Nephew of *Samuel*, by which he so moved the *Bulgarian* Nation, which having lately submitted unto the Yoke, was now again impatient of Servitude, that in *Naissus* and *Scupia*, the principal Towns, as well as elsewhere, he was with lucky Acclamations proclaimed and owned as King; and as a Sacrifice to this new Idol the *Romans* were butchered wherever they were met with. As soon as this was known to *Basilius Synadenus* the Governour of *Dyrrachium*, he judging it was the best way to suppress the mischief in the beginning, marched out with all the Forces of the Garrison against *Deleanus*, but coming to a place called *Debra*, a Quarrel fell out betwix him and a certain Tribune in the Army, who taking the effectual way to ruin powerfull and popular men, accused him to the Emperour of Treason, whereupon he was turn'd out of Command, and clapt up close Prisoner at *Thessalonica*. The Tribune by Name *Michael Dermocaitas* could not for his good Service and Zeal receive a lesser Reward than the Command of the Malefactor, which he managed so extremely ill, that the People enraged by his Cruel Exactions, rose up against him as one man,

Cedremo de-  
nadr & Xente-  
de Dabul & Co.

Alufianus run  
to the Bulgar-  
ians.

Is admitted  
Colleague  
with Deleanus.

Believes Thef-  
salonica.

But is beaten  
and his Army  
routed.

So do the In-  
habitants of  
Dyrrachium  
chasing Tri-  
clamme.

Teichomere re-  
solved and  
slain by the  
Wiles of De-  
leanus who  
alone governs  
Bulgaria.

Leading an  
Army towards  
Thessalonica.

Takes Dyrra-  
chium, and  
most part of  
the Province  
of Nicopolis.

A Conspiracy  
discovered and  
punished.

man, and having driven him out of Town, and knowing how the matter would be relented by the Emperour, openly revolted, making choice for their King one *Teichomere* a Souldier amongst them of good note both for Valour and Prudence.

108. Now were there two Kings, and consequently two great Factions in *Bulgaria*, whereof when neither seemed able to prevail against the other by force, by cunning and slight the matter was easily effected. *Deleanus* wrote kind Letters to the other, inviting him to partake of the Sovereignty, and so counterfeited a contented and self-denying Person, that he prevailed with *Teichomere*, to come to him and join their Forces together. Having now gotten a convenient opportunity, he calls all the Souldiers together, and desired them that if they believed him to be defended from *Samuel*, and were satisfied in their Election of him to be their King, that they would remove *Teichomere*, or if such was their pleasure he would willingly surrender his Interest to him, forasmuch as it was not to be thought, that *Bulgaria* could bear two Kings together. This produced at first a great contest amongst the Souldiers, which ended yet in the choice of *Deleanus* to be their King, and the stoning to death of the unhappy *Teichomere*. *Deleanus* being now possessed of the Kingdom without a Rival, led an Army presently towards *Thessalonica* against the Emperour, who would not stay his coming, but in a confused manner ran away to *Constantinople*, leaving all his Baggage and Treasury behind to be brought after him by *Mannel Ibarza* one of his Domesticks, who carried it over to *Deleanus*. This Uprising so diligently managed his matters, that by Forces sent under Conduct of one *Caucanus*, he took *Dyrrachium*, and into *Greece* dispatched another Army under Command of one *Anthimus*. So much he prospered in his Enterprize, that the Province of *Nicopolis*, all except *Naupactus* gave up it self into his Hands, becoming impatient of the Domination of *John*, whose most cruel and exacting Officer they cut into pieces, and cast off the Yoke of Obedience. When *Basilius* conquered *Bulgaria*, he made no alteration as to Taxes, but contented himself with what had been paid to *Samuel* in kind, in this proportion, that whoever had a Yoke of Oxen paid a Measure of Wheat, another of *Milium*, and a Vessel of Wine to the publick. This *John* had changed into ready money, which from the Emperour, and joined themselves with their Countreymen. At this time a great Conspiracy was hatched against the Emperour by *Michael Ceralarius*, *John Macremopolita*, and many others, which being detected they were banished, and their Estates seized. And against *Constantine* the great Domestick, a Mutiny was raised at *Mesanastra*, for which *Michael Gabras*, *Theodosius Mesanydes*, and other Centurions lost their Eyes. And *Gregory Taronita* a Patrician, Principal contriver was covered with a raw Hide all over, but where space was left for breath and sight, and in that manner sent up to *John* at *Constantinople*.

109. In the Ninth Indiction, the Month of September, *Alufianus* the Patrician, the second Son of *Aaron* so often mentioned, and Governour of *Theodosiopolis*, fled secretly and betook himself to *Deleanus* upon this occasion. Being accused of some unjust proceedings, the Emperour or rather his Brother was so incensed against him, that before his Cause could be heard, he was forbidden the Court, or to come to *Constantinople* without leave, and more than this *John* issued out very beautiful Woman, which he kept in the Countrey. Being not able by all Habit, and passing for a Servant of *Basilius Theodorocranus*, got undiscoversed to *Ostrobos*, where *Deleanus* then lying with an Army, very joyfully received him in appearance. He was sufficiently sensible how despicable both his counterfeited Person and Interest was in danger to prove at the appearance of one of the true Family, but perceiving all the Souldiers out of respect to his Lineage to bear him hearty veneration of the Countrey. *Alufianus* was wiser than to neglect so fair a beginning, and being admitted his Colleague was presently sent with forty thousand Men against *Thessalonica*, which then was held by *Constantine* the Patrician, the Emperour's Kinsman, who so manfully defended himself, that *Alufianus* having with all sorts of Engines attacked it for six Days together, perceived there was no other Course to be taken, but to starve them out. But the Defendants resolved to frustrate his expectations, made a General and unexpected Sally, and forced him to raise his Siege with such loss, that fifteen thousand of his Men were

said to be slain, and the rest ran away with him to *Deleanus*, the Victory being ascribed to *Saint Demetrius* the Martyr, whom some of the *Bulgarians* swore they saw fighting, like a young Man at the Head of the *Roman* Troops, and destroying those against whom he fought by Fire which proceeded from him, so powerful had been the Prayers of the besieged at his Sepulchre, and efficacious the Ointment proceeding from his Tomb:

110. This defeat of *Alisianus*, increased the Jealousies already conceived betwixt him and *Deleanus*, and ripened their Hatred and Designs; for *Deleanus* would not be convinced but it was out of Treachery, and the other was rendered more peevish and out of humour by the apprehension of his Malice, and of the disgrace he had received by the overthrow. Now they thought of nothing, but how to circumvent and destroy each other, nor plotted any thing but how to get advantages to do it. But *Alisianus* was before-hand with his Colleague, whom having invited to a Feast, when he was drunk he caused his Eyes to be put out, and not trusting to his own Interest or the Humour of the *Bulgarians*, then sent to the Emperor and offered to return to his obedience, provided he might be accepted, and receive rewards due to his Loyalty, which was granted, and he repaired to *Michael*, then lying at *Mosynopolis*, who conferred on him the Dignity of *Magister*, and to make sure of him sent him to his Brother *John* to *Constantinople*. *Michael* was before this resolved in Person, to make an expedition into *Bulgaria*, upon hearing that that Province had revolted, having this saying frequently in his Mouth, that *It was a shame for him who had added nothing to the Empire, to lose any Portion of it*. The Dropie had already so far prevailed, that he was advised by those about him to altar his purpose, which was farther urged by the Principal Senators, but he by this opposition was the more quickened to undertake the Journey. And when on a certain Night he seemed overpowered by his Dis ease, and no hope there was, that he could proceed in his March the following day, to the great wonder of all Men he was in the Morning seen at the Head of his Men, and very stoutly led on into *Bulgaria*, where designing to fall upon the Revolters, and reduce them by force, this opportunity was presented of getting the Victory without fighting. For of their two Princes, the one being depoled, and the other revolted, the *Bulgarians* without an Head, and here and there dispersed, very easily returned to obedience. *Deleanus* having got into his Hands, he sent to *TheSalonica*. Then piercing into the more Inner Parts of the Countrey, he came to the wooden Rampart made formerly by *Manuel Ibatzes* at *Pirilapus*, to restrain the Emperor's Incursions, but this he broke down, and having dispersed some *Bulgarians* who began to unite themselves, he took *Ibatzes*, with whom and *Deleanus* he returned in Triumph to *Constantinople*. Having done this work, and perceiving his time to be but short by the prevalence of his Dis ease, he cast off all Cares of State, and forsaking the Palace betook himself to a Monastery of his own building, and there putting off the Purple and all Ensigns of Majesty, was shaven for a Monk. He gave himself up to Religious Exercises, wholly refusing to admit the Empress to his presence, and perpetually bewailed his Sins, especially the Murder of *Romanus* the Emperor, till such time as his Dropie oppressed his Vitals, which was on the tenth Day of *December*, in the tenth Indiction, after he had Reigned seven years and eight Months, or thereabouts. He of himself was mild enough in his Government, though the contrary Humour of his Brothers made his Reign be ill spoken of. The only Crime laid to his Charge is, that about *Romanus* his death; which yet most ascribe more to his Brother *John* than him.

111. By the death of *Michael*, the Empire was again devolved upon *Zoe*, as by hereditary right. *Michael* surnamed *Calaphates* his Nephew by his Sister, the Wife of *Stephen*, who ordered matters for ill in *Sicily*, was as we said promoted by him to the Dignity of *Cesar*. Yet afterward, as if he repented of what he had done, he was ordered to live out of *Constantinople*, and forbidden to come to Court without licence first obtained. But when *Michael* was gone into the Monastery, his Brothers wrote Letters as in the Emperor's Name, whereby he was recalled into the Palace, but his Uncle *John* gave him his Lesson, which was by all means to please *Zoe*, and do nothing without her approbation. Thus instructed, they bring him into her Presence, where he falls down at her Feet, and putting her in mind how she had adopted him for her Son, at the time of his Advancement to the Title of *Cesar*, and engage most solemnly to her, that upon the Death of his Uncle he should only enjoy the Name of Emperor, but

but she all the Power, whom as a Slave bought with money is wont to do his Lady and Patroness, he would observe and obey to the utmost. She being of her self very easy, and finding the business of Government more troublesome than she had imagined, after three days deliberation complied with them, and (adopting him for her Son, faith *Cedrenus*, though others write that this was done before) caused him to be adorned with the Imperial Diadem, of which he was unworthy, not so much in respect to his obscure Birth and Family (his Father's Trade having been to pitch Ships) but to his disposition and manners, though before the Trial he was reputed active and industrious. As an ill Omen, of what a giddy humour he would prove, at his Coronation he was taken with such a *Vertigo* and Mist before his Eyes, that he had like to have fallen into a swoon, and with Ointments and Perfumes, could hardly be recovered. But thus did *Michael Calaphates*, the fifth of that Name, become Emperor of the *Romans* in the Tenth Indiction, A. D. M. XLI. Before his Admission, *Zoe* would secure some matters her self. First *John* his Uncle, the removed into a Monastery. Then *Constantine* the Domestick of the Schools, the deprived of his Command, and confined him to his House, as she did also *George the Protovestiarus*.

112. It's observed of the Reign of *Michael*, that during its continuance, there was still an Earthquake in one part or other of the Empire. Such were his Actions, that they quickly produced an Alteration in his Fortune. He was deceitful and highly ingratefull, having no regard either to the obligations of Nature or Friendship, of so lavish a Tongue, that never regarded what he said, his Heart and Lips never agreeing: In adversity most bale and servile, and born to punish the Crimes of his Uncle *John*, and to procure the Ruine of all his Family. For some time however his Uncle had been outed by the Empress, yet he used his advice, gave him great Titles and most fair words; but either to please the Empress, or rather to gratify his own Humour by degrees, bore himself to him after a quite contrary Fashion; being so far from giving him any respect, that he took all occasions to cross and to affront him. The only Person of his Kindred to whom he bore any respect was his Uncle *Constantine*, whom he prevailed with *Zoe* to have recalled from his Confinement: on him he conferred the Title of *Nobilissimus*, and would have him near him, suffering him to affront his Brother *John* in his Presence without any reprehension, which caused *John* to depart at a good distance from the City. Hereupon *Michael* broke out into open Enmity against him. He had formerly sent for him to Court, but when he was to come, on purpose absented himself at the Theatre, to behold the *Circenian Games*. Now again he sent a Gally for him to give an account of his proud Carriage, and when he was come near the Palace, ordered him to be carried away into Banishment: And thus he rewarded him, by whose Craft and Design he had both received the Dignity of *Cesar*, and the Imperial Power. Having thus removed him, he dealt no better with his other Relations, many of whom not only men in Sex, but bearded by reason of their Age, nay both Husbands and Fathers he caused to be gelded, and made Eunuchs. He had now obtained the Conquest over his own Kindred, but another Triumph remained, which required more than Herculean pains. This was to reduce the Empress *Zoe* to a private Life, and this he resolved upon by the advice and assistance of his Uncle *Constantine*, and first attempted it by these means.

113. This most Ignoble (adoptive) Son causes odd rumours to bespread (say our Authours) against his most Noble Mother, reporting her guilty of many Crimes, particularly of witchcraft and sorcery, and that she Plotted to take away his Life. Having thus made his way he calls her out of the Court, banishes her into the Princes Island, causes one who had so well deserved of him to be shaven, and instead of the Purple which had defended to her from her many Ancestours, to put on the Habit of a Nun. *Cedrenus* writes that before he did this he resolved to try how the affections of the Citizens of *Constantinople* stood, after this manner. The next Lord's day after *Easter* he ordered a solemn Procession to be made to the Church of the *Apollon*, in which he appeared with his Diadem on his Head, and waited on by all the Senate. All the People ran to the shew, and those that lived in the Streets through which he passed from the Palace adorned the Walls and Windows of their Houses, as is usual, with the best and richest Hangings they had to Grace the Solemnity, and were not wanting to follow him with usual Acclamations. This the vain and miserable Man concluded to proceed from their intire affection

*Alisianus* circumvents *Deleanus* and returns to the Emperor.

Who marches towards *Bulgaria*.

Reducing it into obedience returns in Triumph to *Constantinople*.

Is shaven.

Dies.

The Empire devolved upon *Zoe*.

Who makes *Michael Calaphates* Emperor.

Disgracing and using ill all his own Relations.

And depoying *Zoe* the Empress.

*Zoe* was Tempted in *Michael Calaphates*.

fection to him, and in the night following put his device in practice in the manner formerly related. "The day following he caused a writing publickly to be read by the Prefect of the City to this purpose, that he had banished *Zoe* because she was an Enemy to his Government, and removed *Alexius* from the Patriarchate for consenting to her Designs, promising his People all protection and all good things if they remained firm in their Duty and Allegiance to him. As the Prefect was concluding, some one amongst the multitude was heard to say, *We will not have Stauropta Calaphates for our Emperor, but we will obey Zoe our Mother to whom the Empire is justly descended by hereditary right*, to which presently all the People acclaimed as with one voice. Let Calaphates his Eyes be pulled out. Then with stones and all other things that came to hand they fell upon the Prefect (this was *Anastasijs*, a Patritian, formerly one of the Ministers of *Zoe's* Father) and had certainly kill'd him had he not speedily got away.

114. *Zonaras* writes that *Michael*, after his deposing of *Zoe* accounting himself secure, fell to his pleasures and former delights, and therein was suddenly surprized. For at what had happened to the Emperess all the People was affected no otherwise than each one is wont to be at his own Calamity and misfortune: the Men bethought themselves of what her Ancestours had performed, and the Women concerned for her Sex as well as Birth failed not to contribute their passions for making up a publick discontent. The whole City out of a discontent broke out into a publick Rage and sedition, and every Man resolved to venture his Life in vindication of her to whom the right belonged. The Patriarch out of fear of being deposed had taken up his residence in the great Church, where hearing the joyfull News of those commotions he expected to hear of the deposition of *Michael*. Thither repaired all the Eunuchs that had belonged to the Father of *Zoe*, with *Constantine Cabasillas* the Patritian, and now they durst shew themselves to all the rest of the Senators, who with Unanimous consent sent for *Theodora* out of *Petrium* and in the Church saluted her Emperess together with her Sister *Zoe*. Then with all the multitude they made to the Court, thence to expell *Michael*, who at first was little sensible of the danger wherein he stood, till seeing the People so much bandy together and his Guards out of confidence incline to the side of the Women, he was then very much affrighted. His Uncle the *Nobilissimus* to provide both for his own security, and his Estate, sent and fetcht back *Zoe* into the Palace, and against the Nobility opposed some Companies of Souldiers who restrained their violence a little though with the loss of many Lives, till they brought her to the Theatre and there shewed to them their Lady and Mistress, having devested her of her vail and restored to her all the imperial Ornaments. They imagined this would quiet the People, but so far was it from it that the sight of two together, so divers as to their Birth and Education, the more enraged them, which they testified not only by most reproachfull words but by casting of Stones and all other expressions of Fury and Indignation.

115. *Michael* now despairing to doe any good resolved to depart into a Monastery, and there take the Religious Habit, but his Uncle would not permit him, telling him an Empire was not so easily to be parted with, that it was manfully to be defended, and to be parted with by a generous and resolute death worthy of so great a Prince. Resolution being taken accordingly, all that were in the Court were Armed, and it was esteemed very good fortune that *Catacalo Ambustus* was lately arrived out of *Sicily* with the welcome News of what had happened at *Messana*, whose presence and Assistance not a little encouraged the Emperor. The multitude Attacking the Court in three several Parties, the defendants were also divided into so many, who being well Armed killed many of the unarmed People, who with Stones, peices of Wood or any thing they could light on engaged with the Souldiers and three Thousand Men are said to have perished in this Attempt. But however the Citizens at length by their Numbers prevailed and breaking into the Palace made Booty all the Treasure, and what else they could there find, tore in pieces the Rolls of the Tributes and sought diligently how to take *Michael*, who seeing that there was no more contending nor striving against so great a stream, took a Pinace, and with the *Nobilissimus* fled to the Monastery of *Studium* where they both took the Religious Habit, and so this contest ended after three days and as many nights. *Zoe* who was left in

Upon which a tumult arises in the City of Constantinople.

*Theodora* sent for and saluted Emperess together with her Sister *Zoe* who is brought back into the Palace.

The Citizens attack the Court.

And force the Emperor to fly in his Pinace to *Studium* where he takes the Religious Habit.

*Cedrenus*.

the Palace having now recovered the Sovereign power diddain to think that her Sister should Reign with her, but the Senate and People would needs have it so, and she was forced to acquiesce in their Resolution and admit *Theodora* into the Palace. Then from an high Place did she make a speech, first to the Senate, and then to the People, giving them thanks for their great kindness expressed to her and her Family, wishing and promising them all returns of kindness, and she desired to know their opinions what should be done with the Emperor, for such he was, and according to the Rules of the Government for such he could not be denied.

116. The Universal Cry was that the wicked wretch as they Termed him, should be made away; some named the nailing him to a Pole, others to a Cross, and others more mercifull, propounded the saving of his Life by the loss of his Eyes. *Zoe* pitied the Man (as a Creature it's likely of her own making, for we naturally love those to whom we have been in the place of Parents or Benefactors) and was for sparing him; but *Theodora* full of Animosity for her long confinement and desirous to vent her Anger against any one, gave order to *Capanares*, one who was lately made Prefect of the City, to goe speedily and pull out the Eyes of him and the *Nobilissimus*. His Errand and Voyage being known, the multitude followed him to the Monastery, where the two Princes upon notice of their coming betook themselves into the most secret Recess of the Church of *St. John Baptist*, but the People the more incensed for the death of so many of their Relations and Neighbours dragged them out by the Heels through the Forum to the place called *Signa* above the Monastery of *Peribleptus* and there pulled out their Eyes, *Constantine* bearing it very patiently, but *Michael* with Reluctancy and Lamentation desiring them to doe it to his Uncle first who had been the Author and cause of all the Evils of which they complained, and he had the favour to close his Eyes with the sight of that Spectacle. After the blinding of them they were both banished, *Constantine* and others of his kindred to several places and *Michael* to *Elegis* on the twenty first day of April the tenth Indiction after he had Reigned four Months and five days. The two Emperesses (or rather *Zoe* alone) being thus made sure of began to settle the Commonwealth and their own Estate by bestowing Honours upon the Senators, and distributing Money amongst the People as the case required: and commands were sent into all the Provinces that no Offices of Magistracy should be sold which before had been the ordinary course, and all Acts of Injustice and Oppression were severely forbidden. There being great occasion for Money, the *Nobilissimus* was fetch'd back to the Court, and being questioned concerning the publick Treasure, was by threats brought to discover three and fifty Centenaries of Gold hid at his House, which being found he was returned to the former place of his confinement. Then was *Nicholas* the President made Domestick of the Schools of the East having been the Eunuch of their Father, and of the West, *Constantine Cabasillas* the Patritian. And *John Maniaces* whom *Michael* had dismissed out of Custody from a Patritian was honoured with the Dignity of *Mogister*, and with full Authority sent General of an Army into Italy.

117. Though matters were thus well ordered, yet the State seemed not settled except an Emperour was created, which all Men wished, and that should be lawfully married to *Zoe*. And she being as desirous of an Husband as they were of an Emperour had already cast her thoughts and affections upon several. The first was *Constantine Delassenus*, who was sent for to Court as upon some other occasion; but he spake so roughly and seemed so intractable that he was rejected. The next was one *Constantine Catapano* the Husband of another Woman, though her Paramour; but his Wife not enduring the thought that she should part with him in that manner chose rather by Poison to send him to another World, that neither of them might enjoy him. Being thus prevented as to him he resolved upon one *Constantine Monomachus*, whom *John* having banished to *Myriana*, because a rumour was spread that he should Reign, he had recalled, and while the yet thought of Marrying the other *Constantine* had made Pretor or Judge of the Greeks. He was a Man both Noble as to his extraction and very handsome. His first Wife dying he married the Niece of *Romanus* the Emperour by his Brother, but by that Alliance got not any preferment; yet coming by that means often to Court he had opportunity to be in the Emperess's sight and became very familiar with her, and she was so kind to him (as to say truth her humour was ever free and generous) that from her bounty he received great summs

*Michael* and the *Nobilissimus* have their Eyes put out and are banished.

*Zoe* and *Theodora* being Emperesses.

*Theodora*.

*Augustus* (as the Emperor is called).

of



of Money. This made some suspicious and credulous Persons talk hardly of them and *Michael* the Successor of *Romanus* out of mere jealousy thought for some pretended Crimes confined the Man to *Lesbus* where he continued all his time, and found not the other *Michael* that followed more favourable to him. Being now sent for to the City he was stopped at the Church of St. *Michael* in *Damocrania* and *Stephen* of *Pergamens* an Eunuch of the Chamber meeting him adorned him with Purple and brought him in a Pinace to *Constantinople* where he was Married to *Zoe* by one *Stykes* a Priest of New *Rome*, as *Cedrenus* calls him, for *Allexius* the Patriarch refused to solemnize the Nuptials because of the third Marriage, so terrible a matter in those days, yet did he set the Crown on his Head the day following. Thus did *Constantine* surnamed *Monomachus* obtain the imperial Dignity on the eleventh day of *June* in the tenth Indiction. A. D. M. XLII. And the power of the two Sisters became extinct after it had continued scarcely three months which though it pleased the People, out of respect to the Nobility of their House and their hatred to *Michael*, yet to the prudent sort seemed very unbecoming and indecent. For odd they thought it to see two Women sit together upon the Tribunal, to have all Royal Ceremonies performed to two of that sex at the same time, incircled with the usual Guards and attended by the Senators and principal Magistrates: to see causes debated before them, all affairs of State handled in their presence; to behold them giving audience to Ambassadors, presiding in the Senate and the other publick and solemn Assemblies of the Empire.

118. The general satisfaction for having an Emperor was no whit diminished by the first Observations made upon the Carriage and Demeanour of *Monomachus*. For the Senators he immediately obliged by preferring them to places of Dignity and profit, and the People by distribution of Money, as he thought he had Interest and Opportunity. For satisfaction of the Provinces he sent abroad his Edicts, by which giving notice of his Promotion, he promised all good Offices, and the removal of all Grievances whatsoever. *John* the Great Actor in the days of his Brother, he removed into *Lesbus*, *Michael* his Nephew, lately deposed, into *Chius*, and *Constantine Nobilissimus* into *Samus*, whereby he farther pleased the People. But Wise men and such as pried nearer into his Actions and the Methods of his Government observed, that without any Prudence or grave consideration he conferred Dignities, and bestowed Money, as well the unfit as fit, the unworthy as worthy receiving his Favours; and he never regarded whether there was Money or no Money in the Treasury. But this could not hinder him from being Popular, or not obvious to the eyes of the Vulgar, to whom other things did farther commend him. For he frankly and freely forgave such from whom he had received Injuries when a private man; and he was so wise as to give content at home, making himself acceptable to the two Women by a Pleasant and Debonnair Carriage, but rather indulged his Pleasures and his humour by much and difficult business, but rather indulged his Pleasures and took his ease. He seemed to Countenance men of Ingenuity and Learning, though of the latter he scarcely had received any taste. But the Provinces were in no good condition, however matters stood at Court and in the City. On the sixth of *October* in the eleventh Indiction a Comet appeared traversing the Heavens from the East to the West, and kept on its Course as long as that Month continued, being afterward esteemed to fore-run and predict those Calamities which shortly after happened. *Stephen Boissilabus* who, as was said, escaped from *Constantinople*, had seized on the Mountains of *Illyricum*, of the *Triballi* and *Servi*, and thence like a Beast of Prey fell down upon the adjacent Territories of the Empire, and did very great mischief to the Inhabitants. Hereupon the Emperor sent Orders to *Michael* a Patritian the Son of *Anastassius* the *Logotheta*, and then Governour of *Dyrrachium*, to raise what force he could out of the adjoining Provinces, and hunt him out. But it's both the weakness and grievous punishment of the folly of a Prince, to chuse unfit Persons for the management of business. This *Michael* had not the least skill in Martial Matters, was an Effeminate and Dissolute Person, brought up in Idleness and Luxury and now ordered his Affairs like such a General, with sixty thousand men he marched into the Territories of the *Triballi*, and that through such difficult, rough, steep, and narrow ways, that only two Horsemen could ride abreast. The *Servi* living at those Straits, observed his motion and suffered him without Interruption to pass them into the Champion Country, and there to burn and plunder at his pleasure, but watched his return and possessed themselves of all the Straits and difficult Passages. And when loaded with booty and without fear or wit he re-entred, they fell up-

Constantine Monomachus married to Zee, and chosen Emperor.

He obliges his Subjects.

And acceptable to the Empire.

He sends an Army against the Triballi.

Which is destroyed at its return through the Straits.

on him and his Army with Stones, Earth, Darts, and all other things convenient from the higher ground, that of the miserable Soldiers who could not in the least defend themselves nor stir any way forty thousand were slain. The rest passing the Holes and Valleys which were now filled up with the Carcasses of their Fellows got up to the Mountains as they could, and by Night together with their Prudent General escaped.

119. At the same time a great danger threatened the Emperor from *Italy*, where *George Maniaces* usurped the Sovereignty for these Causes and upon these occasions. When first this *George* was by *Michael* sent into *Italy* to assist *Apollinar* the Prince of *Sicily* against his Brother and the *Africans*, he took to his assistance five hundred *Franks* Commanded by one *Arduin* the Lord of a certain Region subject to none other, and by their assistance did he obtain all his Trophies in that War. When he was removed from his Charge, *Michael Doceanus* the *Protospatharian*, a silly Man, omitted to pay these *Franks* their monthly Wages as he had been wont; and when their Captain came to him, and desired him to be more courteous to the Soldiers, and not defraud them of their Wages, he contumeliously beat him, which caused the *Franks* to Revolt. He to chastize and reduce them would not use all the Force he might, but engaged them with the *Offician* Legion, and a part of that of the *Thracians* upon the River *Aufidus* at *Cannae*, and there lost the greater part of his Army, where the *Romans* long before had been ignominiously beaten by *Hannibal*. Yet did not this experiment teach him any wisdom, so as sufficiently to furnish himself for another Engagement, but only rallying together such as had been lately beaten with some *Pisidians* and *Lycanians*, which made up the Legion of the *Phoberati*, he fell rashly upon the *Franks* again, now strengthened by considerable Supplies, and from them received a great Overthrow. *Michael* the Emperor having Information of his Conduct, sent one *Boioannes* to succeed him, a Man of much repute for matters of War, Descended from *Boioannes*, who under the Reign of *Basilius* reduced all *Italy* as far as *Rome* to his obedience. But he having none but beaten and discouraged Men to lead against the Enemy, was so far from driving them out, that he could not defend his own Posts, but was defeated at *Monopolis* and taken Prisoner; after which the *Franks* so bestirred themselves, that they brought under *Italy*, four Cities only remaining to the *Romans*, (our Authors mean the Emperor) viz. *Brundisium*, *Hidriis*, *Tarentum* and *Baris*.

120. Now *Michael* the Emperor being dead, and *Calaphates* deposed, *Maniaces*, as we said, was sent into *Italy*, and there, though he laboured under the same difficulty of want of Men as those before him had done, yet so far exceeding them in the Art of a General, that he drove the *Franks* from *Capua*, *Beneventum* and *Naples*, and brought the Country into a reasonable good condition. Whilst he employed himself there in his Command, *Romanus Sclerus* who was his Neighbour where his Estate lay in the Eastern Parts, who bore him mortal hatred for an Injury he thought done to him, did him such mischief as forced him upon an Attempt, the Issue of which proved destructive to him. The Sister of this *Sclerus* was the Emperor *Monomachus* his Mistress, who on her so doted, that besides all other things he desired, he preferred her Brother to be *Magister* and *Protospathar*. Puffed up with this advancement, and now thinking he might do any thing, he both injured him in his Estate and Lands, and lay with his Wife very licentiously. *Maniaces* having notice hereof, boyled with Rage, and by no means could digest the Affront, but as he was thinking how to be revenged for these Injuries his thoughts were farther employed by another, for *Sclerus* procured him to be turn'd out of his Employment in *Italy*. This made him desperate, for he could not but expect still worse at Court where his Enemy had so great an Interest, and drove him into a Resolution of Usurping and taking Arms against the Emperor. He killed him that was sent to succeed him, one *Pardus* a *Protospatharian*, a Fellow not at all fit for such an Employment, but only because he was known to *Monomachus*, and then took the Diademe with other Ensigns of Majesty, and was by the Forces of *Italy* which he easily cajolled to this Service, saluted Emperor. Putting his Army Aboard he passed over into *Bulgaria*, with the News whereof they were so struck at *Constantinople*, that Letters were written to him in the Emperor's Name, which promised Pardon to him and his Followers for all that was past, besides good Rewards, if they would return to their former obedience. But he continuing fixt in his Resolution, an Army was got together, and committed to the Conduct of *Stephanus Sebastophorus*, who brought the tidings of his Promotion to *Monomachus* when he met him at *Damocranea*. At a

Italy taken from the Emperor by the Franks except four Cities.

Maniaces usurps in Italy.

Entering Bulgaria,

place called *Ofrobis* they met, and then *Stephen* had the worst of it; *Maniaces* leading on his own Men, and fighting stoutly in the Head of them. And all now received and acknowledged him for Emperour in the Field, when suddenly he fell down dead from his Horse, having it seems received a mortal wound in his Breast, though not known from what Hand. Now was the Scene quite changed: they, who a little before did him reverence as Emperour, now railed at him as a Traitor, and his Head being cut off, his Men submitted to the present Power. *Stephen* for his great Conquest returned in triumph to the City, where for a shew the Head of *Maniaces* was carried on the point of a Spear, and some of those whom the Death of their General, not the valour of *Stephen* had subdued, to encrease the Pageantry followed it as a Trophy upon *Afies*; the worthy Conquerour bringing up the Rere on a Milk-white Steed.

121. But into so great danger was *Monomachus* brought by his Mistress, a Lady so considerable, that *Zonaras* thinks it not a thing below the Dignity of an Historian to give an account of their Amours; he having Buried two Wives, had no mind to Marry a third, but it seems judging Fornication better than a breach of that humour so much applauded in those days, used the company of this Woman, being a Widow, and the Kinfwoman of one of his Wives, at first privately, but afterwards without any dissimulation. She was Young, very Beautiful, and descended of the Noble Family of the *Scleri*, which attracted his Affections to her, but she was not at all in his debt; the testifications of her Love to him were full as large and significant. They could neither of them be at quiet if they were not together; and when he was Banished she followed him, not able to live but in his company, where by all her Arts she endeavoured to make his condition as easy as might be, both with her society, advice and supply of his wants, so far as her Estate would allow, having a strange fancy all along that one day he would arrive at the Sovereignty. And when at the Sovereignty he arrived, at the height of his Prosperity he forgot not her that had been his chief comfort in his distress, but got the consent of the Emperess that she might be sent for to Court and provided for, with which *Zoe* was well enough content, the greatness of her Age having now mortified Jealousie in her, together with her experience of the misfortunes which this life affords. Now was *Sclerana* removed from *Mitylæna* to the City, where at first she was in no splendour either as to House or Attendance, but by degrees was served like an Emperess, and her House turned as into a Court. For *Monomachus*, where she lay built very sumptuously both for her convenience, and that under pretence of overseeing his Workmen he might have often occasions to make her Visits. At first he was shy and cautious of being discovered in his Amours, but at length cast off all dissimulation, and used her not as a Concubine and Vice-wife, but as one to whom he had been lawfully Married. Now all the Treasury is at her Command, and not enduring her absence hardly for a moment, he obtains the consent of the Emperess for bringing her into the Court, where by his endeavours a great friendship was contracted betwixt them, so as *Zoe* grudged her neither the Name nor Honours of an Emperess, and contented her self with his company when she knew he was not with his Mistress. Thus lived he and his *Sclerana* together, hoping still for a nearer conjunction, at least which would more satisfy the World, when on a sudden death prevented it, snatching her away, to his great discontentment, a little before the Civil War of *Maniaces*, occasioned by his Power and Intercession for her Brother, as some write, though by a Sedition there happened upon her account it appears that she lived longer.

122. But the Civil War raised by *Maniaces* was not all the Difficulty which with the Emperour struggled at the same time. *Theophilus Eroticus* the Governour of *Cyprus*, a man greedy of Novelty, when he heard of the Death of *Calapates*, and the confusion which thereupon happened, thinking it a seasonable time for putting in practice what he had designed, put all the Inhabitants of the Island into a Tumult, and excited them to the Murder of *Theophylact* a *Prorogopatrian*, a Judge there, and the Chief Collectour of the Tributes. But it succeeded well that *Constantine Chages* a Patritian being ready at Hand, without any more trouble to the Emperour or much ado, seduced the Island, and therein taking the Rebel brought him to *Constantinople*, where a Woman's Coat was put upon him, and therein he was shewn at the *Circenian* Games, which done, and his Estate confiscated, he was then dismissed. On the second of May following the Eyes of *John* the Brother and Great Minister of *Michael* the *Paphlagonian* were put out, some say by command of *Theodora*, but as most affirmed by order of *Monomachus* himself, out of revenge for his long Confinement, which misfortune he survived

An account of  
Constantine,  
with Sclerana  
his Doxy.

The Island  
Cyprus reduced  
to obedience.

vived but eleven days. In the month of July *Stephen Sabastophorus* was accused of conspiring against the Emperour, to prefer *Leo* a Patritian to his Place, and make the Son of *Lampus* Governour of *Melitæna*; for which *Stephen* was condemned to a Monastick life, having all his Estate seized, and *Lampus* was cruelly tortured, shewed up and down the Forum, and deprived of his Eyes, after which he soon died. At the same time, the same month the *Rossians* again took Arms, who had for a long time held so good correspondence with the Emperour, that there was mutual commerce, and the Merchants went to and fro without the least interruption. Now it happened that at *Constantinople* there was a quarrel amongst the Trades-men, and it so fell out, that one of those *Scythian* Merchants was killed. The Prince of the Countrey, *Bladimer* by Name, a passionate Man and restless, took the matter so heinously, that without any delay he raised all his Subjects that were fit to bear Arms, and besides procuring many Auxiliaries out of the Northern Nations, an Army of a hundred thousand Men he put into their usual Boats, whereof each was made of one Tree, and so proceeded against the City. The Emperour as soon as he knew of his Design sent to him, and offered all reasonable satisfaction if he would lay down Arms, and pressed him much not for flight causes to break that Peace which for so many years had been preserved inviolable betwixt the Nations; but he returning a sassy Answer, and treating the Messengers with much disrespect, he then provided for his own security. All *Scythian* Merchants and others that were spread up and down the Empire he caused to be secured for fear of any Conspiracy. Then got he ready all the Gallies and Vessels he could compass, and putting aboard as many Forces as the time would permit him, he himself in a Pinnace led them against the Enemy, whom he found in the Straits about *Pharus*. Besides his Fleet a strong Party of Horse waited and attended his motions all along the Shore.

123. There the Fleets faced each other, but neither would begin the Fight; the *Scythians* keeping themselves within the Haven, and the *Romans* attending what course they would steer. The time being spent, and Night approaching, the Emperour sent to *Bladimer* the second time to move him to Peace, but he as peremptorily and sassy as ever, rejected his offer, declaring he would not lay down Arms except he should have paid down three Pounds of Gold for every Man he had with him. This Answer being so insolent and Extravagant, *Monomachus* prepared himself to Fight. He gave order to *Basilus Theodorocranus* a Magister, with three swift Gallies to make a gentle onset to skirmish with the *Rossians*, and provoke them to Fight, to see how they would order their matters. But he instead of skirmishing passed into the middle of them, burnt with Wild-fire seven of their Vessels, sunk other three with all the Men in them, and took another, having either killed or driven out all those that were aboard. Then did the Emperour make up to them with his whole Fleet, which perceiving, they concluded that if they could not sustain the violence of three Gallies, they should never be able to endure the whole shock, and therefore shifted for themselves as they could, ran upon the Rocks and Shelves, and lost most of their Vessels; and such as escaped to the Shore the Emperour's Horse fell upon and killed so many, that fifteen thousand of their dead Bodies were afterwards found upon the Shore. The *Scythians* being thus defeated, after a farther stay of two days the Emperour returned to *Constantinople*, leaving a sufficient Power under command of *Nicholas* one of the Chamber, and *Theodorocranus* with orders to look well to the Maritime Coast, not to suffer the Barbarians to land, and that the whole Fleet should be still in the Bay of *Pharus*. But however it happened, twenty four *Triremes* separated from the rest of the Fleet, pursued the Enemy so far till they passed the Bay wherein they lay, and were driven beyond them. The *Scythians* perceiving this, and how Wind and all things served, resolved to intercept their passage, which they easily did in the Straits, by lying thick from one shore to the other. There being no way to escape, *Constantine Caballarius* a Patritian, the Captain of the *Cibyrræote* with his and other Gallies endeavoured to make a passage, but was killed as he manfully fought, and his Ship with four others, together with the Men fell into the Hands of the *Rossians*; the other Ships were split upon the Rocks or run ashore. The Men were some drowned, some killed or taken by the Enemy, and such as escaped came in much shame and consternation to their Friends. The *Rossians* having beyond all expectation done so much mischief, made the more comfortable Retreat. But being forced to return as well by Land as by Sea (so many of their Vessels had miscarried) they fell into the Territories of the Government of *Catacalo*, *Besta Ambustus*, who then commanded the Coast about *Ifer*, and

The *Rossians*  
break the  
League with  
the Emperour.

Are met by  
the Emperour's  
Fleet,  
and defeated.

But some of  
the Gallies  
pursuing too  
far, are de-  
stroyed by the  
Enemy.

and were most of them killed and taken, of the later of which he sent five Hundred bound in Chains to the Emperor, having, to his great Commendation when first these *Scythians* arrived, been very watchful in his Charge, so as to hinder their landing, and destroy many of them. And his Care and Industry, he continued to this very last.

124. In the twelfth Indiction the Month of *September*, the second year of *Monomachus*, so great a Tempest happened, that in a manner destroyed all the Grapes of that year. On the Ninth Day of *March* following, which was consecrated to the Memory of the forty Martyrs, the Emperor being about his Devotion, was stopped by a Sedition of the People. Going on Foot in Procession accompanied with his Guards, and followed by the Acclamations of the People, from the Palace to the Church of our Saviour in *Chalce*, he there took Horse to pass on to the Church of the Martyrs, when from amongst the Multitude this Voice was heard. *We will not have Scleræna be Empreſs, nor our Sovereign Ladies Zoe and Theodora Porphyrogenita, to die upon her Account*, which cast all into Confusion and Tumults, wherein the Rabble demanded the Life of the Emperor, and they had taken it had not the two Empreſſes shewed themselves to them from an high place, and by good words appeased them. But the Emperor was frighted from his Procession, and was glad in an whole Skin to escape into the Palace. The following year, he thought himself concerned in honour to make challenge of a City which he found belonged to the Empire upon this occasion. At such time as *George Prince of the Abasgians*, made War upon the *Romans*, he was assisted by one *Jobanesſes*, the Lord of a City called *Anium*. But when *Basilus* the Emperor invaded *Iberia*, and was too hard for *George*, then *Jobanesſes* fearing he should be punished for what he had done fled to the Emperor, and gave up himself with the Keys of the City into his Hands, which rendition *Basilus*, accepting, honoured him with the Dignity of a *Magister*, and made him Governour of *Anium* and *Armenia* the Great for his Life, with this caution of writing, that after his death it should revolve upon the Empire as Part thereof. But *Basilus* being dead, and many years after him *Jobanesſes*, his Son *Cacicius* entred upon the Government, and it being not observed kept his Fathers Territories in good Peace and Friendship with the *Romans*. Now *Monomachus* finding the writing in the Archives, was resolved to make demand of the Restitution of *Anium*, and all the Great *Armenia* as the Heir of *Basilus*. *Cacicius* professed himself the Friend and Servant of the Emperor, but seeking for Excuses and Delays, *Monomachus* resolved to recover his Right by Force of Arms, and committed an Army to the Conduct of *Michael Beſta*, *Jafites* newly designed Governour of *Iberia*, with order to make War upon *Cacicius*.

125. *Cacicius* considering into what straits he was brought, made all preparations he could for defence, and had rather the better of *Jafites*, to whose aid then was sent *Nicholas* Domestick of the Schools, formerly of the Chamber to *Constantine* the Emperor with a great Army, to suppress *Cacicius* by mere Numbers if nothing else will do it, and moreover the Emperor wrote Letters to *Apleſpharus* the Governour of *Tibium*, and that *Perſarmenia* which lies upon the River *Araxes*, to fall upon him on his side the Country. *Apleſpharus* wrote back again, that on this Condition he would do it, if the Emperor would under his Hand make a grant to him of whatsoever he should take from *Cacicius*, which he did accordingly, an Instrument being written and confirmed by the *Golden Bulla*. He having received this, applied himself to his work, and took many Castles and Forts belonging to *Cacicius*, who being thus beset on all sides, and despairing to extricate himself out of such difficulties, made Peace with *Nicholas*, and by him giving up himself and the City to the Emperor, afterward went to him, and from him receiving the Dignity of a *Magister*, with Ample Revenues from *Cappadocia*, and elsewhere, lived thenceforth a quiet and peaceable Life. Now did *Monomachus* demand the Castles and Forts, which *Apleſpharus* had taken as part of the Dominion of *Anium*, which he refusing to surrender, and alleging the *Golden Bull* whereby they were granted to him, Command was sent to *Nicholas*, with the *Roman* and *Iberian* Forces, and those that had belonged to *Cacicius* to make War upon him, and recover them by Force. *Nicholas* accordingly sends *Jafites* to lay siege to *Tibium*. *Apleſpharus* being a very good Soldier, and knowing himself not in a condition to grapple with the *Romans*, keeps himself within the Walls, and beforehand lays all the Ground adjoining under Water by Sluces made from the River, and he places in the Vineyards which were

And sending thither an Army hath them delivered up.

Then they lay Siege to *Tibium*.

um.

um.

But by an Ambush are all cut off.

on higher Ground a Number of Archers, whom he bid expect the sign he should give them by Trumpet, and in this posture expect the coming of the Enemy. The Officers of the *Romans* finding him close in the Town, and the Grounds under Water, concluded it was out of fear and desperation, and hastened under order to get to the Walls by the ways that were left passable, and take possession of what was already their own. Then did *Apleſpharus* give the sign to those he had placed in Ambush, who from the Vineyards with Arrows, Darts and Stones, made great slaughter of these unwary Men, who were so entangled in Thickets, Ditches and Water, that not able to defend themselves or fly, an innumerable Number of them there perished, and *Jafites* with some other Officers, escaped with the News of the Adventure and Success to *Nicholas*. The Emperor having notice of the Defeat, put both *Nicholas* and *Jafites* out of their Offices, and in place of the latter made *Ambulſus* Governour of *Iberia*. In the Room of *Nicholas* he made General one *Constantine* Captain of the great *Sodality*, as it was termed, an Eunuch descended from the *Saracens*, but most faithful to him, who had much served him when yet in a private Condition. These coming sufficiently furnished into the Province, thought not fit to lay siege to *Tibium* the principal Town, but took in several Forts belonging to *Anium*, very strong and situate on Craggy Rocks, which *Apleſpharus* often attempted to relieve; but in vain. Thence they removed to a strong Castle near to *Tibium*, called *Chelidonium*, about which they drew a Trench, and had taken it or starved out the Defendants; but that the Usurpation of *Tornicius* in the West, obstructed both this and other Proceedings.

126. This *Leo Tornicius* being formerly Governour of *Iberia*, had upon a surmise of a Conspiracy for advancing himself been turn'd out of Command, been shaven and put into a Monastery, though the Emperor's near Kinsman by his Mother. His dwelling having been at *Adrianople* (formerly called *Orestias*, from *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*) he had the *Macedonians* much at his Devotion, who exceedingly esteemed him, for he was a Man both beautiful and of excellent parts, and had a certain way peculiar to himself of gaining love from those with whom he conversed: but what got him most Reverence, a Report or Prophecy went about, that in time he should come to be Emperor. These and other things caused *Monomachus* his Kinsman much to dislike him. On the other side, *Eupropia* the Emperor's Sister used him with great respect: being a Woman indeed of a very generous mind, very noble and rich, but not at all acceptable to her Brother, who stood in awe of her, because of her eminent Wisdom. And to be even with him, the neither received any thing from, nor frequented the Court, but when she met him was wont to carry it very high towards him, would rebuke and chide him, and when he fell into passion for her so doing, would by silence contain and dissemble it. He perceiving her great affection to *Tornicius*, on purpose to separate them made him Governour of *Iberia*, where all things prospering under him, and he flourishing in great repute, thence some took occasion of calumniating him to the Emperor, who caused him to be shaven and to take the Habit of a Monk. But the *Macedonians*, as was said, being much addicted to him, carried away by Night out of *Constantinople*, and at *Adrianople* saluted him Emperor, whither great Confluence there was made of Soldiers from all those Parts, either through desire of Plunder and Innovation, out of love to him or hatred to *Monomachus* who had much disliked, and as much distrusted of late the military Men. Thus encouraged, he resolved with all speed to march for *Constantinople*, which he had great hopes would instantly be put into his Hands by the Citizens, who for certain Causes bore neither at present any good will to the Emperor, and the Armies of the East had their Hands sufficiently full in those Quarters. With these hopes he incamped before the City, with intention to use violence if fair ways would not prevail. The next Morning coming up with his Army to the Walls about *Blacherna*, he summoned the Town, and by great promises invited those that kept the Gates to open them; but they not only refusing, but reviling him with ill Language, he then gave the Onset.

Leo Tornicius usurps.

Laying Siege to *Constantinople*.

127. The Emperor all this while was very solicitous, not being (at least as he thought) sufficiently provided for so surprising a Mischief. In the first place he sent into *Iberia* to *Constantine*, to come to him with all the speed he could make, whatever his business at present should be. But for making effectual opposition against the Enemy now endeavouring to scale the Walls, he brought the Citizens and others together, not exceeding a thousand Men. Now as to the Management of this affair, accounts

counts are very different. *Cedrenus* writes of his going out into the Field, with a contemptible Number in respect of the Enemy, and how his Men were beaten back, and driven into the Trench, he himself with difficulty escaping into the City, which might have been taken with the greatest ease, had the Usurper prosecuted his Victory; not only the Gates, but the Walls themselves about *Blacherna*, being left desolate. On the other side *Zonaras* tells us, that the Emperor never went out of the City, but in his *Imperialibus* shewed himself upon the Wall, thinking thereby to strike some awe into the Rebels. But the *Macedonians* on the contrary, being accustomed to scurrility, with bitter Invectives reviled him, singing Songs, and using Gestures, chosen for such an occasion, and such as issued out with Loss and Ignominy they beat in again, or else killed or drowned them in the Trench before they could there arrive. But this opportunity which now in a manner begged his acceptance, *Tornicius* did not improve, pursuing those that fell into the Walls, but never considering whether he could goe any farther. *Monomachus* seeing this, laid hold of the Advantage to bring the Citizens upon the Wall again, and to re-inforce the City, having narrowly escaped the shot of an Arrow, which fell upon one of the under Servants of his Bedchamber, though without any hurt. The day following, *Tornicius* renewed the Assault, but had no more any such advantage, for he was both repulsed, and was nigh being killed by a Stone of a Talent weight, which was cast out of an Engine, by which danger he was so affrighted and discouraged for want of Success, and above all when he perceived, that his Men began to fall off from him to the Emperor, that fearing to be delivered up into his Hands, he raised his siege and retreated to *Arcadiopolis*, where he joined Forces with *John Batatzes*. All the Cities of *Macedonia* and *Thrace* had submitted to him, *Redefus* excepted, which now he sent several of his Captains and Kinsmen to besiege, and afterward followed with all his Army, but attacked it without Success. By this time the Eastern Forces were arrived, and the Emperor sent them directly into *Thrace* against him, under Command of *Michael Jafites* the *Magister*, who incamping himself against him at *Arcadiople*, would not suffer his Men to doe any Injury to the Countreymen, such of *Tornicius*'s Souldiers as he took he used very civilly, and by good words and promise of Pardon, endeavoured to draw away all the rest. Now Winter was at hand, and the Arts of *Jafites* had such influence upon them, that they began to consider, that they could not undergo both the Inconmodities of the Season, the want of Provisions, and sustain the Violence of so powerfull an Enemy all together, by degrees they fell off to the *Magister*. For some time, notwithstanding, *Tornicius* would not quit his hopes, as long as obscure Persons only revolted. But when the great Commanders of his Army fell off, then with *Batatzes* who alone stuck by him, he consulted how to escape, and when that could not be they betook themselves into a Church, whence *Jafites* caused them to be fetcht, and sent them bound to the Emperor. On *Christmas-Eve* by his Command their Eyes were put out, such as were most eminent in the Rebellion, were ignominiously led about the *Forum*, then banished, and their Estates confiscated. The ordinary fort were all sent away into their own Countries.

128. Thus was *Monomachus* happily delivered from this Civil War, but another from abroad now fell upon him, to the Empire the most michievous of all others, because made upon it by the *Turks*, who in conclusion by their furious and victorious Arms put an end to it, and erected one of their own in its Place. The *Turks*, say our Authours, were an *Hunnish* Nation, inhabiting the Northern Parts of the Mountain *Caucasus*, most populous and free, as having never submitted the Neck to the Yoke of any Person or People, but laid one of their own upon several others by Degrees, and first upon this occasion. After such time as the *Saracens* had overturned the Kingdom of the *Perfians*, and had not only subdued *Perfia*, but *Media*, *Babylon*, *Assyria*, *Egypt*, *Africk*, and no small Part of *Europe* it self, they began to fall out among themselves, and their vast Empire was divided into several Portions, so that *Spain*, *Africk*, *Egypt*, *Babylon* and *Perfia* had their several Princes, and these Wars one with another. At such time as *Basilius* was Emperor, *Muchumator Mahomet* the Son of *Imbrael*, was Prince of *Perfia*, the *Chorasmis*, *Oretani* and *Media*, having War with the *Indians* and *Babylonians*, and put hard to it sent to the Prince of the *Turks* for assistance, desiring three thousand Men, which he accordingly sent him under Command of *Tragelipax*, or *Tangrolipix Muculet* the Son of *Michael*, hoping by this means to have a Passage opened into *Perfia*, which was hitherto stopped by the several strong

strong Forts which stood upon the River *Araxes*. *Mahomet* making use of these Auxiliaries easily mastered *Pisaftrius* Prince of the *Arabians* whose Men could not endure the force of their Arrows. After this he would have used them against the *Indians*; but they desired to be dismissed and to have the Garrison removed from the Bridge of *Araxes* by which they must of necessity pass, and when he refused, and went to offer violence, they revolted and betook themselves to the Wilderness of *Carbonitis* and the Mountains, not daring to abide a Battle because they were so small a Number. Upon the *Saracens* they fell down continually, and did much mischief to the adjacent Parts, so that to destroy them *Muchmet* sent an Army of twenty Thousand Men commanded by ten of the most Noble of his Nation. The Captains thought it not safe to enter the Desert being not provided of necessaries for so desolate a place, but incamped themselves at the entrance, which *Tangrolipix* understanding, fell upon them by night when they little expected it, easily defeated them, and finding in their Camp many Chariots and Horses with much Money, now would not like a Fugitive practise Robberies and make incursions by stealth, but openly show himself as a fair Warriour. And all Males, young and discontented Persons that could, now came in to him from the Neighbouring Countries, especially such as loved to maintain themselves by Rapine and Violence, so that in a short time his force was increased to fifty Thousand Men.

129. *Mahomet* enraged at the defeat put out the Eyes of the ten Commanders and threatened such Souldiers as had escaped to lead and shew them abroad in Womens Cloaths, which caused when now when he prepared to renew the War to run from him to *Tangrolipix*, who now came and offered *Mahomet* Battle. He notwithstanding the revolt of these Men had got another Army together of *Saracens*, *Perfians*, *Caberians* and *Arabians*, of about five hundred Thousand and with an hundred Elephants bearing Turrets on their backs gave Battle to his Enemy in a place called *Apfahan*, which was fought with much vigour on both sides, but he riding about to animate his Souldiers chanced to fall from his Horse and broke his Neck, whereby the Quarrel was decided, for his Army then submitted and *Tangrolipix* by universal consent was declared King of *Perfia* and all *Mahomet*'s Dominions. *Tangrolipix* thus promoted presently cleared the Bridge of *Araxes*, and then his Countreymen in great multitudes flocked to him, wherewith having sufficiently strengthened himself he took the Title of *Sultan* (by which *Absolute Emperor* or *King of Kings* is meant) and inflaming the *Saracens* and *Perfians* divided all the Country amongst the *Turks*. Having here settled his Affairs he resolved to make War upon the Neighbouring Princes and first overthrew in several Battels and killed him of *Babylon* whose Dominions he then seized into his hands. After this he sent *Cuthimufes* (his Brother's son) call him, others his Uncle's Son) against the *Arabians* from whom he received a notable defeat, and in his flight asked leave of *Stephen* a Patriarch the Emperor's Governour of *Media* (at that time called *Baspracan*) to pass through that Countrey, which he denying, he made his way by force and working *Stephen* who opposed him took him Prisoner, and in his passage through *Trabrezium* sold him to the Lord of the Place. Returning to the *Sultan* he excused himself of the blow received from the *Arabians*, whom he would undertake to subdue if he might but be sent the second time; and by the way he spoke of *Baspracan*, how fertile a Countrey it was and easie to be Conquered being held by Women, as he termed those *Roman* Souldiers with whom he had fought.

130. But the *Sultan* was so enraged at him that he designed to put him to death for the loss in *Arabia*, and as for *Media*, he feared to make War against the *Romans* being awed by the fame which the Emperours *Nicephorus*, *Zimifces* and *Basilius* had obtained in the World, and concluding with himself that the valour and power of the Empire was still the same. But while he deliberated hereof *Cuthimufes* for fear, fled and seized on a City in the Countrey of the *Chorasmis* called *Pasar*, a very strong place. When now the *Sultan* was moving against the *Arabians* who had the same success against him, as his Kinsman, and he returned home with the like disgrace. This should have made him have better thoughts of *Cuthimufes*, but he besieged him in *Pasar*, whence he made many sallies, and did much damage to the *Sultan*, who now besides this Iron in the Fire made himself still more work by sending an Army of about twenty Thousand Men to Conquer *Media* under command of *Afan the Deaf* his Brother's Son. *Afan* entering the Countrey destroyed all things in his way, sparing neither Sex nor Age. The Countrey was then Governed by *Aaron Belsa* the Son of *Bladithblabus* and Brother of *Prusians*, who finding himself too weak to grapple with the *Turks* wrote

But not pursuing his Victory is forced to raise the Siege.

And retreat to *Arcadiopolis*.

There he is defeated by his Followers, and punished for his Rebellion.

The *Turks* make War upon the Empire.

*Tangrolipix* a *Turk* assists the *Saracens* against the *Arabians*.

But refusing to fight with the *Indians*. He revolts.

And also, *Mahomet* is declared *Sultan* and King of all the Dominions of the *Perfians* and *Saracens*.

Seizes on the Dominions of *Babylon*.

But is beaten by the *Arabians*.

Then he sends an Army into *Media*.

wrote to *Catacalo Bessa*, Ambulphus the Governour of *Asium* and *Iberia* to come to his aid with all the speed he could make, which he accordingly did, using great expedition. When they came together and it was propounded whether they should fall upon the *Turks* by night or openly give them Battel by day, *Catacalo* was pleased with neither but advised to have the Camp left with the Baggage and carriage Beasts and to lie in Ambush till the *Turks* should be busie in the Plunder of it. The Device took so well that *Asan* coming to give them Battel and perceiving there was no body left in their Camp, presumed they were fled out of fear, and boldly bad his men enter and seize on the Booty. Then did the *Romans* about vening rife from their Ambush and taking them in so much disorder killed most of them with their Captain, very few escaping through the Mountains into the Cities of *Perfermenia*.

131. The *Sultan* was grievously perplexed at the News yet to repair his loss by better success he got together of an Army an hundred Thousand Men consisting of *Turks*, *Caberi* and *Limnites*, which he committed to *Abram Alim* his half Brother for a second attempt upon *Media*. Upon notice of their coming *Aaron* and *Ambulphus* again united their forces and Councils. *Catacalo*'s advice was to fight them e'er they came into the *Roman* Territories while they were weary, a great part of them wanted Horses, and such Horses as wanted shoes whereas the *Roman* Souldier was full of courage animated by his late success. On the contrary *Aaron* affirmed that they ought by no means to hazard a Battel against such a multitude, but that all the strong places were to be fortified, and all they had was to be put within the Walls till they could send to the Emperor, and from him receive orders what to doe in so difficult a case. This course was taken, and having put all the Women and Children and all their best things into the strong places they two sent to the Emperor, and withdrew into a plain of *Iberia* by the Natives called *Qurtu*. The Emperor wrote back to them that they should attempt nothing till *Liparites* Prince of part of *Iberia* should join with them, to whom he sent as he was a Friend and Ally of the Empire not to fail it at this time. *Liparites* at his Leisure raised his Men when in the mean time *Abram* having entred *Media*, and perceiving that the *Roman* forces had out of fear withdrawn themselves into *Iberia* resolved to march after them with all speed, and fight them e'er they should be increased by Accession of new supplies. The Captains having notice hereof, lest they should be surprized before the coming of *Liparites* wrote to him to hasten, and betook themselves to a place, very difficult of Access. *Alim* not being able to come at them, went to *Arize* a Village of great capacity wherein lived a great Number of Merchants and Tradsmen not onely of the Countrey, but *Syrians* also, and *Armenians*, and of other Nations, and the inhabitants trusting to their Numbers though they had no Walls stoutly defended themselves, by stopping up the Passages, and from their Houses casting down Stones, Wood and Darrs upon the *Turks*, whom thus they held in play for six days together. This coming to the Ears of *Ambulphus* in the *Roman* Camp he most earnestly urged that they might not stay for the Loitering *Liparites*, but take this advantage while the *Turks* were thus busied at the Village, and fall upon them: but *Aaron* refused to join with him affirming he would doe nothing but what he was warranted by the Emperor.

132. *Abram* finding what he did not expect, so great resistance, and that he could not by force of Arms Conquer one Village, the Wealth of which he most vehemently thirsted after, resolved to consume all he could not get and set it on fire, by which the inhabitants being forced out; (though an hundred and fifty Thousand are said to have perished partly slain by the Sword and partly burnt in the fire, into which many it's reported cast themselves) he found much Silver and other things that were not combustible. Besides he got many Horses and other Cattel, and so led away his Army well enriched in quest of the *Romans*. *Liparites* being by this time come to them, they were come down into the Plain, and had pitched at the Foot of an Hill on which stood a Castle called *Capetrum*. The *Turks* now marching in no order but running in Herds together, *Ambulphus* moved that in this condition they might fall upon them; but now *Liparites* refused to fight out of a superstitious humour, because it was Saturday which he reckoned amongst unlucky days, being the eighteenth of September and the second Indiction, in the seventh year of *Monomachus*. But *Abram* understanding by his Scouts where, and in what condition the Enemy lay, marched up to them in due order of Battel, which they perceiving, put themselves how unwillingly soever into the like posture to receive them: *Ambulphus* led the Right and *Aaron* the

Which is cut off by the *Romans*.

Another Expedition into *Media*.

Laying Siege to *Arize*.

Which is burnt and sackt by the *Turks*.

They meet and in engaging the *Roman* Army are defeated.

the Left Wing; the middle of the Battel being left to the Conduct of *Liparites*. To *Ambulphus* was opposite *Abram* himself, to *Aaron* another of the *Turkish* Commanders called *Chorasanites*, and to *Liparites* one *Aslam Selarius* the half Brother of *Abram*. The fight began a little before Sunset, and both *Ambulphus* and *Aaron* defeated their Opposites, and purified them till Cocks crow. But *Liparites* enraged for the loss of a Kinsman, to be revenged engaged more desperately than prudently and was taken Prisoner, being much expected by his Friends who returning from the pursuit and lighting from their Horses gave God thanks for the Victory in these words, singing, *What God is so great as our God?* Expecting with great longing to hear what was become of *Liparites* whom at first they concluded to be in pursuit of the Enemy they were at length put out of all doubt by the coming of one that had served under him who affirmed him taken and led away bound to such place as he that took him pleased. The *Roman* Captains notwithstanding their Victory were so struck with the News, that passing that night without sleep, in the Morning they consulted what was to be done; and all resolved to depart home. Thereupon *Aaron* with his Men returned to *Ibane* the *Metropolis* of *Abracon* or *Media*, and *Catacalo* with his went back to *Asium*. But *Abram* overjoyed that he had taken *Liparites*, and thereupon thinking himself the most happy Man alive, omitting all other business conveyed him himself five days Journey, and then sent him away to the *Sultan* who made a shew of joy for the taking of so considerable a Man; but envying his Brother the good fortune, as he had formerly Stomached *Catlamus* for his bad, resolved to make him also away, and for that watched his opportunity.

But take Captive *Liparites* one of the *Roman* Generals.

Sending him to the *Sultan*.

But by presents is redeemed and sent Home, and with him an Ambassador from the *Turks* to the Emperor.

Tyrach Prince of the *Patri-nace*.

From whom *Kegezes* Revolts.

Putting himself under the Protection of the Emperor.

133. The Emperor having News of the Captivity of *Liparites* desired above measure to have him freed, and for that purpose sent one to the *Sultan* with Presents of the value of his Ransom offering also to make a Peace and Alliance with him. The *Sultan* that he might seem a generous Prince rather than a Man of violence and Robbery sent him *Liparites* gratis, receiving the Presents that were sent him, but he gave them all to his Prisoner, advising him to have him in his mind, and no more to bear Arms against the *Turks*. And he sent in Ambassage to the Emperor their *Seriph*, who had the same Relation to their *Caliph*, as the *Syrcelus* at *Constantinople* in old time had to the Patriarch, succeeding him in ordinary course when he died. The *Seriph* at his audience speaking many things arrogant-ly and boasting according to their fashion required, that the *Romans* should become Tributaries to his Master, and when the Emperor would hear of no such matter returned home. This Hint caused *Monomachus* in expectation of War to provide for the security of the Provinces, when violence was offered to them by an Enemy in another Quarter, the *Patzinace* a People of *Scythia*. This People being of that sort of *Scythians* then termed Royal, the most powerfull of them all was divided into thirteen Tribes, which though they all made up one Nation, yet each received Denomination from its own Prince. They possessed beyond *Iller* the Champion extending from *Borysbhenes* to *Pannonia*, not being any where fixt but wandering from place to place, and always dwelling in Tents. Their Prince at this time was *Tyrach* the Son of *Kilter* a Man of Noble extract, but very Lazy and heavy. But there was one *Kegezes* the Son of *Baltzar*, by Birth obscure, but of great fame for Arms which he had obtained in his Conduct against the *Uzian* Hunnith Nation whom making incursions he had often repulld with great loss, *Tyrach* not daring to shew his Head, but lurking in the Fens about *Iller*. The People reverencing *Tyrach* for his extraction, but much more admiring the other for his valour, he grew so jealous of him that he resolved to take his Life, which often attempting secretly without success, at length he openly sent a Company to seize, and kill him. But *Kegezes* having timely notice of their coming made his escape into the Fens of *Borysbhenes* whence he sent and procured his Friends and his own Tribe called the Tribe of *Belemarne* with another which had the name of *Pagman* to revolt from *Tyrach*.

134. With these two Tribes he Engaged and Fought *Tyrach*, assisted by eleven, being oppressed with multitudes and being defeated, resolved the onely means of his safety, was to go over to the Emperor. He went to *Dorofolus*, and there passing into a River Island with his Men to the Number of twenty Thousand, sent to *Michael* the Son of *Anastafus* Governour of the Countrey to let him know who he was, and the reason of his coming, which was to put himself into the Emperor's protection, whose interest he doubted not very much to promote. The Governour having communicated his desires to the Emperor received orders to receive him courteously with his Men, to provide them of all necessaries and send him to *Constantinople* where

where he was entertained with all the kindness he could expect. He promised to be Baptized and to persuade his Countrymen also to turn Christians, and was Honoured with the Dignity of Patritian: then were assigned to him three Castles with large Grounds on the Bank of *Ister* and he and all his Men received Baptism. When he was conveniently settled he made frequent inroads into the Territories of *Tyrach*, where he killed all the Men, and sold the Women and Children to the *Romans* for slaves. Hereupon *Tyrach* sent the Emperour to expostulate for that being a Friend and Ally of the *Patzinace* he had received their Enemy and Fugitive, and required that he would not any more afford him any assistance for the invasion of their Country; otherwise he denounced War against him. Of this message the Emperour made very light, and laughd at it as unreasonable, whereupon the Messengers departed as they came. He wrote to *Michael* and *Kegenes* to look narrowly to the Bank of *Ister*, and to send him word in case any considerable Army made any attempt to pass that River, to prevent which he sent an hundred Gallies to hover about those Coasts. But to render these Gallies useless, *Tyrach* expedited the coming of Winter and a Frost, which having crufted over the River to the thickness of fifteen Cubits, he then passed over with all the Power he could make, and with his Numbers, which amounted to eight hundred thousand Men, overwhelmed, as it were, the *Roman* Provinces. The Emperour having speedy notice hereof, as speedily sent away to *Constantine* *Arianites* the *Magister* and Governour of *Adrianople*, and to *Basilus Monachus* the General of *Bulgaria*, with the Forces of *Macedonia* and *Bulgaria* to join themselves with *Michael* and *Kegenes*, which accordingly they did. The *Roman* Armies being united, *Kegenes* as he saw his advantages, being better acquainted than any other with the humour of his Country Men, made many Assaults upon them, who having on this side the River light upon Wine and Drinks made with Honey, of which before they had never tasted, thereof drank so intemperately, that great multitudes of them died every day. This being made known to *Kegenes*, he prevailed with the other Captains to fall upon them now when they were distressed by Cold and Sickness; though with some Reluctancy, to engage in Fight with so great Multitudes.

135. A sudden and fierce onset being made upon them, they were so much thereupon with affrighted that this added to their other distress, they threw down their Arms, and yielded awfull *Tyrach* and the most Noble, as the rest of the multitude. *Kegenes* very vehemently urged that they should all be put to Death, which he executed on many upon whom he light, with this saying, that *A Snake is to be killed in Winter while he cannot move his Tail, lest when Summer comes (Animated afresh by the heat of the Sun) he do more mischief.* But the *Roman* Captains abhorring to great cruelty, thought fit they should be bestowed in the Desert places of *Bulgaria*, a Tribute put upon them, by which a good Revenue would accrue to the Emperour, and he might be furnished with Souldiers against the *Turks* or other Enemies. They prevailed against *Kegenes*, who yet to do what lay in his power, killed all he had taken except such as he could make Money of, and went his way. The rest of the multitude *Basilus* the Governour of *Bulgaria* dispersed through the Plains of *Sardica*, *Naisus* and *Eutrapelus*, taking from them all their Weapons left they should afterward attempt any thing. *Tyrach* and an hundred and forty others were sent up to *Constantinople*, where they were kindly entertained by the Emperour, *Basilus* had Honours and Wealth conferred on them, and lived with greater content and pleasure than formerly. But by this time the *Sultan* displeased by the Answer to his Message, had gathered Forces out of *Persia* and *Babylonia*, and renewed the War: *Monomachus* upon notice, besides other preparations caused fifteen thousand of the lately Conquered *Patzinace* to be Armed, and giving them four Commanders of those who abode at *Constantinople*, whom he richly presented and adorned with costly Armour, sent them into *Iberia* under Conduct of *Constantine Hadrabalanus* a Patritian. They went on their way as far as *Melitena*, but drawing near to *Damarray*, and consulting what to do with themselves, they abhorred so much the thoughts of going into *Iberia*, by the Advice of *Catalane* one of their Officers they resolved to return back to their Countrymen, and following his example in taking the Sea with his Horse, swum over it being narrow, for they had no Boats, and by a prodigious adventure got back to *Traditza*. There arming their Companions as they could they did much mischief to the *Roman* Territories, and some of them

After which a Truce with them for thirty years.

130. In

136. In the mean time the *Sultan* was with all his Force entred into *Iberia*, where the Inhabitants had shut up themselves and their Wealth in the strong Towns, so that being come as far as *Comium*, and there understanding that the *Roman* Army was to Rendevouz at *Cesarea*, he would not venture to proceed, but returned in great wrath because he could perform no greater things. Passing into *Basilpracan* or *Media*, and there finding all in the same posture, in Indignation he was resolved to attacke some of the Garrisons, and fell upon a City called *Manzakierte*, situate in a Champion Soil, fortified by a triple Wall, and furnished largely with Water and all other necessaries, of which the Inhabitants had timely provided themselves. Thinking because of its situation with ease to become Master of it, he attacked it with all sorts of Engines for thirty days without intermission; but nothing could he gain upon it, the valour and industry of *Basilus* a Patritian the Governour, a very prudent Person frustrating all his Attempts. Wearied with the frequent Repulses he received, he purposed to raise his Siege, when *Alcan* the Captain of the *Corasmii* begged of him but to continue it one day longer, and commit it to his management, which was readily granted. By break of day *Alcan* having his men and all things in readines, placed the *Sultan* and the most eminent Persons about him on an Hill near the Eastern Gate to be Spectatours of what should follow; and then to that Gate applied all his Engines and Devices, because in that place the Wall seemed lower, and the place where he should stand somewhat higher, so that it afforded advantage to doe execution upon those within the Walls. The Army he divided into two parts, whereof the one he ordered to stand upon that Ground to shoot into the Town, the other with Forks and other rustical Instruments to bear up a sort of Engine called *Laesa*, and bear it to the Walls. This *Laesa* was a kind of Hurdle or Tent made of Boughs, and above covered with an Ox Hide, born with Feet or Pillars which stood upon Wheels. This they were to thrust to the Walls, which under covert of it they were to demolish; for he concluded that all Arrows or Darts would be kept off by the Hide above, and they might work at the Walls as he pleased, especially seeing his Archers placed upon that advantageous Ground would not permit any to appear upon the Battlements. But *Basilus* perceiving what he aimed at, gave order to such as were to defend the Walls not to appear nor shew themselves, but to have in readines great Stones, Arrows and Darts, and expect the sign, which was, *Christ help us*; and he had prepared some very great Beams which were sharpened at one end. Now *Alcan* seemed to himself by his showers of Arrows, to have driven all from the Battlements; and therefore the *Laese* were put to the Walls, which being come so near that they could not go back, *Basilus* gave the watch-word, and out came they that had the guidance of the Beams, and let them fall upon the *Laese*: then did others pley them with great Stones and other things, whereby the Tops of them were quite broken, and they within were exposed to all Arrows, Darts and other things that came to Hand, and all perished, amongst whom *Alcan* himself: he being known by the goodness of his Armour, two Young Men issued out and by his Hair drew him in at the Gate, which done, *Basilus* caused his Head to be cut off and shot amongst the *Turks*. At the sight of it the *Sultan* was much troubled, and broke up his Siege, pretending he was called away by more urgent Affairs, and threatening the next spring with greater Forces to make another Journey into the *Roman* Territories.

Is forced to rise and go Home.

137. The Emperour being solicitous about his return, and desirous to be Revenged of *Aplephar*, who having broken the League made with *Constantine*, had invaded his Dominions; gathered all the Forces of the East together, and over them appointed for Commander one *Nicephorus* an Eunuch, and formerly his Chaplain when a private Man, but who since had for love of the World renounced his Orders. Him he now graced with the Title of Governour and General of the Camp, and sent him into the East, not because of any valour or skill he had, but because he knew him faithfull to him. This *Nicephorus* proceeding as far as the Iron Bridges, as they were called, and *Canzaciun*, light not upon the *Turks* (for they upon hearing what Preparations were made against them under Command of *Abimilech* the Brother of *Cutlunus*, were returned Home) but forced *Aplephar* within the Walls, and waiting the Country, compelled him again to make Peace, and renew the League, for confirmation whereof he gave up as Hostage *Artasras* the Son of *Pharlam* his Brother, Prince of the Region of *Canzaciun*, whom having received, *Nicephorus* as having performed enough, returned to *Constantinople*. In the mean time the *Patzinace*, as we hinted, passing over *Flavius*, and viewing the Plain which lay betwixt it and *Ister*, and extends it self as far as the Sea; and perceiving how

M m m 2

well



The Patzinacæ well it was Wooded and Watered, there fare down (the Inhabitants called it, *An hundred Hills*) and thence made Incurfions into the Dominions of the Empire, the Subjects of which they not a little molested. Upon this occasion *Kegenes* was sent for by the Emperor to Consult, and lying with his Forces in a field near to the City, while as yet he knew not wherefore he was sent, three of the *Patzinacæ* his Countreymen made an attempt upon his life, and wounded him by Night though not mortally, for some of his Guard coming timely in, they struck not courageously, but endeavouring to escape, as much more Assistance came in with *Baltzar* the Son of *Kegenes*, they were taken. They appealed to the Emperor; whereupon *Baltzar* put his Father into a Chariot with four Wheels, and after him drew them bound, and so with all his Horse, he himself, together with his Brother *Gulin* followed on Foot, and entered the City till they came to the Cirque, then leaving there the rest, he himself went to the Emperor. At sight of him the Emperor demanded why he had not at first put to Death the Assassins, to which he answered, because they had appealed unto him. Hereupon *Monomachus* grew suspicious, and sent immediately for the Men, who being asked the cause of the Attempt, affirmed they did it for his sake, and for the Empire and City, to which *Kegenes* was a Traitor, having a design by break of Day to have entered, killed all, and with the Plunder to return to his own Countreymen.

138. Now whereas the Emperor should have made strict Inquisition, and sifted out the matter, he gave credit to the improbable and ill coherent tales of these Fellows, and causing *Kegenes* to be brought to Court, under pretence of Cure and Physick, kept him close up, separated his Sons the one from the other, and pretending great kindness to his Men, and flattering them with large allowance of Meat and Drink, endeavoured by degrees, and as he could to disarm them, and commit the principal of them to custody, giving free leave in the mean time to the Assassins to go where ever they pleased. Yet thought he for all this to cover his design, though the *Patzinacæ* proved far more cunning, and deceived the Deceiver as he thought himself. They took very much, and what he sent them, and made shew of much contentment and obedience; but considering all these particulars they were well satisfied as to their Inclinations, and by Night got them away from the Camp, and travelling hard on the third Day by great Journeys passed the *Hæmus*, and joined themselves with their Countreymen. Now being all united and having Arms sufficient, they came over the Mountain to a Castle called *Aula*, not far from *Adrianople*, and thence waited the Countries adjacent, which as soon as *Constantine Areianites* the Magister and General of the West understood, he drew out some Forces against them, and lighting upon some Stragglers and Parties had at first the better of them, but engaging their main Body near a Fort called *Dampolis*, there he was defeated, with the loss of many men; and returning to *Adrianople* gave notice thereof to the Emperor, signifying that there was necessity of bringing another Army into the Field, and that no good could be expected from those who had been already beaten against so resolute and numerous an Enemy. The Emperor had had notice of the defeat before his Letters arrived, and had sent to *Tyrach* and the other Noblemen of the *Patzinacæ*, then residing at *Constantinople*, whom having richly presented they engaged by Oath to pacify and quiet their Nation. He sent also for all the Forces of the East, which having passed over from *Abydus* and *Chrysopolis*, he then assigned them *Nicephorus* the Redour for their Captain, to whom he joynted *Catacalo* the General of the East, and *Erbetius* a Frank Captain of his Countreymen, yet so as to be obedient to his Orders. *Constantine* marching with his Army over *Hæmus*, came to a place called *Diacene*, and there incamped and fortified himself, purposing the day following to leave all his Baggage there, and so with the Army disintangled from all Incumbrances to Fight the Enemy, whom he so contemned as not fearing to have the better of them, it only perplexed him how to prevent their running away, and escaping his Victorious Arms. Nay the Souldiers being as confident as their Captain; some of them had prepared Ropes and Thongs wherewith to lead away their Prisoners.

139. In the mean time *Tyrach* and the rest of the Nobility whom the Emperor had dismissed were come to the *Patzinacæ*, and conspired with the rest for the best promotion of the Affairs of their Country, so far were they from accomplishing what they had sworn at their departure. *Constantine* consulting what was fittest to be done, *Ambulfus* was for falling on them while they were yet dispersed and out of order, which the General out of Gallantry refused, saying that

*Ingens Cedrus Lacuna ex Historia Scythizæ Europæ late suppletur.*

They

They would run away into the Woods, and for his part he had no Dogs to Hunt them out. But this fault was quickly amended, for the *Patzinacæ* drew up in order towards him, and then the next Morning he prepared to give them Battel. He himself led the middle Battel, *Ambulfus* the Right, and *Francofillus* the Left Wing; but without much labour they lost the day, the *Romans* ignominiously bethaking themselves to their Heels, only *Ambulfus* and those about him fighting manfully were slain: the *Patzinacæ* durst not make any considerable pursuit for fear of Ambushes, hardly imagining they could be earnest in running upon so little provocation. The Emperor at the News was much perted, but not able to recall what he had done in the choice of a General, resolved if possible to repair the loss the following year. In the third Indiction, and the eighth year of his Reign he sent for his Army out of the Eastern Parts, which he committed to the Conduct of *Constantine* Captain of the Friends or Associates, and commanded him to joyn with the Forces still in *Thrace*, and chastize (if possible) the obstinate *Patzinacæ*. He went to *Adrianople*, and there uniting his Forces, incamped himself within a Rampart; and the *Patzinacæ* hearing of his coming, shortly after came up to him on the eighth day of *June*. While he was in a Council of War consulting what to do, *Samuel Burtzes* one of his Officers without any orders led the Foot he Commanded, he set upon the Enemy, who far exceeding him in numbers fore distressed him, so that he sent several Messengers to the General for Assistance, who though he could have wished him punished for his rashness, yet considering it was the Emperor's business, concluded he must not neglect it, and so was constrained to give the Signal for Battel.

140. He went in to the Succour of *Burtzes*, but could not prevail against the obstinate Enemy, who much animated by vanquishing the Foot already, easily discouraged the Horse, so that the Horse and Foot both ran ignominiously within the Rampart, and there secured themselves, after the Loss of many Men and several Persons of Eminence, as *Michael Doccianus* a Patritian, and *Constantinus Areianitus* the Magister, who died on the third Day after of his Wounds. The *Patzinacæ* besieged them in the Rampart, and had certainly taken it, but that they were discouraged by an accident, an arrow out of an Engine killing one *Sulzrus*, and his Horse under him, when at the same time it chanced, that *Glabas Nicetas* drew near with some Succours from *Adrianople*, which they imagining to be *Basilus* with the Forces of *Bulgaria*, would not abide his coming, but dispersed themselves. While matters went thus abroad, at home in the City, a Conspiracy was discovered against the Emperor, whereof were Authors, *Nicephorus* and *Michael* the Sons of *Nicephorus*, with others of their Relations. Inquisition was made after all Offenders, but none were punished, but *Nicephorus* whose Estate was seized, and then he sent into Banishment. *Monomachus* rid of this Danger, set himself wholly to vindicate the Honour of the Empire against the *Patzinacæ*. *Kegenes* he took out of Prison and sent him to them, he engaging to take them off from their outrageous Courses. All the Forces he could raise out of his own Subjects, and his Allies he caused to be got together, in particular the *Franks* and *Barangi*, over every Nation he appointed for Commander some Eminent Person of their own, and over all made General *Nicephorus Bryennius* a Patritian, whom upon this occasion he called *Erbmarch*, and sent him against the *Patzinacæ*, who now very much despising the *Romans*, freely and without any fear laid all waste they could come at in *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. Their Cruelty they exercised more than ever, not sparing the Infants that hung at the Breast, and some of them were so bold as to come as far as *Catalystas*, not far distant from *Constantinople*, and were paid well for their boldness. For the Emperor set out a Party against them, collected out of his own Guards, and others under Command of *John*, surnamed *Philosophus* a Patritian, one of the Eunuchs belonging to the Chamber of *Zoe* the Empress, which falling on them by Night when drunk and sleepy, made an end of them all, and sent up Cart-loads of their Heads to *Monomachus*.

141. But in the mean time *Kegenes* to perform his promise made to the Emperor, came near to his Countreymen and sent to them to let them know his mind, to which they returning this Answer; and confirming it by Oath that they would be governed by him, he trusted and went to them, but was no sooner come, but they cut him to pieces, and those very small ones. *Bryennius* coming to *Adrianople*, took care for preservation of the Country; for the Emperor thinking not yet enough done, sent after him *Michael* a Patritian, and *Acotabus*, or Captain of his Guards, with a new supply, and to have the chief Command,

but

And is there kept Prisoner.

But his Followers return to their Countreymen, making fresh incurfions.

Upon which an Army is sent against them.

But is put to Flight.

So that more Forces are rallied.

Which are also defeated.

A Conspiracy at home, but discovered and punished.

*Kegenes* released out of Prison.

The whole Force of the Empire engaged against the *Patzinacæ*.

Who had the boldness to come near to *Constantinople* but pay for it.

but with Order to be carefull how he engaged in Battel, and in the first place to repress the Incursions of the Enemy, into the poor harassed Countries. He accordingly, having joined with *Bryennius*, set upon them as they ranged in Parties. One he cut off at a Place called *Goloa*, and another near a Castle named *Toplizus*, which so discouraged them, that they dare no more to appear in the Countrey, lying at the Foot of *Hemus*, but transferred all their Power and Rage into *Macedonia*, which they waisted with a select Party, able if need were to resist all opposers they could expect from thence. *Bryennius* and *Michael* having notice of this their Cunning, by Night discamped, and keeping their Design very close, by great Marches came to *Charopolis* which they entered, and as the *Patzinac* merly returned home in the Evening from their Plunder, to their Camp not far from the City, in which they did not think any Army at all could be, fell upon them as they lay sleeping and secure, and easily put them to the Sword. This defeat so awed them, that for the two following years they did not range about so licenciously as formerly, but very cautiously and as it were by stealth.

142. The Emperour was in some measure freed from his apprehensions of them, but in the mean time perceived not what danger he was in from a Snake he had taken into his bosome. There was one *Romanus Boilas*, who being an obscure man served in the Wars, of a ready Tongue, *Cedrenus* tells us, but *Zonaras* will have him a Stammerer, not able to speak plain, which defect having received partly from Nature, he had increased by affectation and custome, thinking it seems it would make the more notice to be taken of him. With this man the Emperour, as soon as he came to the Knowledge of him, was wonderfully taken, pleasing himself exceedingly with his trifling and insignificant Wit, so as he had constant access both to him and to the Women when he pleased, and was not wanting to himself, but made use of his time and opportunities to hoard up much Wealth. This so far imboldened him, as from a mean Condition to procure the Dignity of a Senator. But his ambition disdained such moderate bounds; mean men when got into Power usually carry their Heads and Noses high, and snuffing up much of the upper Air, cannot once be brought to think of their former Friends or Condition; till an Ebb of Fortune discover their Folly to them again as well as their Original and Principles. Being Senator he was never quiet till he became the most inward Councillour, and chief Minister of the Emperour, to which having arrived, what wanted there now but to be Emperour himself, and for this vast preferment as he wanted not opportunity, (having continual access both into the Bedchamber, and other the most secret retiring Rooms) by the death of the present Prince to bring his ends about, so he thought himself abundantly meriting the Dignity, and had a Conscience large enough to bear any thing that might make for that purpose. Being then possessed with a vehement desire of reigning, he cunningly attempted all he knew to be dissatisfied with the Emperour. To such as abhorred the thought of making him away, he pretended abundance of Love, as having onely tried their Loyalty and good Affection to their Prince, to whom he would not fail to make it known. But such as approved of the thing he encouraged to the utmost, nay obliged them to it by Oath, and watched for a convenient opportunity to put it in Execution. And to Execution he had put it, but that he was detected by one of the Conspirators, as he had the very Sword in his Hand, which should have done the deed. Hereupon much Inquisition was used for conviction of his complies, whose Estates were confiscated, and their Persons banished; but no other punishment was inflicted upon himself, but that the Emperour for some time shewed some averfeness or dissatisfaction in his Company, which in a little time wore off again, and he returned to his wonted Trust and Familiarity.

143. In the mean time (to return a little into the East) the Sultan as we said bearing a mortal Spight to his Brother *Abram*, continually sought occasion to take away his Life, which he perceiving fled to *Cutlumus* his Kinsman, with whom he joined Forces and Interest to make War upon the Sultan. They gave him Battel at a Place called *Pajar*, but there *Abram* was taken Prisoner and put to death. *Cutlumus* with six thousand Men, and *Melech Abram's* Son sent to the Emperour, desiring to be received into his Protection, and in the mean time till an answer should be returned, laid siege to a Town in *Perfarmenia* called *Carfe*, which he took, the Castle excepted. But the Sultan with an Army pursuing him came into *Iberia*, whom to avoid he fled as far as *Saba* and *Arabia* the Happy. In *Iberia* the Sultan laid all waste before him, to stop whose progress the Em-

Civil Wars among the Turks.

Several of their Parties being cutoff they make out their Incursions so openly as heretofore.

Emperour recalled *Michael Acoluthus* out of the West, and sent him into that Province, who there in *Chaldia* gathering together the dispersed *Franks* and *Barrangi*, used his endeavours to repress his Motions and Hostilities. The Sultan having News of his sudden Arrival, concluded with himself that he meant to fight, and considered that should he engage and overcome the Emperour's Servant and Officer, it would not at all redound to his Honour, and should he be beaten by him it would tend exceeding much to his disrepute, whereupon he departed with all his Forces to *Tabresum*. At the same time *Michael* the Son of *Stephen*, and his Successeur in his Principality over the *Triballi* and *Serbi*, entered into the League with the Emperour, and receiving from him the Office and Dignity of *Protospatharius*, was admitted a Friend and Ally of the Roman Empire. At the same time the Prince of *Egypt* courted him with Presents. But nothing gave him or could give him satisfaction, so long as the *Patzinac* still went unpunished, to chastize whom he now again raised, and got together all the Force he could make both out of East and West, over which he appointed General *Michael Acoluthus*, and besides this he commanded *Basilus Syncellus*, with the Bulgarian Army, to join with him in the Expedition. The *Patzinac* having notice of the Contrivance, incamped themselves at a Place called *Grat Prischlawa*, which they fortified by a deep Trench and a Bulwark, resolving therein to endure a Siege. And the Romans besieged them till they were weary, and began to be in distress for Necessaries, which drove them into a Consultation what was to be done. It was resolved that the Siege should be raised, and accordingly a deep silence being enjoined late at Night they departed. This was not unknown to *Zyrach*, who lent out a great Number to stop the ways through which they must pass, and then did he set upon them as they went at their backs whereby great Multitudes were killed, when the fled from him the other receiving, and killing them in the narrow or unknown Passages. Amongst others fell *Syncellus*; those that escaped got with *Michael* to *Adrianople*. The Emperour exceedingly afflicted for the perpetual Loss and Disgrace received from this People, made yet once again Preparations so great, that he resolved if possible to root them out of the Earth, making new Levies, and hiring Soldiers wherever he could. They from a fugitive understanding his Resolutions, to divert so great a storm as was gathering, sent and desired Peace. And he condescended to a Truce for thirty Years.

Another Expedition against the Patzinac.

But with great Loss to the Empire.

At last a truce for 30 years concluded.

Constantine the Emperour is very profuse.

He disbands the Soldiers upon the Frontiers to the Ruine of the Empire.

Zoe the Empress dies.

144. The Truce was very seasonable, considering into what condition his great Expence had brought him. Whereas the great Charge of his Wars should have made him frugal and circumspect in other matters, it was so far from it, that the more he expended out of the Necessity, the more he would profusely and vainly cast away, the certain Argument of a weak and easie Prince. He had an ambition to appear bountifull and liberal, but in it was not the least Skill or Discretion, not being able to distinguish betwixt Magnificence and Prodigality. In bestowing the publick Treasure, he never observed any Rules of *to whom, when, or how much*, and so plunged himself into so great Necessities, that by honourable or dishonourable means, by right or wrong he must have Supplies. That which was taken notice of most to beggar him, was the building of a Monastery to *St. George* in *Mangana*, as it was thought chiefly, that under pretence of visiting and overseeing the Workmen, he might have opportunity more frequently to visit his *Sclerana*, who followed several Games, and particularly that of Hunting in these Parts. Hereby and by his other Courses, the Treasury was quite drained, to recruit which he invented several mean, sordid and unjust Courses, employing most rapacious Fellows in the gathering the Revenue, who exacted it without any respect had to Right or Equity. And one thing there is, which makes him guilty of the Decay and Ruine of the Empire; to be sure the East was lost through his Mis carriage in this profuse way. For whereas certain Provinces, those upon the Borders especially, were free from Tribute and Impositions for this Reason, because they maintained so many Soldiers to keep the Straits, to watch the Roman Pale, and secure it from the Incursions of Barbarians, he disbanded these Soldiers, and dissolved the Garrisons of such Parts, particularly the Army of *Iberia*, so necessary for resistance of the *Turks*, consisting of fifty thousand Men, they were disbanded by *Leo Serblus*, on purpose to raise a Revenue out of that Countrey: an Act of most pernicious and infamous Consequence, which sets a Mark upon him to all Posterity, as a dreadful warning to all profuse Princes. Zoe the Empress dying at Seventy Years of Age, he howled and roared for her, and behaved himself much unlike a Man, compared her with Angels, and when

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Several of  
their Parties  
being cut off  
they make out  
their Incursions  
so openly  
as heretofore.

but with Order to be careful how he engaged in Battle, and in the first place to repress the Incursions of the Enemy, into the poor harassed Countries. He accordingly, having joined with *Bryennius*, set upon them as they ranged in Parties. One he cut off at a Place called *Goloa*, and another near a Castle named *Topizus*, which he discouraged them, that they dared no more to appear in the Country, lying at the Foot of *Hemus*, but transferred all their Power and Rage into *Macedonia*, which they wasted with a select Party, able if need were to resist all opposers they could expect from thence. *Bryennius* and *Michael* having notice of this their Cunning, by Night disamped, and keeping their Design very close, by great Marches came to *Chariopolis* which they entered, and as the *Patzinacæ* merrily returned home in the Evening from their Plunder, to their Camp not far from the City, in which they did not think any Army at all could be, fell upon them as they lay sleeping and secure, and easily put them to the Sword. This defeat so awed them, that for the two following years they did not range about so licenciously as formerly, but very cautiously and as it were by stealth.

142. The Emperor was in some measure freed from his apprehensions of them, but in the mean time perceived not what danger he was in from a Snake he had taken into his bosom. There was one *Romanus Boilas*, who being an obscure man served in the Wars, of a ready Tongue, *Cedrenus* tells us, but *Zonaras* will have him a Stammerer, not able to speak plain, which defect having received partly from Nature, he had increased by affectation and custome, thinking it seems it would make the more notice to be taken of him. With this man the Emperor, as soon as he came to the Knowledge of him, was wonderfully taken, pleasing himself exceedingly with his trifling and insignificant Wit, so as he had constant access both to him and to the Women when he pleased, and was not wanting to himself, but made use of his time and opportunities to hoard up much Wealth. This so far imboldened him, as from a mean Condition to procure the Dignity of a Senator. But his ambition disdained such moderate bounds; mean men when got into Power usually carry their Heads and Noses high, and snuffing up much of the upper Air, cannot once be brought to think of their former Friends or Condition; till an Ebb of Fortune discover their Folly to them again as well as their Original and Principles. Being Senator he was never quiet till he became the most inward Councillour, and chief Minister of the Emperor, to which having arrived, what wanted there now but to be Emperor himself, and for this vast preferment as he wanted not opportunity, (having continual access both into the Bedchamber, and other the most secret retiring Rooms) by the death of the present Prince to bring his ends about, so he thought himself abundantly meriting the Dignity, and had a Confidence large enough to bear any thing that might make for that purpose. Being then possessed with a vehement desire of reigning, he cunningly attempted all he knew to be dissatisfied with the Emperor. To such as abhorred the thought of making him away, he pretended abundance of Love, as having only tried their Loyalty and good Affection to their Prince, to whom he would not fail to make it known. But such as approved of the thing he encouraged to the utmost, only obliged them to it by Oath, and watched for a convenient opportunity to put it in Execution. And to Execution he had put it, but that he was detected by one of the Conspirators, as he had the very Sword in his Hand, which should have done the deed. Hereupon much Inquisition was used for conviction of his accomplices, whose Estates were confiscated, and their Persons banished; but no other punishment was inflicted upon himself, but that the Emperor for some time shewed some averiness or dissatisfaction in his Company, which in a little time wore off again, and he returned to his wonted Trust and Familiarity.

143. In the mean time (to return a little into the East) the *Sultan* as we said bearing a mortal Spight to his Brother *Abram*, continually sought occasion to take away his Life, which he perceiving fled to *Cutlumasus* his Kinsman, with whom he joined Forces and Interest to make War upon the *Sultan*. They gave him Battle at a Place called *Pasar*, but there *Abram* was taken Prisoner and put to death. *Cutlumasus* with six thousand Men, and *Melech Abram's* Son sent to the Emperor, desiring to be received into his Protection, and in the mean time till an answer should be returned, laid siege to a Town in *Perfermenia* called *Carfe*, which he took, the Castle excepted. But the *Sultan* with an Army pursuing him came into *Iberia*, whom to avoid he fled as far as *Saba* and *Arabia the Happy*. In *Iberia* the *Sultan* laid all waste before him, to stop whose progress the Em-

Civil Wars among the  
Turks.

Emperor recalled *Michael Acoluthus* out of the West, and sent him into that Province, who there in *Chaldia* gathering together the dispersed *Franks* and *Berangs*, used his endeavours to repress his Motions and Hostilities. The *Sultan* having News of his sudden Arrival, concluded with himself that he meant to fight, and considered that should he engage and overcome the Emperor's Servant and Officer, it would not at all redound to his Honour, and should he be beaten by him it would tend exceeding much to his disrepute, whereupon he departed with all his Forces to *Tabresim*. At the same time *Michaelus* the Son of *Stephen*, and his Successor in his Principality over the *Triballi* and *Serbi*, entered into the League with the Emperor, and receiving from him the Office and Dignity of *Protospatharius*, was admitted a Friend and Ally of the Roman Empire. At the same time the Prince of *Egypt* courted him with Presents. But nothing gave him or could give him satisfaction, so long as the *Patzinacæ* still went unpunished, to chastize whom he now again raised, and got together all the Force he could make both out of East and West, over which he appointed General *Michael Acoluthus*, and besides this he commanded *Ezistus Syncellus*, with the *Bulgarian* Army, to join with him in the Expedition. The *Patzinacæ* having notice of the Contrivance, incamped themselves at a Place called *Grasat Prischlawa*, which they fortified by a deep Trench and a Bulwark, resolving therein to endure a Siege. And the *Romans* besieged them till they were weary, and began to be in distress for Necessaries, which drove them into a Consultation what was to be done. It was resolved that the Siege should be raised, and accordingly a deep silence being enjoined late at Night they departed. This was not unknown to *Tyrach*, who sent out a great Number to stop the ways through which they must pass; and then did he set upon them as they went at their backs whereby great Multitudes were killed, when the fled from him the other receiving, and killing them in the narrow or unknown Passages. Amongst others fell *Syncellus*; those that escaped got with *Michael to Adrianople*. The Emperor exceedingly afflicted for the perpetual Loss and Disgrace received from this People, made yet once again Preparations so great, that he resolved if possible to root them out of the Earth, making new Levies, and hiring Souldiers wherever he could. They from a fugitive underlanding his Resolutions, to divert to great a storm as was gathering, sent and desired Peace. And he condescended to a Truce for thirty Years.

Another Expedition against the Patzinacæ.

But with great Loss to the Empire.

At last a truce for 30 years concluded.

Constantine the Emperor is very profuse.

He disbanded the Souldiers upon the Frontiers to the Ruine of the Empire.

Zoe the Empress dies.

144. The Truce was very seasonable, considering into what condition his great Expence had brought him. Whereas the great Charge of his Wars should have made him frugal and circumspect in other matters, it was so far from it, that the more he expended out of the Necessity, the more he would profusely and vainly cast away, the certain Argument of a weak and easie Prince. He had an ambition to appear bountifull and liberal, but in it was not the least Skill or Discretion, not being able to distinguish betwixt Magnificence and Prodigality. In bestowing the publick Treasure, he never observed any Rules of to whom, when, or how much, and so plunged himself into so great Necessities, that by honourable or dishonourable means, by right or wrong he must have Supplies. That which was taken notice of most to beggar him, was the building of a Monastery to *St. George in Mangana*, as it was thought chiefly, that under pretence of visiting and overseeing the Workmen, he might have opportunity more frequently to visit his *Sclerana*, who followed several Games, and particularly that of Hunting in these Parts. Hereby and by his other Courses, the Treasury was quite drained, to recruit which he invented several mean, fordid and unjust Courses, employing most rapacious Fellows in the gathering the Revenue, who exacted it without any respect had to Right or Equity. And one thing there is, which makes him guilty of the Decay and Ruine of the Empire; to be sure the East was lost through his Mis carriage in this profuse way. For whereas certain Provinces, those upon the Borders especially, were free from Tribute and Impositions for this Reason, because they maintained so many Souldiers to keep the Straits, to watch the *Roman* Pale, and secure it from the Incursions of Barbarians, he disbanded these Souldiers, and dissolved the Garrisons of such Parts, particularly the Army of *Iberia*, so necessary for resistance of the *Turks*, consisting of fifty thousand Men, they were disbanded by *Leo Serblus*, on purpose to raise a Revenue out of that Countrey: an Act of most pernicious and infamous Consequence, which sets a Mark upon him to all Posterity, as a dreadful warning to all profuse Princes. *Zoe* the Empress dying at Seventy years of Age, he howled and roared for her, and behaved himself much unlike a Man, compared her with Angels, and when

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out of the moisture of her Tomb a Mulhrome sprung up he affirmed it an evidence sent from Heaven that she was there received amongst the intelligent Powers. But his love was so great to her that presently after her Death he made choice of another object enamoured of the Daughter of a certain Alan Prince, which then lay as an Hostage at Constantinople, that he brought her into the Palace; called her *Augusta*, gave her Royal maintenance, and had it not been for the Awe and respect he bore to *Theodora*, or especially for the Infamy of a fourth Marriage he had made her Empress and given her a Diadem. But the Domination of this new Lady was not long lived. For after his death, she was reduced into the State and condition she was in before, except she made use of her time and saved any thing, the short space that her Beauty ruled.

145. For now *Monomachus* grew towards his end, being almost quite spent by the Gout, which presently after his advancement so seized on his Limbs that he could neither stand nor go, but was held up or carried when ever he had occasion to stir. Afterward his intemperance toward Women increasing the distemper, the humour fell also into his Hands and upon his Shoulders, and at length tormented him throughout both in all his Joints, and inwardly in his side, so that he could not but with great pain and trouble fetch his Breath. His case now seeming desperate both to himself and others, those that were about him consulted about a Succellour. The chief Man now in favour and power was one *John* the Principal *Logotheta*, an Eunuch and otherwise a pityfull fellow, of obscure Original, and as despicable as to his parts, utterly as unfit for business as to write or speak according to true *Grammar*; but him the Emperour intrusted with all and designed him Prince of the Senate, having removed from the place of chief Minister one *Littrudes* a Person of quite different Qualifications because he was wont to deal plainly with him, and oppose any thing he knew contrary to reason. This *John* together with *Constantine* the *Protonotarius Dromi*, *Basilus* the *Caniclei Prefectus* and others, perceiving him drawing on, put him in mind of settling matters and recommended to him *Nicephorus* the *Proteuon* (or *Primate*, as one might call him, but that this Title is appropriate to Ecclesiasticks) as the most fit Person to succeed him, to which he assenting they sent notice to him then being at his Government in *Bulgaria* secretly as they thought and without the knowledge of *Theodora*. But she wanted not Friends to let her know their contrivance how private soever, and leaving *Monomachus* dying in this new Monastery she entred a Pinace and accompanied with several that were faithful to her went to the great Palace in Constantinople where she was published, declared and owned Empress by all, as right Heir to her Ancestours. This News thereof brought to *Monomachus* increased his distemper and he lived little longer than to testifie his sorrow by a sigh, with which he ended his days after he had Reigned twelve years and eight months. That we may not dismiss him without his due commendations as well as tax him for his faults, the provision he made for the Poor, for the Aged and Strangers in his Monastery is applauded by our Writers. And whereas the Revenues of the great Church were so lost and diminished that Service was there only said on the Lord's day, he so provided for it that Mass was there every day celebrated, and for the Communion he largely supplied the Altar with Plate, adorned with Gemms and Pearl very richly. Yet his Reign is ill spoken of for the reasons above alledged, and was more taken notice of by the People for some ill Accidents that happened toward the end thereof. For in the seventh and eighth Indictions so great a Plague there raged in the City that the quick could scarcely Bury the Dead. And in the Summer of the seventh so great Tempests, that they killed both much Cattel and some Men.

146. *Theodora Porphyrogenita* having got possession of what the People granted to be her Inheritance, first punished those that had been for the promotion of *Nicephorus*, by the Confiscation of their Estates and Banishment. Then to her Eunuchs did she distribute the greatest Places and Offices in the Empire. *Theodora* the makes Domestick of the Schools of the East, and sends him thither to restrain the inroads of the *Turks*, taking away from the Magister *Isaacius Comnenus* the Masterly of the Camp. For *Monomachus* had Transported all the *Macedonian* forces into the East under *Macedonian* Captains, amongst which was also *Bryennius*, a certain Rumour or Prophecy running abroad, that the *Turks* should be suppressed by such an Army as Alexander the Great used in Conquering the Persians. She made *Nicetas* the *Logotheta Dromi*, *Manuel* the *Drungarius Bigle*, and for his great abilities she employed *Leo Strabopondylus* as her Master of State, who had formerly served the Emperour *Michael*. Assisted by these and other Officers though she was very

very old, yet would she govern her self, and refused to make any Emperour. To *Leo* she committed the chief management of all affairs; but she her self would sit upon the judgment seat, give Audience and answer to Ambassadors, create Magistrates, pronounce Laws, and interpose her Opinion and Resolution both in publick and private matters: and her Government succeeded well enough. For against her no man opposed himself, nor disobeyed her, and she maintained her Authority seizing the Estate and banishing *Bryennius* because upon hearing of the Death of *Monomachus* he had with the *Macedonians* under his command removed to *Chrysopolis* without her orders. No Nation made War upon her, neither did any publick Calamity happen in her time, the seasons of the year being all good and natural. Though old as she was yet being of a strong constitution and able enough for business, she promised her self many years. But though herein she flattered her self and was flattered into this belief, it was laid, by a Monk, yet e'er two years came to an end she found she was deceived, being seized with the *Black Pox*, a disease always dangerous, and which caused the Physicians to despair of her recovery. Then did those about her consider whom to prefer to the Government by whom these happy days might be continued. They pitched upon *Michael Stratoticus* one of Constantinople, innocent and harmless, but utterly unfit for such an employment both in respect of his ignorance, for from his youth he had only been used to War; and his great Age, for he was very Decrepit. But the Eunuchs and *Leo* judging him fit for their turn because they could govern him at their pleasure, they persuaded *Theodora* to make him Emperour, which she did by adorning him with a Diadem, after he had given his Oath to do nothing without their knowledge and consent. These matters finished *Theodora* ended her Life when she had Reigned one year and nine months about the end of *August*.

147. *Michael Stratoticus* by her death became Emperour and Monarch, and was for such declared on the last day of *August* in the ninth Indiction, A.D. M. LVI. As soon as the News of his promotion came to the Ears of *Theodora* the President, the Cousin German of *Monomachus* he was thereby so much disturbed as not considering the difficulty of the thing he undertook nor what danger he incurred, he got together his dependants, Servants and such of his Friends laid things little to heart, and in the Evening with that Train at his Heels passed up the Streets from his House toward the Palace, crying out that he was injured, and that the Empire of right descended upon him as being next in Blood to the late Emperour. Coming to the *Prætorium* he broke open the Prison, and let out the Malefactors to assist him, which he did also at *Chalce*. In the mean time the Eunuchs in the Palace having received the Alarm made what Preparations they could to suppress him, both by Land and Water, which he understanding turned from the way leading thither and went to the great Church where he hoped to be received and owned by the Patriarch and Clergy. But things fell out quite otherwise; for when he came to the Church, they shut the Doors upon him; and though upon occasions of Innovation many people used to flock and run together, yet none now appeared, and on the contrary such as had appeared for him began by degrees to desert him and fall off. So that at length being by all deserted he betook himself with his Son to the Church, not as a Prince but a suppliant, and was thence taken away very speedily and confined to *Pergamus* as a place of Banishment. After which fort the chiefest of those who had taken part with him were punished. And for his folly he became a Song to the ordinary fort.

148. *Stratoticus* thus freed from this rash Adventurer was Emperour without the contradictions of any. To shew that he was govern'd by those that rais'd him, such things as they understood he did very well, but in such matters as he himself had been continually versed none did ever worse. The Senators as they were Men of interest and influence he promoted, such generally as were not fit for so great Employments as those to which he preferred them; using the same course and method to Men of more ordinary Rank. But as to military Men, he acted quite otherwise, his own Companions, nay his equals once, Men of considerable commands in the Armies. To these Officers when they came into the City he did not shew the least respect either by act or deed, and the two principal he much disgusted, Men both of them of great Nobility, bearing the Title of Magister, and by their skill and actions having as much Reputation as their places were usually capable of. These were *Isaacius Comnenus* and *Ambustus Catacalo*, the latter of which in a meeting of Officers in *Easter* (when the Emperour's bounty was wont to appear towards Men of this quality and Employment) he deprived of his Government of *Antioch*, and into his place immediately put *Micha-*

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Naming *Michael Stratoticus* for her Succellour dies.

*Michael Emperour.*

Against whom *Theodorus* the President sets up.

But is punished for his folly.

*Constantine Monomachus* dies, *Theodora* is declared rightful Empress.

She settles her Government.

el his Kinsman whom at the same time he preferred to the Dignity of a *Magister*, giving to him the surname of *Uranus* that he might seem to derive his Descent from that Noble Family. *Catacalo* he accused as having very badly discharged his Office, in that the Numbers of Souldiers were diminished in his time, and he gave no content to those that had business with him; and when the most Ancient and most eminent Officers of the Army stood up in his Defence he fell into opprobrious Language both against him and them, wherein he did not spare *Comenus*. This carriage very much discouraged some and provoked others of the Army, who could hear of the Liberty of this new Emperour unto others but not receive so much as one good word from him themselves, though Men of his own Profession; yet did they not thence conceive so great Indignation as to Plot or design any thing against him till another Tryal. So Writes *Zonaras*, from whom *Cedrenus* differs in this that he gave *Comenus* and *Catacalo* ill Language, for he Writes that he gave them two good words, but would not gratifie them in any thing they desired. And he farther instances in others he disobliged. *Bryennius* he recalled out of Banishment, gave him the command of the *Cappadocians*, and with the *Macedonian* Legions sent him against the *Turks*, a Commander of whom *Samuch* by name, now much infested the Borders of the Empire. But when he earnestly desired him to have his Estate restored which *Theodora* had taken from him he refused, and when still more importunately he urged him to it, he put him off with that Common saying, *that Wages are not to be required till the work be done*, whereby he so exasperated him that he expected but an opportunity to be revenged.

The Turks  
infest the Bor-  
ders of the  
Empire

149. Imprudent also was his carriage to *Francopolus Erbebius* who had done very good service under *Maniaces* in *Sicily*, and studied the Interest of the Empire. He desired of him to be Honoured with the Dignity of a *Magister*, which he not only refused to confer on him, but with Scofs and much scorn rejected him, which Affront being a Barbarian (saith our Writer) and impatient in his nature, he took so heinously that not thinking what others were attempting, to be revenged he got him Home into *Armenia*, and drawing over to him three hundred of those *Franks* that served the Emperour went into *Media* and joyned himself with *Samuch* the *Turk* to make War upon the *Romans*. For some time they accorded, but at length as commonly it happens differences arose, and were multiplied betwixt the two several Nations, and they began to Plot, and contrive means how to affront and at last to destroy each other. *Samuch* seemed to carry it fair, but *Erbebius* never trusted him, but dayly expected the *Turks* would make some attempt upon him and his Men, whom he charged ever to look to themselves, not so much as to Sleep or Eat but with their Weapons at Hand. At length the thing broke out and the *Turks* set upon the *Franks* as they were at Dinner who aware of their coming and having their Horses ready, instantly mounted, fought with and defeated them, killing the greater part; the rest escaped into a Town not far off called *Chlear*. *Erbebius* after the pursuit was earnest for returning to their Camp, but it happening that there being a League and friendship betwixt him and the *Ameras* of that Town, his Men would needs go thither to refresh themselves. He most vehemently endeavoured to dissuade them, urging that they were by no means to trust those that were of a different Religion and Nation, who would make no difficulty at all of breaking their Oath, they counting it a matter of Piety and Merit to kill as many Christians as they could. But there was no good to be done, they continued obdurate, and he was forced to go with them into the Town, all he could do was to beg of them to be vigilant and careful, always to be upon their Guard. But they once got in fell to their Baths and Cups which invited *Aponesfar* the *Ameras* to take the advantage offered him, so that Communicating his Design with *Samuch* and the *Saracens* living thereabouts, he gave secret orders to those that lodged the *Franks* to lay hold of and bind fast their Guests, or if that could not be done to kill them. The sign being given, some accordingly they make fast and others they kill; the rest escaping by leaping down from the Walls. *Erbebius* was taken and kept as a Prisoner. This advantage the *Ameras* made of what he had done to curry favour with the Emperour. He sent him word he was at his service and in Testimony of the Reality thereof, had destroyed those that had been Traitors to him, and at present had their Captain fast in Prison.

150. But *Stratoticus* his rough and crabbed Carriage produced such effects in a short space that he had but small cause to rejoice at the Calamity of the *Franks*. The Eastern Officers being rejected by him as was said now betook themselves to *Leo Strabopondylus* the *Protosyncellus* and chief manager of affairs under

Erbebius  
Revolts to the  
Turks.

But is sup-  
pressed and  
taken by the  
Ameras of  
Chlear.

under him desiring his mediation in their behalf that they might not be the onely Men that must be neglected, and not taste of his Liberty, which they could not but take notice was very large towards others, who had neither watch nor fought as they had done, and endured all manner of hardships from their very Childhood. *Leo* heard them and had so much of the Courtier as to commend every Man a part and speak of his valour and Merits; but did nothing of their business, submitting to the Emperour's humour who would neither allow them good deeds nor good words, which at a small expence he might have done. This made them outrageous so as first to revile *Stratoticus* one to another, and from reproachfull words to pass to exhortations to stand by one another, and revenge so great injustice, which Combination they confirmed by Oath secretly in the Church. By the advice of *Ambustus* they Communicated their Design to *Bryennius* as one who could assist them with a numerous Army, and easily gained his concurrence. When they consulted whom to prefer to be Emperour, *Ambustus* had all their suffrages, as one who by his Age, valour and experience excelled all others, but he really adverse to the burthen; named *Ijaacius Comenus* as the fittest Person they could chuse, and to him they all assented; which done and confirmed by Oath they received Provisions from the Emperour and departed each to his Quarters as was imagined. Amongst the rest *Bryennius* went to his charge and with him was sent *John Oplaras* a Patritian with Gold to pay his Souldiers. *Bryennius* at the Muster required so much to be given to every Souldier, which *John* refused, affirming he would fully obey the Emperour's Orders, and contending together about this matter *Bryennius* grew so Angry that he fell upon him and pulling him down to the Ground by his Hair and Beard soundly buffeted him, which done he committed him to Custody and afterward distributed the Gold to his Souldiers as he pleased. At that time it happened that *Lycanthes* a Patritian who commanded the *Licaonians* and *Pyssidians* was near at hand with his Forces, and hearing what had happened, concluded with himself that none but one who Aimed at the Sovereignty it self would have committed such an Arbitrary and Insolent Act, and being utterly Ignorant of what the other Commanders of the East had resolved, with a sufficient power fell upon the Camp of *Bryennius*, took him and delivered him into the Hands of *Oplaras* whom he had set at liberty, who colouring his Revenge with a pretence of Loyalty put out his Eyes and sent him to the Emperour together with the Relation of what had passed.

Saluting Ija-  
acius Comenus  
Empe-  
rour.

151. But the chief Officers of the Eastern Parts, such as *Romanus Sclerus*, *Burtzes*, *Bataciciates*, the Sons of *Bassilius Argyrus* and the rest understanding what had passed, having hitherto concealed their Inclinations, and expected the time when to stir, when they heard what had befallen *Bryennius* concluded that upon Examination he would reveal the conspiracy, and therefore thought it safest to prevent such a discovery by a timely rising. They all went into *Paphlagonia* to *Castamo* the House of *Comenus*, and compelled him to go along with them to a spacious Plain called *Gurvaria*, whither from all parts adjacent they sent for the Souldiery, and then by universal consent saluted him Emperour on the eighth day of June in the tenth Indiction. Having taken the Title he incamped himself as strongly as he could in the place, expecting the forces of the rest of the Conspirators, especially of *Ambustus*, at whose slowness he conceived some diffidence, which was shortly changed into a supposed certainty by a Message he received that he had changed his mind, broken his (unlawful) Oath, and resolving to adhere to *Stratoticus* was gathering together an Army for suppression of the Confederates. This mightily perplexed *Comenus* when he considered how dangerous an Enemy he should have at his Back, and therefore fortifying himself in his Camp he resolved not to stir till he heard farther. But *Ambustus* had not changed his mind, but mistakes caused disorder on both sides. For *Ambustus* in his way from *Constantinople* meeting one of the Emperour's Messengers had sent a blunt message by him to *Nicetas* the *Logotheta Dromi* which sufficiently discovered the Design; and when he came into the East and found not *Comenus* stirring or as it seemed at all concerned, he imagined that he and the rest had changed their Resolutions and would declare nothing, so that he should be left to shift for himself alone, and be condemned out of his own Mouth. Therefore he was much concerned how to avoid the Danger; for he neither had any Army in readiness, those Forts he had being unable to grapple with the Emperour, neither had he had any Communication as yet with the other Souldiers of the Eastern parts that lay about his Government, therefore not knowing how to trust them he had been very slow and wary in Preparations, and this was the cause of his Delay. Besides, there lay near him in their Winter

N n n 2

Quarters

Quarters, two Regiments of *Franks* and one of *Rossians*, of which he stood in great fear, left upon discovery of his Design they should seize him, and send him to the Emperour. But when by Degrees he thought he had secured himself, then first he broke his mind to his Servants and Dependants, and having got about him about a thousand Men, then he try'd the Inclinations of such as he could less trust, first to bring over the Officers and Governours, and then the ordinary sort. He counterfeited Letters as from the Emperour, by which he was ordered with three Regiments of the Associates, and two of the *Colonties* and *Chaldeans*, to go against *Samuel*. Those with their Officers, he either by Promises or Threats procured to take the Military oath to him, and having furnished himself with an Army of several Nations, then marcht towards *Comnenus*, having sent to let him know he was on his way.

152. *Comnenus* distrustfull and much out of heart before, was much elevated by this Message, and having joined his Forces with his, now set about his Work as being out of Danger. Yet did he commit his Wife and his Treasure, to his Brother *John* to be kept in a Castle called *Penelissa*, seated on a Rock near the River *Alys*. He having taken order for raising of Money throughout the East, and appointed his Receivers, passed the River *Sangarius*, and being every where received with applause and acclamations by slow Journeys moved toward *Nice*, which he desired to get into his Hands to be a Receptacle for him upon occasion, and therefore he gave time to those that had adhered to the Emperour to remove from it, which they did assoon as they heard of his coming, the Souldiers to their particular Homes to look to the Safety of their Houses, Wives and Children, and the Officers to the Emperour with News of what happened, amongst whom the most eminent was *Lycantbes*, Captain of the Eastern Troops, *Theopylast Maniaces* and *Pnemiun Iberus*, Captains of the Troops of the *Charfiani*. *Stratoticus* having Intelligence of the Revolt made by almost the whole Force of the Empire, yet refused to offer any Conditions of Peace, but prepared for a vigorous resistance. All the Western Regiments he sent for, and gave the Command of them to *Macedonians*, Persons of greatest Quality and Experience in matters relating to War, and now most wisely he counted both Officers and Souldiers, presenting them with good Gifts. In the same manner he treated the *Charfiani*, and such of the Eastern Forces as had not revolted, of whom he appointed Commander *Theodorus* the Domestick of the East, the Eunuch of *Theodora* the Emperess, joining with him *Aaron Ducas* the *Magister*, Brother to *Comnenus* his Wife, a Man of a very great experience. These being sent against the Revolters came to *Nicomedia*, and thence sent some to break down the Bridge of *Sangarius*, that *Comnenus* being forced to go about, they might be sure not to miss him. From *Nicomedia* they removed to the Mountain *Sopbo*, and there incamped themselves, and prepared for Fight. *Comnenus* having notice hereof immediately got into *Nice*, and there left all his Baggage and Carriages, and having strongly fortified the City, removed and incamped himself some twelve Furlongs distant from it towards the North. The Armies being near together, several Parties of them knowing one another used Arguments on both sides to draw off their opposites, these of the Emperour's side reviling *Comnenus* as a Traitor, and they of his Party despising the Emperour, as a despicable doting old Man, ruled by Eunuchs.

153. The Captains on both sides at first encouraged this Discourse, but when *Comnenus* found that it did no good, he would not permit his Men so freely to go abroad, which the Domestick and the *Macedonians* especially judged to proceed from fear, and therefore resolved to give him Battel. The rest assenting, they removed and pitched at a Place called *Petraa*, some fifteen Furlongs distant from the Enemy. *Comnenus* his Men now calling for Battel aswell as they he led out, and prepared to fight. The left Wing he committed to *Ambustus*, the right to *Romanus Sclerus*, and he himself led the middle Battel. The Domestick and *Aaron* in forming their *Battalia* committed their left Wing to *Basilius Trachanotes*, then Captain of the West, and the most eminent of all the *Macedonians*, and the right Wing *Aaron* led himself assisted by these Officers, *Lycantbes*, *Pnemiun* and *Randolph* the Patritian a *Frank*. They fought in a Place called *Ades* by the Inhabitants, and at first *Aaron* seemed to have gotten the Day, for he beat the opposite Wing, took *Romanus Sclerus* Prisoner, and drove them back as far as their Camp, which he might have taken, and obtained a full Victory had he not been too cautious, for *Comnenus* had also the worst of it, and had thoughts of flying back to *Nice*. But *Ambustus* bore down all opposite to him where he fought, and

Who marching towards *Nice*.

Cautely Michael the Emperour to fend for the Western Forces to engage him.

Whom a Battel ensued.

In which *Comnenus* had the better.

The Emperour offering Conditions to him.

But not intending to perform them.

But is forced to it by the Revolters and the Patriarch.

and pursuing them to their Camp broke into it, and having plundered their Tents cut them down, which sight so animated *Comnenus* and his Souldiers, and on the contrary discouraged the Souldiers of *Aaron*, that the Emperour's Party was defeated, a great Multitude falling in the Fight, and especially of *Macedonians* both Officers and Souldiers; and not a few were taken Prisoners. This ill Success so perplexed *Michael*, that he had sent to *Comnenus* and offered to lay down, if those about him had not kept him from it, and urged him rather to dye than quit the Supreme Dignity. However certain of the chiefest Senatours, and Men of the greatest Wisdom were sent to treat with him, viz. *Constantine Leichudes*, *Theodorus Alopis* who had both the Title of *Proedri* or Presidents, and *Constantine Pselus* chief of the Philosophers, who offered him to be adopted *Cesar*, and Pardon and Indemnity to all his Followers. The Souldiers would not hear of this, nor permit as they said, that their General should be seen in an Habit inferior to what he wore at present, which yet they were thought to speak more out of Flattery than Design. However *Comnenus* took the Messengers aside and told them as a secret, that he should very willingly admit of their Proposals, provided the Emperour would indulge him some of his Power, so as to be able to reward those that had served him.

154. And *Zonaras* reports, that to deceive his Souldiers he gave them two several Answers in Writing, of which that which was made known, with Scorn rejected the Conditions, but the other accepted them. The old Man was overjoyed to hear of his Acceptance, and returned, that it should not be long before he took him to be his Colleague in the Empire, though for some Reasons at first he must defer it. With which Message he sent the Senatours back together with Promise of Confirmation of what had been granted before, and of establishing the Officers of *Comnenus* in their present Employments. *Comnenus* and all the rest liked well enough of it, and required a Confirmation by a Golden Ball; only *Ambustus* opposed, who would by all means have the old Man deposed, and contended that whom they had already depriv'd by Oath, they could not without Perjury re-admit to the Throne, and he urged that if they laid down their Arms, the Issue would be that *Comnenus* would be pay'd off, and they for their shares should have their Eyes pull'd out of their Heads. And to this *Cedrenus* adds, that the Senatours themselves did prevaricate and perswade *Ambustus*, that he should thus oppose the Articles of the Treaty, and moreover made *Comnenus* to believe, that the People at *Constantinople* did greatly affect him, where should he but once shew his Face, the old Man would quickly be deposed, and he be put into his place with universal satisfaction and applause. While thus the Negotiation was disturbed, the Emperour himself by his false and underhand dealing, went about to prevent what he had so readily promised, and by endeavouring to keep by deceitfull means lost all. By gifts aswell as good words and promises, he now endeavour'd to oblige all the People, and having so made his way caus'd both Senatours, and the Citizens to subscribe a Writing, and take an Oath with direfull Imprecations, that they would never give to *Comnenus* the Title of Emperour, nor own him for their Sovereign Lord, which they took being overpowered, and *Comnenus* far distant as yet from the City. But he being now come nearer, and lodging at *Damatrys* within less than a Days Journey, by break of day several Senatours and others came to the great Church, and required the Patriarch to come to them to consult of an important Affair. The Patriarch shut his Doors, and refused to come to them, but sent two of his Kinsmen to know their business, on whom the Company by this time much increased laid hands, and threatened to strangle them except he would come down. Hereat he came down in *Pontificallibus*, as he pretended unwillingly, though some were of opinion that he did but counterfeit, and they compassing him about required him to go from them to the Emperour, and demand back again the Writing which they had subscribed, for seeing he had declared *Comnenus* should be his Successour, they must either incur Perjury or very much danger by opposing him. The Patriarch bid them be of good cheer, and gave them good words, and this appeared also to be a pretended and feigned business. For omitting this they shortly after declared by Common consent, *Comnenus* to be Emperour, and all that opposed him should lose their Estates, and be accounted Enemies of the Roman Empire. This the Patriarch procur'd and decreed in the Church, and sent Messengers both to *Comnenus* and *Stratoticus*, to the one that he would haste to the City, and to the other that he would resign, and depart from the Palace which did not belong to him; whereby he shewed that he had been the



the Author and Principal cause of the Revolt. The Bishops or Metropolitans, as *Cedrenus* calls them, that went to *Stratoticus*, delivering their Message, he demanded what the Patriarch would give him in exchange for the Empire, to which they replied *The Kingdom of Heaven*, whereupon he put off the Purple and Violet shoes, and took the Habit of a private Man; although *Cedrenus* idly thinks the Patriarch's promise to have been scarcely valid, except he had returned to a private Life at the beginning of the Defection, and thereby prevented the effusion of so much Blood as had been shed before his constrained Resignation; as if a lawfull Prince was bound to give way to an Usurper. *Stratoticus* being departed to his own House in the Castle, after he had Reigned one year, *Ambustus Curopalates* by order of *Comnenus*, the next Day being the last of *August*, in the Tenth Indiction, A.D. M.LVII. together with many Noblemen took possession of the Palace. At Evening *Comnenus* himself made his Entry, and the next Day being the first of *September*, in the Eleventh Indiction, going in a solemn Procession to the great Church, and there being on a Scaffold crowned by the Patriarch, was declared Emperour of the *Romans*. Here the History of *Cedrenus* leaves him and us.

155. *Ibasius Comnenus* having obtained the Empire, is said to have ascribed it not to Almighty God but himself, and his military skill, which they thence gather, because he immediately caused Money to be stamped with his Image, holding a drawn Sword. But such Men as had assisted him he largely rewarded, and took care when they had their Money that they departed home, left being together in the City they should devise some new thing, and make any Commotion amongst the People. The Patriarch he exceedingly Reverenced, and highly preferred his Nephews. Whereas the provision of things for the Church formerly belonged to the *Oeconomi*, and Keeper of the Vessels, whom the Emperour was wont to Name; for his sake left the Disposition of these matters absolutely to the Patriarch. His Wife he now named Empress, and to his Brother *John* gave the Offices of *Curopalates* and *Grand Domestick*. Whereas he took notice that his Predecessours ever since the time of *Basilius Porphyrogenitus*, had ill distributed and employed the Revenue, making odd Assignments, as of some to Monasteries and the rest to the gratifying of their pleasures and Appetites whereby the Treasury was ever kept empty, he would doe this not by degrees, as a good States-man imitates a skilfull Physician, but on a sudden and all at once, as if he had stamped the Sword in his Hand upon the Coin, not so much to signify what a Fighter, but a Reformer and Cutter of ill Members and Distempers from the Commonwealth he meant to be. The Acts of *Stratoticus* he abrogated without distinction, took away all he had given, and not onely his, but the Acts of other Emperours he rescinded, therein sparing neither the Senator, if concerned nor those of the Common sort. Daily in those courses he grew more severe, and at length fell upon the Monasteries to which he assigned onely Necessaries, and took the rest of their Revenues to his own use. By these means he incurred the *Odium* of all sorts, and forgetting on what Rock his Predecessour had split of Souldiers as well as of the rest, no advice, reprehension, fear or hatred being of power sufficient to restrain him. As for reprehensions he wanted them not, the Patriarch being very insolent in that Point, that if he had not what he asked he would not onely upbraid him, but threaten as he had let him up to pull him down again, which he not brooking, and to prevent mischief Banished the Prelate together with his Nephews, whom yet he restored to their former Dignities again, when shortly after their Uncle died. He preferred to be Patriarch *Constantine Lichudes* the President and *Protopresbiter*, but not till such times as he had wrung out of his Hands the Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted by *Monomachus*, to his Monastery of *Mangana*.

156. He had some Bickerings with the *Hungarians* and *Patzinace*, both of whom without much trouble asked Peace. But as he lay at the end of *September*, so great a quantity of Rain and Snow fell, that he and his Army were both in danger to miscarry, and he was just but removed from under a great Oak when the Tree fell, for which to testify his Deliverance he built a Church to *St. Thekla*, on whose Day he escaped the Danger, but such a Building as testified the meanness of his Spirit, which his Cousin and Successour *John* the Son of *Alexius* afterward repaired most Magnificently, in the Name of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*. Not long after *Comnenus* develt himself of the Empire, which how it came about, Writers do not agree. Most said that as he was Hunting he was blasted with a Wind or with Lightning, and thence contracted such a

Distemper,

Comnenus  
lays down, and  
chooses  
Constantine  
Ducas for his  
Successour.

Distemper, that despairing of Recovery, and sensible how he came by his Power, to Obliterate his Offence in some manner, he laid down what he had unjustly taken up. And in the choice of a Successour he would not be swayed by any carnal report, neither making choice of *John* his Kinsman, *Theodorus Docianus* his Sister's Son, nor his Daughter's Husband, but pitched upon *Constantine Ducas* the President, whom he thought very fit and able for the discharge of so great a Place, and then retired into a Monastery, where he discharged all the meanest Offices, and lived the remainder of his Days, after he had Reigned two years and three months. A Man, to speak of his good as well as bad qualities, very Stout, arrogant in his Disposition, very quick in dispatch of Business, and most skilfull in Military matters; not Learned himself, but a lover and encourager of Learned Men. A Man exceeding Chast, inasmuch as being from Home falling ill, and told by Physicians that the Company of a Woman would relieve him, he refused utterly to meddle with any other than his own Wife, whose Name was *Accatharina*, a Lady very Vertuous and Religious. When his Ambitions affecting the Empire was objected to him, he said, that, *He could not bear the Reign of a Fellow-Servant who denied him his just Reward*.

Constantine  
Ducas Empe-  
rour.

157. *Constantine (Ducas)* the Twelfth of that Name, thus without any trouble became Emperour of *Constantinople*, in the thirteenth Indiction, A.D. M.LX. He began his Reign with a Promotion of several Persons, and Restitution of those whom *Comnenus* had spoiled of their Dignities. Yet was his Life presently laid at by some Conspirators, who to make him come by Boat out of the Countrey where he was diverting himself, made a story be told him that there was an Insurrection in the City; and then had corrupted the Masters of his Gally, called *Procarabi* to Drown him. He hearing of the Tumult hastened indeed to *Constantinople*; but it happened that his Gally was not then at Hand, so as he took another Boat, and the Conspirators meeting it resolved to run over his Boat, and so to sink him, which they were attempting, when those in the Vessel with him by their loud cries and warning so frightened the Rowers, that they had no power but to obey. Yet upon Discovery of the Treason, he contented himself onely by confiscating the Estates of the Traitors. He boasted himself to be Descended of the Family of the Ancient *Ducas*, *Andronicus Pantheus* and *Constantine*, but that Family when *Constantine* affected the Empire, was subverted in the Reign of *Constantine* the Son of *Leo* the Philosopher, yet under Age, no Heirs Male being left; so that his Ancestours were said to claim from a Woman, and he was thought no Genuine and true *Ducas*, but as it were such by adulteration, and therefore by most was by way of Diminution not called *Ducas* but *Duciza*. But he was a Man Pious towards God, of good Morals, and a lover of Justice: of none of the quickest Wits, but a lover of plain dealing and sincere Men, but loved Money exceedingly; and it was his care how to invent ways of encreasing his Treasury. Two things therefore he especially employed himself in: in encreasing the Publick Revenue, by selling Places, and new farming out the Customs; and in hearing of Causes and deciding Controversies, wherein he did not always observe the Prefcript of Laws, but sometime used his Will for Law, and otherwhiles had respect to Persons. And as he was hard and tenacious, this was his Maxim, "By no means to make War, but by fair means to take off all Nations from their Hostilities, both to save the great expence of Expeditions, and that he might not be diverted from attending the Trade of getting Money. This caused him to neglect his Musters, and even to Disband the most Valiant and fit for Service, as it happened, whereby the Barbarous Nations grew more bold, and got Ground of this *Roman Empire*."

He is ex-  
ceeding  
covetous  
even to the  
almost  
ruine of  
the Empire.

158. In the East some of the Provinces were harassed, and some subdued by the Neighbouring Nations: neither were those of the West in a good condition, because the Souldiers were both few and lazy. The *Uzi* a *Scythian* People having Beaten and taken Prisoners *Magister Nicephorus Bataniates* and *Magister Basilus Apocapes* passed the River *Ister*, and having waited all the Countrey near to it, proceeded into *Macedonia*, and thence into *Greece*, making havock of all things, which though it much troubled the Emperour, yet that he might not spend any thing would he not raise any Forces, saying, that *The Enemy could not be Beaten back*, but endeavoured by Gifts to take off their Captains. But being reviled for suffering the Empire out of his miserableness to miscarry, he marched out of the City against the Enemy, but as is reported, with no more than an hundred and fifty Men, and for getting more, and Conquering the Barbarians, betook himself rather to his Prayers than any other means, and they so well succeeded,

that

Upon which  
Michael Stra-  
toticus re-  
signs, and I-  
basius Com-  
nenus assumes  
the Govern-  
ment.

He is very se-  
vere.

He had some  
Skirmishes  
with the Hun-  
garians and  
Patzinace.

The *Uzi* in-  
fested the Em-  
pire.

But are de-  
stroyed by the  
Perginace  
and Bulgari-  
ans.

Constantine  
being Sickly  
appoints his  
three Sons,  
Constantine,  
Michael and  
Andronicus  
under the tu-  
tion of their  
Mother Eudo-  
cia to succeed  
him.

And dies, A.D.  
M. LXVII.

that when he was considering how to raise an Army, News was brought, that there was no Enemy left against which to send it; for the *Patzinacæ* and *Bulgarians* had fallen upon the *Uzi*, wearied and weakened, and had utterly cut them off, their Captains hardly escaping over *Ister*. This happened in the sixth year of his Reign, preceded by a great Earthquake which happened on the twenty third of September, by which many Churches and Houses were overturned. In the month of May, the fourth Indiction appeared a Comet, following the Sun, at first of the bigness of the full Moon, but as its Tail encreased, so the Body of it seemed to diminish: it was seen for forty days with its Tail turned toward the East. By this time the Emperour had contracted a Disease, which made him despair of life, and to apply himself to settle matters relating to the Government and Succession. By *Eudocia* his Wife he had three Sons, whereof *Michael* and *Andronicus* when a private Man, but *Constantine* after he was Emperour, who upon this account was the only *Porphyrogenitus*, and for that cause was first adorned with Ensigns of Empire. Afterwards he named Emperours the other two, and left the Empire to them all, but Named his Wife their Empress and Lady, and left the management of Affairs to her, for which she seemed to him fit, as well as for the Education of her Children: but first he took an Oath from her committed to Writing, and left with the Patriarch, that she would not Marry again: as he exacted the like from the Senators, that they would admit none but his Sons for Emperours. He had made his Brother *Cesar*, and used him as his Councillour and Assistant in his most important and secret business. Though he himself was unlearned, yet he revered Learned Men, being wont to say, that *He had rather been enabled by Learning than Sovereignty*. For such as conspired against him he said he would use them no worse than to use them for Slaves, the Laws having deprived them of Liberty. Dying after a Reign of seven years and six months, leaving (as we said) the Administration to his Wife, so that as we began the Second Part of our History with a *Constantine*, we conclude this with one; and as we began this Part with a Woman, at the Time of *Charles* the Great, so now we end at one in the Year M. LXVII. the year following the Conquest of *England* by Duke *William* the Norman.

F I N I S.

# THE T A B L E.

## A.

**A**basians are forced to submit to the Romans 422, Renew the League 425.  
Adaluald King of the Lombards in Italy 44, is deposed 45.

Africk subject to the Saracens is seiz'd by the Turks 447.

Egypt subject to the Saracens 446, is over-run by the Turks 447.

Aëla arrives in Britain 95, is King of the South Saxons 139, begins the Civil Wars 170, dies 140.

Agilulf King of the Lombards 40, Demolisheth Padua and other places 42, Crowns his Son 43, dies 44.

Aistulf King of the Lombards seizes on the Exarchate 62, invades the Roman Territories 63, but is forc'd to quit them by Pipin.

Aldermen the several sorts of them 275, and 281.

Ale and Alehouses the Antiquity of them here 317.

Allalangium what 416.

Alexander Emperour his Character and Death 380.

Alfred the first anointed King of the English Saxons in Britain 197, his Wars and Peace with the Danes 198, is deposed by them 199, recovers his Kingdom and renews the Peace 200, dies 203, his Character 204, his Wife and Children 207, his Laws 297.

Amalus 11.

Amalasuntha 35.

Amazons why so feigned 15.

Amphibalum what 103.

Angli their first Seats where 123, the Name whence 124, their Possession here 132.

Angles-East their Kingdom here 157, to the ruine of it 158.

Angles-Mercian their Kingdom here 159, to the end of it 167, the valuation of them 107.

Angles-Northumbrian their Kingdom here 143, the division of it 145, and end 156.  
Arabians invade the Empire 343, making other inroads are suppress'd 416, again 427.

Aremorica seiz'd on by the Britains 107, who fix there 108.

Aribert the first King of the Lombards 47, who divides the Kingdom and dies, ibid.

Aribert the second 53, is drowned 55.

Ariold 45, dies 46.

Arthur King of the Britains 97, his Wars 98, 99, death and interment 101.

Afgardiani who 8.

Alpracavia or upper Media submits to the Empire 419, is invaded by the Turks 447, again 448.

Afurgiani who 8.

Assyria subject to the Saracens 446, is overcome by the Turks 447.

Athalarick King of the Ostrogoths in Italy 34, dies 35.

Athelstan Monarch of the English Saxons 216, invades Scotland 217, kills the King thereof 218, forces the Welsh King to pay him Tribute 219, dies 220, his Laws 304, &c.

Attrebatii who 131.

Aurelius Ambrosius King of Britain 92, his Wars with the Saxons 93, he dies 95.

Austria what 56.

Authari King of the Lombards in Italy 38, his Conquest 39, Death 40.

## B.

**B**abylon inhabited by the Persians 410, but still subject to the Saracens 446, is seiz'd on by the Turks 447.  
Bardan us the Usurper is shaven 342.

Bardas Phocas General of the East usurps 401.

# The TABLE.

401, but is forced to take Orders 402, recall'd 409, and made General against Sclerus 410, is saluted Emperour 411, but poisoned 413.

Bardas Sclerus usurps 407, defeats the Emperour's Forces 408, seizes on the City of Nice 409, is beaten and imprisoned at Babylon 410, released 412, sets up again, but after quitting his pretensions 413, is kindly received by the Emperour 414.

Basilius his Pedigree 367, made Emperour 368, waives the Territories of Milithene and Manichees 369, invades Syria 370, relieves the Western part of the Empire 371, his Wars in the East 372, Crimes laid to his charge 373, he dies 374, new models the Civil Law 380.

Basilius Son to Romanus crown'd 393, Succeeds with his Mother 394, begins to reign 407, invades Bulgaria 411, defeats their Army 416, his Character 417, after several other expeditions he reduces Bulgaria under the obedience of the Empire 420, returns to Constantinople 422, forces the Abalgians to submit, *ibid.* dies 423.

Belge who 133.

Bernicii the several Kings thereof 145, its Limits 155.

Bertard King of the Lombards in Italy 47, dies 51.

Bocland what 283, the manner of passing it, and by whom tenable 285, its difference with Folcland 286, its jurisdiction and privileges 287.

Boetius his Character 31.

Breden what 209.

Brigantes who 133.

Britains their Character then 83, and 111, their Language 106, their famous Men 112, their Country how then call'd 114, an account of them that were expelled by the Saxons, Angles and Jutes 133, their Country called England 187.

Bulgari invade the Roman Pale 343, fall upon Melymbria 346, and defeat Michael the Emperour 347, are beaten by Leo 348, raise the siege of Constantinople for Michael Balbus 354, quarrel with the Empire 375, which ends in a Peace 376, another quarrel with them 381, incamping near Constantinople 382, besieging Adrianople 383, thence to Constantinople again 384, they make fresh incursions 386, laying siege to Adrianople 387, invading Macedonia are met and a League struck up with the Romans 388, Civil Wars at home 389, the League with the Romans renewed 394, their Country invaded by the Russians 340, seized on by them 400,

invaded by the Empire 401, their King taken and Country subdued 403, they invade the Western parts of the Empire 410, are invaded by the Emperour 411, they again infect the Empire 415, but after several expeditions their Country is wholly reduced to the obedience of the Empire 420, they revolt 434, but are reduced again 436, some bickering with them 462, they defeat the 725, who return from wasting the Empire, 464.

Burghmote what 282.

## C.

Cantium whence so called 133.

Celtoscithia whence so called 120.

Coorles who 285, the value of their Heads 306.

Cerdick lands in Britain 5, begins the Kingdom of the West Saxons 168, dies 169.

Charles King of the Franks invades Italy 68, makes a new donation to the See of Rome 64, conquers Desiderius King of the Lombards in Italy 70, is crown'd King there 75, settles the Government 76, makes his Son his Colleague 77, is created Emperour by Pope Leo 80.

Chatzaria the Region submits to the Emperire 419.

Chichester when and by whom built 141.

Cito and Clitunculi who 273.

Cnut King of the Danes 238, waives England 239, is Colleague with Edmund King of the English Saxons 143, is sole Monarch here 242, divides the Kingdom into four parts 243, beats the Swedes and Norwegians 245, suppresseth the Rebels in Scotland 247, his Character and Death, *ibid.* his Laws 322, &c.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus Emperour 382, recalls Zoe his Mother 383, is seiz'd on by Romanus 384, deposeth Zoe his Mother and marries 385, admits Romanus to usurp 386, deposeth him 390, assumes the Government 391, dies 392.

Constantine X. succeeds 394, begins to reign with Basilius 407, is sole Emperour 423, his management of affairs and death 424.

Constantine Monomachus Emperour sends an Army against the Trabelli 440, suppresses Maniaizes the Usurper in Italy 422, defeats the Russians 443, takes Anium and Armenia the Great 444, suppresses another Civil War 446, his Dominions invaded by the Turks 447, taking one of his Generals which he redeems 449, defeats the invading Patzincae 450, opposes the Turks 451, and Patzinacae 452, with the whole force of the Empire 453, another expedition against them, and then a Truce for thirty

# The TABLE.

ty years 455, his management of affairs and death 456.

Conflantine Ducas XII. Emperour 463, dies 464.

Corbati submit to the Roman yoke 422.

Coritani who 133.

Counts the antiquity of them 278.

Cunibert King of the Lombards in Italy 51, kills Alachus the Usurper 52, dies 53.

## D.

Danes a Catalogue of their Kings 125, their Wars with the Saxons 126, an account of their first arrival in Britain 183, the time when 185, several Batrels fought with various success 190, they sack Winchester 192, invade Mercia 123, forcing the Saxons to purchase peace 198, which they break 199, a League ensues 200, other Companies arrive 201, more 208, but are warmly received 210, most of them submit 214, they seize on York 216, wasting East England and other parts 229, which they conquer 235, and at length become Masters of all England 242, the beginning of their Monarchy here 243, domineering over the English 251, till the end of it 252, the Laws made by their Kings here 322, &c.

Danegeld what 236, remitted 355, the original of it 328.

Danmonii who 133.

Deiri the several Kings thereof 145, its Limits 155.

Desiderius King of the Lombards in Italy 66, invades the Exarchate 67, is beaten thence 68, delivers up himself and Kingdom 70.

Diceratum what 342.

Dikes four of them and where 209.

Dimetæ who 133.

Dower the form thereof 314, how much was wont to be assigned 315.

Drinclean what 328.

Dubonii who 133.

Durotriges who *ibid.*

## E.

Edgar Monarch of the English Saxons 222, his Naval preparations 223, he destroys the Wolves 225, dies 226, his Laws 316.

Edmund Monarch of the English Saxons 220, is stab'd at Puckle-Church in Gloucestershire 221.

Edmund surnamed Ironside Monarch of the English Saxons 240, fights with the Danes 241, but divides the Kingdom with them and dies 242, his Laws 311, &c.

Edred Monarch of the English Saxons 221, dies, *ibid.*

Edward the Elder conquers the East Angles 158, joins the Mercian Kingdom to his own 167, is Monarch of the English Saxons 207, quells a Rebellion at home 209, forces the Danes to truckle 214, subdues the Scots 215, dies, his Wife and Children, *ibid.* his Laws 301.

Edward Monarch of the English Saxons 226, being stab'd obtains the surname of the Martyr 227.

Edward the Confessor Monarch of the English Saxons 252, Marries 253, banishes the Danes 254, remits the tax of Danegeld 255, is kind to Foreigners, *ibid.* upon which civil Commotions arise 256, which end in the banishment of some Normans 258, he dies, his Character 264, being the last King of the West Saxon Family, *ibid.* his Laws 329, &c.

Edwi Monarch of the English Saxons 222.

Egbert King of the West Saxons in Britain seizes on the English Kingdom of the Jutes 138, on the East Saxons 143, and on the Northumbrian Angles, is the first English Monarch 187, dies, *ibid.*

England when first so called 187.

English Saxon Monarchy begun 187, overrun by the Danes 243, restored 252, Conquered by the Normans 270, their Government what 272, their Governours who 273, in Parliament 275, out of Parliament 276, the publick Division and Government of the Land 278, the Government of Cities and great Towns 281, the private Division and Government of the Land 282, the original of their Laws what 290, their Laws made by several Kings 291, &c. their valuation of Mens Heads 306, of Mens Oaths 307, their punishment for Crimes, and satisfaction what 308, their Money 309, Theft made capital by them 311, their manners & rites of Marriage 313, their form of endowing 314, what, and how much they gave to their Wives 315, Ale and Alehouses in use with them 317, Juries 318, & 321, their Wealth and Taxes what 334, their Customs, Dispositions and Courage 335, their computation of Time 336, their manner of passing Lands and Writing 338, the antiquity of their Language 339.

Ethelred Monarch of the English Saxons 192, opposes the invading Danes 195, dies 196.

Ethelred Monarch of the English Saxons 227, buys off the invading Danes 228, pays a second sum to them 229, a third 230, masters them here 231, pays a fourth sum 233, raises a Tax for Shipping 234, quits his Kingdom

# The TABLE.

237, recovers it and dies 240, his Laws, 316, &c.  
Ethelwulf Monarch of the English Saxons 188, his Genealogy 191, and Wealth 192.  
Eudocia Empress 454.  
Exarchate subject to the Empire 38, seized on by the Lombards 62, delivered up to the Bishop of Rome with an account of Cities 65, invaded by the Lombards 67, but a new Grant thereof made to the See of Rome 69.

## F.

**F**EE what 282, the antiquity of them 283.  
Feoda whence so called 70, its Origine 71, the forfeiture and several sorts of them 73.  
Fee-tail the antiquity of it 300.  
Fewds deadly or emity the Law of them 312.  
Folkland what 28, by whom tenable 285, its difference with Bockland 286.  
Folcmote two sorts of them 282.  
Franks invade Italy 64, give up the Exarchate and Pentapolis to the Pope 65, another expedition thither 68, making a new donation to the See of Rome 69, they seize on Italy 70, settle the Government there 76, their King crowned by Pope Leo 80, they take all Italy except four Cities from the Empire 441.  
Friburg what 288.  
Fridgild what 308.

## G.

**G**Adani who 133.  
Gani who 138.  
Gastald what 283.  
Gepidae who and why so called 12.  
Gefithcundmon who 295.  
Gild the signification of it 299.  
Gildwite what 323.  
Gloucester whence so called 171.  
Godabert King of the Lombards in Italy 47, is slain by his Brother 48.  
Godwin Earl of Kent 284, is privy to the death of Alfred 249, is made Earl of the West Saxons 251, assists in restoring of Edward 252, Marries his Daughter to him 253, he and his Sons take up Arms 256, and go into Flanders but are restored and he dies 258, his Issue 259, his obtaining of Bosham 262.  
Gothi minores who 16.  
Goths the original of them 7, their first excursions 10, their Habits 18, their Kingdom in Italy wholly destroyed 36.  
Gregory Bishop of Rome 41.  
Gregory II. absolves the Subjects of the Emperor from their Allegiance 58.

Gregory III. 59.  
Greves who 281.

## H.

**H**Ardecute King of Denmark 248, visits his Mother at Bruges 249, is the last King of the Danish Monarchs in Britain 250, dies 251.  
Harold Monarch of the Danes in Britain 248, his way to secure himself 249, he dies 250.  
Harold the Son of Godwin takes up Arms against King Edward 256, runs for Ireland, ibid. returning is restored to his Estate 258, chastizes the Welsh Rebels 260, is Shipwreckt 262, his Engagement with Duke William of Normandy 263, he is chosen Monarch of the English Saxons 265, defeats the Norwegians and Tostli his own Brother who invaded the Land 267, he engaging with Duke William is slain 269, several miscarriages of him 271.  
Healsfinge what 313.  
Heaften the Dane arrives in Britain 206, but is cut off 202.  
Hengist and Horsa with their Saxons arrive in Britain 90, & 130, when and where they landed 131, begin the Kingdom of the Jutes in Kent 133, cause a Massacre and are slain 134.  
Heregeld what 334.  
Heretocks who 277.  
Heriot the rates of them 326.  
Heruli their Kingdom in Italy 1, to the ruin of it 6, their original 13.  
Hide of Land what 279.  
Hildebrand King of the Lombards in Italy 61.  
Hinguar and Hubba the Danes arrive in Britain 83, the reason of their coming 184, the time 185, where they landed, 193, are slain 199.  
Hornegeld what 335.  
Howell the Welsh King 219.  
Hundred what and whence so called 278, the occasion of it 279, the Government thereof 280.  
Hunns their original 14, the description of them 15.

## I.

**I**Ceni who and whence so called 133.  
Ida begun the Kingdom of the Northumbrian Angles in Britain 143, his Character 144, Death 145.  
Ina seizes on the Kingdom of the South Saxons in Sussex 141, being King of the West Saxons in Britain 177, unites the British and English by Marriage 178, his Laws 292, &c.  
Indictions what 23.  
Infangthef what 287.

Ingui-

# The TABLE.

Inguinaria Pestis what 39.  
Inundations most severe 301.  
Ireland invaded by Egfrid King of the Northumbrian Angles in Britain 152, the cause of it 153.  
Irene the Empress dies in banishment 341.  
Isaacus Comnenus saluted Emperor by the Army 454, assumes the Government 462, lays it down 463.  
Italy overrun by Odoacer King of the Heruli, who is beaten by Theodorick King of the Goths 6, who reigns there 19, but are wholly driven thence by Narfes the Roman General 36, seized on by the Lombards 38, invaded by the Saracens 47, an expedition made thither by Constantine the Emperor 49, Stirs among the Lombards there 56, invaded by the Franks 67, again 68, who seize on the Kingdom of the Lombards there 70, settle the Government 76, and their King being created Emperor reduces it into the form of a Province 80, all of it taken from the Roman Emperor except four Cities 441.  
Jutes their original 8, their first Seats 123, their name whence 124, their possessions in Britain 132, the beginning of their Kingdom in Kent 134, the end of it 138.

## K.

**K**Ent whence so called 133, the Kingdom of the Jutes begun there 134, ended 138.  
Kings of England how they styled themselves 273, the valuation of their Heads then 306, their usual Subsidies, Revenues and Profits 334.  
Kington whence so called.

## L.

**L**Ashtite what 304.  
Laws of the Lombards the first model by King Rotharis 47, the second by King Gremold 51, the third by King Liutprand 55, the fourth by King Lachis 61, their customary ones 70, &c.  
The original of the English Saxon Laws what 290, of the Common Law 291, written Laws made by several of the English Saxon Kings 292, &c.  
The Civil Law new modelled by Basilius and Leo VI. 379, 380.  
Leiden whence so called 110.  
Leo V. Emperor beats the Bulgarians 348, his character 349, he is murdered 350.  
Leo VI. Emperor 374, bath his Forces defeated by the Bulgarians 375, his Wives 376, he sends a Land Army into the East 377, is excommunicated for marrying thrice, ibid. which is taken off 378, his Death 379, he new models

the Civil Laws 80.  
Leth or Laths what 304.  
Liutprand King of the Lombards in Italy 55, invades the Exarchate 56, turns it into a Dukedom 57, he besieges Rome 58, raises it 59, makes a League with the Church for twenty years 60, invades the Exarchate again and dies 61.  
Lombards their original 14, their Kingdom erected in Italy 38, their Habit what 41, their Kingdom in Italy wholly destroyed by the Franks 70, they revolt from the Romans 417.

## M.

**M**Agbote what 308.  
Man the Island 147.  
Manicheist whence so called 214.  
Maniches being persecuted revolt from the Empire 363, wasting the dominions thereof 369, but are wholly overcome 370.  
Meauvari who 161.  
Michael Rangabes Emperor 345, repels the invading Saracens 346, engaging with the Bulgarians is defeated 347, and turns Monk 348.  
Michael Balbus forceth Leo to usurp 347, is made Patritian and Comes Excubitorum 348, conspires against Leo 349, is saluted Emperor 350, his Character 351, a Rebellion against him 352, being besieged in Constantinople 353, is relieved by the Bulgarians and puts the Rebels to death 354, finishes the Civil War 355, Marries a veil d'Virgin 356, dies 357.  
Michael III. Emperor 363, makes War upon the Saracens but with ill success 364, his Character 365, and death 368.  
Michael IV. Emperor 430, makes his Nephew Caesar 431, makes a Truce with the Saracens in Egypt for thirty years 432, is very sickly 433, goes to Thessalonica 434, dies 436.  
Michael Calaphates Emperor 437, turns Monk and bath his Eyes put out 439.  
Michael Stratiaticus Emperor 457, his unkindness to the Soldiers 459, makes them conspire against him, which ends in his deposition 462.  
Mortagon Prince of the Bulgarians relieves the besieged Emperor 354.

## N.

**N**Eufrat what 56.  
Nicephorus Emperor 341, makes War upon the Arabians 342, makes an expedition into Bulgaria 343, but is there overthrown and slain 344, his Character 345.  
Nicephorus Phocas saluted Emperor by the Army 344, crowned at Constantinople

P P P

# The TABLE.

tinople 395, makes War upon the Saracens 346, leads an Army into Cilicia 397, engages the Russians to invade Bulgaria 398, is murdered 399.  
Nova Scythia whence so called 8, & 120.

## O.

**O**aths how valued by the English Saxons 307.  
Odoacer King of the Heruli in Italy 1, takes courses to secure his Interest 2, conquers the Rugi 3, is beaten by Theodorick the Ostrogoth 4, burns the Suburbs of Rome 5, is slain 6.  
Offadini who 133.  
Ordeal what 257, the manner of Examinations by a three-fold Ordeal 324.  
Ordovices who 133.  
Ostrogoths whence so called 11, their Territories 17, their Kingdom begun in Italy 19, wholly destroyed 36.  
Ouse what 209.

## P.

**P**arliament English of whom it consisted 273, when summoned 474.  
Patinace invade Bulgaria 424, infect the Roman Coast 427, again 432, their Country where 449, quarrelling with the Empire are beaten 450, which ends in a Truce for thirty years, ibid. but they break it 452, defeating the Emperor's Army sent against them 453, but come short home 454, another Army sent against them and a Peace for thirty years 455, breaking it are forced to submit 462, they defeat the Uzi 464.  
Peace of the King what 329.  
Peuda 149, begins the Kingdom of the Mercian Angles in Britain 154, his management of affairs and death 160.  
Pentapolis the Cities thereof 65.  
Pipin the Father of Charles the French King invades Italy 64, whose Son is crown'd King thereof 77.  
Port arrives in Britain 95.  
Protector what 274.

## R.

**R**achis King of the Lombards in Italy 61, turns Monk 62.  
Ravenna seized by Odoacer II. blockt up by Theodorick 5, the Goths are Masters of it 19, recovered for Justinian the Emperor by Narses 36, Governed by Exarchs 38, besieged by the Lombards 56, taken and turn'd into a Dukedom 57, recovered 58, once more besieged by the Lombards 61, and taken by them to the ruine of the Exarchate 62, which they could not long keep 63,

being forced to quit it to the Pope 64, the Cities thereof 65.  
Reafau what 199.  
Regni who 133.  
Relief what 327.  
Repandune who 163, 198.  
Robbers when so called 292, how many make a Troop of them, an Army how many, ibid.  
Rollo with his Normans and Danes invade France 198, which they harass till Neustria is assigned them which they call Normandy 201, they come thither 208, but are warmly received 210.  
Romanus seizes on Constantine the Emperor 198, Marrieth his Daughter to him 385, is crown'd Emperor himself, 386, crowns his Sons 387, is deposed and shaven 390.  
Romanus the Boy sole Emperor 392, crowns his Son 393, dies 394.  
Romanus IV. Emperor 424, makes an expedition into Syria 425, but returns with loss 426, which alters him for the worse 427, he is poisoned by Zoe the Empress 429.  
Rossi who 365, invade Bulgaria 398, seize on the Country 400, but are defeated by the Emperor 404, cut off by the Patzinaca 406.  
Rotharis King of the Lombards in Italy 46, his Laws and Death 47.  
Roxilani or Rusli who invade the Roman Coasts 389.

## S.

**S**AC what 287.  
Saifon and Saifoneg what 114.  
Saracens invading the East are repell'd 346, again 352, they seize on the Island Crete 356, Sicily and Calabria 357, defeat Theophilus the Emperor 359, invade the Territories of Cernata 360, beat the Emperor's Forces 361, and rase the City Amorium 362, waste the East 363, make another Incursion on the Roman Coasts 364, but in the next are beaten themselves 365, they of Tarsus renew their hostility 370, Dalmatia wasted by those of Carthage 371, those of Tarsus and Crete infect the Empire 372, they of Africk take Syracuse 373, another Incursion 375, one more 376, they infect the Sea Coast 377, renewing their excursions are defeated 378, but in the next adventure remain Victors 379, they make Peace with the Empire 381, they of Tripolis infect the Sea Coast 387, those of Syria defeated 388, they of Chalope beaten 391, their Country invaded but with loss to the Romans 392, they are beaten on all sides by the Romans 393, & 397, endeavouring

# The TABLE.

## T.

deavouring to revolt are suppressed 400, they join with Bardas Sclerus the Usurper 408, pay tribute to the Romans 409, they suppress the rebelling Persians 412, infecting the Sea Coast are defeated by the Roman Forces 424, they beat Romanus the Emperor 426, and waste the Empire 427, those of Africk infect the Islands 428, again 431, those of Sicily renew their Inroads 433, hire the Turks to help them against the Arabians 446, but are conquered by those Hivrelings 447.  
Saxons their Original 8, their ancient Seats 122, their Name whence 124, a Catalogue of their Kings 125, their Wars with the Danes 126, and others 128, they take Ship for Britain 130, when and where they landed 131, their Possessions here 132.  
Saxons East their Kingdom here 142, overruled by Egbert King of the West Saxons 143.  
Saxons South their Kingdom here 139, seized on by Ina King of the West Saxons 141.  
Saxons West their Kingdom here 167, from Cerdick the first King to Egbert 187, from him to the death of Edward the last of that family 264.  
Scandia its several Inhabitants 7.  
Secunde what 309.  
Secundine 163.  
Servi their Country where 440.  
Shire what and whence so called 278.  
Shiremore 282.  
Silures who 133.  
Simeon Prince of Bulgaria quarrels with the Romans 375, and in Battle defeats them 376, then makes peace 381, but upon an Affront incamps near Constantinople 382, lays siege to Adrianople 383, thence to Constantinople again 384, defeating the Emperor's Forces 386, lays siege to Adrianople again 387, dies 388.  
Skoldinger what 9.  
Slaves two sorts of them 284.  
Soc what 287.  
Staturacius Emperor 342, marries another man's Wife 343, invades Bulgaria 344, where being wounded turns Monk and dies 345.  
Stephen Bishop of Rome goes into France 63, receives the Exarchate and Pentapolis from Pipin 65, dies 66.  
Stonehenge 91.  
Suevi their Seats where 17.  
Suones Sitones whence so called 7.  
Swane King of the Danes deposeth his Father 220, invades England 229, wastes it 235, becomes Master of most part thereof 236, is killed 237.  
Tainland what 286.  
Team what 287, 302.  
Thanes who 276, 286, the valuation of their Heads 306.  
Theatres their Original 25.  
Theft made capital 311, the chiefest vice of the English Saxons 334.  
Theodora Wife to Theophilus 358, raises persecution in the East 363, gives an account of the Treasury 564, is shaven, ibid.  
Theodora married to Zimifces 402.  
Theodora Daughter of Constantine 424, is saluted Empress 438, reigns with her Sister Zoe 439, alone 456, dies 457.  
Theodorich King of the Ostrogoths invades Italy 3, overthrows the Gepidae and Bulgari 4, is made Colleague with Odoacer 6, sole Master of Italy 19, his way of Government 20, his acts of Mercy and Munificence 25, 26, he subdues the Allemans 30, turns cruel 31, dies 33.  
Theophilus Emperor 357, his Character 358, sends an Army into Lombardy 359, is beaten by the Saracens 360, turns Melancholy and dies 362.  
Theophano her Parentage 391, being Empress marries Nicephorus Phocas 395, dislikes him 398, is banished by Zimifces 400.  
Thringas what 281.  
Thrymia what 308.  
Tithing what and whence so called 278.  
Titiones who 36.  
Toll what 287, anciently payable 314.  
Triballi their Country where 440.  
Trenobantes who and whence so called 133.  
Turkill and other Danes arrive in Britain 234.  
Turks assist the Saracens against the Empire 361, invade Bulgaria 375, invade the Empire 389, the Original of them 446, they defeat the Saracens and Arabians 447, send an Army into Media 448, which returns with a Roman General taken captive 449, make fresh Incursions 450, but with ill success 451, Civil Wars at home 454, they invade the Roman Territories 458.  
Tulcia the Lombard Dukedom its demancs 70.

## V.

**V**Aluation of mens Heads 306.  
Vesuvius its eruptions 26.  
Villains whence so called 283.  
Vilgorts whence so called 11, their Kings and progresses 11, 16.  
Vortigern King of the Britains 89, invites the Saxons thither 90, dies 92.

# The TABLE.

W.

**W**ales the King thereof 103, the division of it 104, its ancient Inhabitants 133, the value of a Welshman's Head 293, 306, subject to the English Saxons and Danes 206, 247, Laws concerning them 321.

Wandals the Original of them 18.

Wapentack what and whence so called 280.

Were what 307.

Weregild 308.

Westrogoths whence so called 133.

William Duke of Normandy makes a visit

to Edward King of England 257, engages with Harold for this Crown 263,

sends to Harold to make good his promise

265, which being refused he intends to

visit him 266, Lands, makes proposals and prepares for Battel 268, obtains the Victory 269, is crowned King here 270, turning out the English and preferring his Normans 271.

Wife what 307.

Z.

**Z**imisces Emperour 399, reduces the

Saracens to obedience 400, makes

War upon the Bulgarians 403, conquers

them and the Rosians 406, is poisoned

407.

Zoe Empress 424, poisons her

Husband 429, Marries Michael IV.

430, is deposed by Michael Calaphates

437, restored 438, Married to Con-

stantine Monomachus 440, dies 455.

F I N I S.